Institutional Logics of Indigenization in Canadian Higher Education: The Role of Critical Policy Analysis as a Research Tool to Activate Social Change

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ABSTRACT

A common approach to adopting large-scale social changes in organizations is to codify them within high-level policies, including strategic plans. One such social change with increasing attention is the move towards "Indigenization" throughout all organizations in Canada, with national and international policy imperatives supporting its robust enactment. To understand the overt and covert components of such policies to understand how such large-scale social changes might be codified and framed, critical policy analysis (CPA) is a useful methodological tool to support such policy implementation and inform further activism. To illustrate this, CPA is used in this study to highlight how Indigenous-centric strategic plans (ISPs) conceptualize Indigenization across the U15 institutions in Canada, the largest group of research-intensive institutions spanning the country with educational communities totalling hundreds of thousands of students, staff, faculty, and community connections. The representations of Indigenization in these ISPs are analyzed using Gaudry & Lorenz's (2018) conceptual framework of Indigenization in higher education, finding that the ISPs largely represent an inclusionary approach to Indigenization, falling short of advancing reconciliatory or decolonial forms of Indigenization. Understanding that ISPs predominantly enable inclusionary Indigenization (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018) illuminates the institutional logics that underpin Canadian higher education, namely that retaining power structures historically constructed through colonial processes are not overtly challenged by the actions outlined in the ISPs. Though directly acknowledging the need for Indigenization within higher education ISPs is a substantial advancement towards the social reality envisaged by the TRC (2015), this analysis spotlights where further activism is needed, including by educational leaders, to advance substantial reformation of colonial institutional logics within Canadian higher education.

KEYWORDS

Indigenization; Canadian higher education; critical policy analysis; U15; strategic planning.

INTRODUCTION

Positionality

I approach this policy analysis from my positionality as a queer, cis-gendered, White woman of settler ancestry. As a first-generation college and university student, I approach this work cognizant of the systemic privileges I hold by virtue of many facets of my intersectional identity, particularly of my responsibility to advance Indigenization, truth, and reconciliation in all facets of my life. I am privileged to work with Indigenous students and scholars in multiple capacities, and my journey towards Indigenizing my personal and professional actions is owed largely to the Indigenous mentors, friends, and collaborators who walk alongside me.

Indigenizing Canadian Higher Education

Much of the current state of troubled relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians is attributable to educational institutions and what they have taught, or failed to teach, over many generations. Despite that history, or, perhaps more correctly, because of its potential, the Commission believes that education is also the key to reconciliation. —2015 Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

A common goal of social activists is to influence policy at multiple levels, including within individual organizations, to concretize a desired social outcome. "Indigenization" is one such example of a social construct being increasingly codified in policy, and is a topic of paramount importance in Canadian society as this settler colonial nation reckons with its history of Indigenous disempowerment and genocide, seeking to move forward in alignment with the calls for change levied by sustained activism of Indigenous and allied advocates. Indigenization has come to mean the process through which organizations, collectives, and individuals increasingly recognize, include, and reform practices and organizational structures to align with Indigenous epistemologies. Foregrounding Indigenous epistemologies in educational contexts has been long advocated for by Indigenous scholars including Battiste (1998), Kuokkanen (2011), and Pidgeon (2008, 2016), among countless others. Advancing Indigenization aligns with the national imperatives put forth through the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC; 2015), a commission funded by the federal government struck as part of the class-action settlement resulting from the systemic harms done by what is now the state of Canada upon colonial contact, and the international imperatives elucidated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP; UN General Assembly, 2007).

One-way Canadian institutions of higher education have chosen to mobilize Indigenization in response to the TRC is through the creation of institution-wide strategic plans, espousing institutional commitments to Indigenization while frequently providing a historical primer on Canada's history of residential school practices. In a sociopolitical context wherein postsecondary institutions are "struggling to ethically engage" with the Truth and Reconciliation's 94 Calls to Action (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 218; TRC, 2015), understanding the mobilization of Indigenization requires a critical examination of the institutional logics underpinning institutional policies that are responding directly to the national and international

social imperatives. "Institutional logics" can be understood as the beliefs, practices, and priorities of institutions which guide the resultant direction of the actors within the institution. As Canadian higher education is largely modeled after European institutions designed to educate the socially and racially privileged (Cox & Strange, 2016), Indigenous-centric strategic plans (ISPs) seek to explicate Indigenization in context of a particular institution, making varied commitments to achieve seek to challenge these institutional logics (to varying degrees) and shift towards equitably valuing Western and Indigenous epistemologies (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). The president of the University of Saskatchewan frames ISPs as "the right thing to do", calling for Indigenization to be an "animating force" in contemporary Canadian higher education (University of Saskatchewan, n.d.).

To explore how Canadian higher education institutions seek to mobilize Indigenization in alignment with national and international social policies, I posit that Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) is an apt research tool to provide researchers and practitioners alike with rich knowledge informing ongoing activism. CPA is a qualitative methodology widely used to examine written policies at multiple organizational levels and there is a robust corpora of literature offering methods to conduct CPA. Using the advancement of Indigenization in strategic plans developed by U15 Canadian higher education institutions, a collective of the largest, publicly funded research-intensive universities across the country, this critical case study seeks to highlight the potential for CPA as a research tool beneficial in activism while contributing to the ongoing discussions of mobilizing broad social change such as Indigenization in Canadian higher education. This paper is focused on policy problem representation and the existence of accountability and action frameworks within the ISPs to demonstrate two areas of potential intervention by further social activism, using uses two critical policy analysis frameworks from Bacchi (2012) and Whiteman et al. (2017) to explore Indigenization policies in Canadian higher education and illustrate the power of critical policy analysis as a research tool valuable to institutional leaders, activists, and policy makers.

Data Corpora

The U15 is comprised of fifteen of the largest research-intensive universities in Canada, including institutions from 7 provinces (U15, n.d.). Receiving public funding to support their operations, these organizations represent a complex intersection of public accountabilities while remaining responsive to students who individually assume costs to access higher education. Of these fifteen institutions, nine (9) have developed and published a self-identified "strategic plan" that sits apart from other institutional-level documents and centers on Indigenization. Other institutions within the U15 all have offices dedicated to Indigenous initiatives with publicly accessible websites, though they have not, at the time of writing, chosen to codify the strategic direction of these services or the institution at large through the creation of a strategic plan. Not represented in the U15 are institutions from any of the Canadian territories, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, or Newfoundland and Labrador.

Table 1.

U15 Institutions and Associated ISP

U15 Institution	Title of ISP	Year Published	Website Link
University of British Columbia	UBC Indigenous Strategic Plan	2020	https://indigenous.ubc.ca/indigenous-engagement/indigenous-strategic-plan/
University of Alberta	Braiding Past, Present, and Future: University of Alberta Indigenous Strategic Plan	2022	https://www.ualberta.ca/indigenous/strategic-plan/index.html
University of Calgary	Ii'taa'poh'to'p Together in a Good Way: A Journey of Transformation and Renewal	2019	https://www.ucalgary.ca/indigenous/about-ii-taapohtop/explore-strategy
Dalhousie University	Dalhousie University Indigenous Strategy	2018	https://www.dal.ca/about/mission-vision-values/mikmaq-indigenous-relations.html
University of Saskatchewan	ohpahotân | oohpaahotaan let's fly up together Indigenous Strategy for the University of Saskatchewan	2020	https://indigenous.usask.ca/ohpahotan-oohpaahotaan/index.php
McMaster University	Indigenous Strategic Directions	2021	https://miri.mcmaster.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/McMaster_IndigenousStrategicDirections.pdf
Queens University	Restorying Indigenous Leadership	2021	https://www.queensu.ca/indigenous/decolonizing-and-indigenizing/restorying-indigenous-leadership-strategic-plan
University of Ottawa	Indigenous Action Plan	2019	https://www.uottawa.ca/about-us/sites/g/files/bhrskd336/files/2021-09/uottawa_iap_english_revisedjune292020.pdf
University of Waterloo	Indigenous Strategic Plan 2023-2028	2023	https://uwaterloo.ca/indigenous/welcome/indigenous-strategic-plan-2023-2028

Note. The above table includes active web links to access the respective Indigenous-centric strategic plans at time of writing. U15 institutions who have not produced an ISP and thus not included above are University of Manitoba, McGill University, Universite Laval, University of Toronto, University of Montreal, and Western University.

Strategic plans have been a common institutional tool to guide the behaviors of policy actors within higher education institutions since the 1970s (Steiner, 1979). The broad,

multifaceted goals of these documents make them an ideal corpora for CPA as they contain institutionally-sanctioned rhetoric that aims to guide the actions of internal actors while positioning the institution within the broader institutional and social landscapes. I have delineated this study to U15 institutions who have produced a unique ISP, excluding those institutions which have included actions related to Indigenization in other policies or practices. This delineation is made to understand the phenomenon of choosing to mobilize Indigenization through this communicative genre, encapsulating rhetoric which sits at the highest echelon of each institution and therefore can be understood as seeking to guide the behavior of each actor affiliated with the respective institutions. All of the strategic plans are available publicly on each institution's respective website, with the links available at time of writing included in the table above.

METHODOLOGY

To understand how strategic plans seeks to address the policy problem of Indigenization within higher education, I employ a combination of Whiteman et al.'s (2017) CPA guidance focused on linguistic choice demonstrating the institutional logics at play in concert with select questions posited by Bacchi (2012) in her WPR ("what's the problem represented to be") tool. These two tools allow rich insight into *how* these institutions conceptualize Indigenization, aim to inform their institutional communities, and ascribe accountability to multiple stakeholders to advance the Calls to Action by the TRC (TRC, 2015). This conceptualization illuminates institutional logics within the institutions that are salient to activists seeking to support social change; in this case, to mobilize Indigenization within Canadian higher education. The potential implications of the strategic plans' framing of the policy problem as enabling and limiting particular outcomes can be understood against the level(s) of Indigenization (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018), employed in this study as the conceptual framework to understand differing forms of Indigenization made possible through the ISPs.

Whiteman et al. (2017, p. 176) suggest "an institutionally structured micropolitical orientation to critical policy analysis." Accepting that the U15 is comprised of dynamic organizations as described by Bacharach and Mundell (1993), continually reshaping themselves through processes and language of organizing, we can understand the process of Indigenization, in part, through the language of organizing through institutional strategic policy. This language of organizing includes critical examination of the policy problem - what is explicated and what is left unaddressed informs policy actors of how the institution positions the problem that the strategic plan was developed to make possible and what institutional structures are left unchallenged. Fischer and Gottweis (2012, p. 17) assert that institutions influence actors "by structuring or shaping the political and social interpretations of the problems they have to deal with and by limiting the choice of policy solutions that might be implemented", understanding the boundaries created by policy is essential to unpacking what kind of future that policy is able to mobilize from paper to reality. This CPA therefore includes close attention to the

accountabilities outlined by each institution to illuminate how Indigenization is envisioned and who is responsible for its realization, providing insight into the institutional logics within Canadian higher education and the mobilization of social actions ensconced within the plans.

LITERATURE

Indigenization, Colonialism, and Canadian Conscious-Raising

Whiteman et al. (2017, p. 77) posits institutions are "influenced by the environments in which they are embedded". We therefore must understand the context in which Canadian higher education institutions function to produce a meaningful policy analysis and subsequently activate changes therein. The U15 institutions contained in this case study are modeled after colonial institutions aligned with European traditions of higher education (Jones, 2012), which "reinforce white and Western dominance and privilege" (Heleta, 2016). This colonial legacy influences all facets of the institutions from how physical spaces are structured to admission procedures to the academic requirements allowing students to earn their credentials (Kerr & Parent, 2022). Pidgeon (2008) identifies respectful relationships between Aboriginal community members and university leadership as key to supporting Indigenous student success, and highlighting policy implementation as an area of improvement to support a decolonial future for higher education. Pidgeon (2016) also posits that while nods to Indigenous concepts, lands, and humans through multiple means have a role in empowering Indigenous adult learners and supporting non-Indigenous learners in gaining knowledge of Indigenous histories, cultures, and current realities, these actions do not challenge the underlying colonial logics governing institutional functioning.

Awareness of the need for Indigenized education systems has been on the rise on a global scale in past decades, with Alatas (2004) locating "Indigenization" as gaining traction by Western scholars in the 1970s. UNDRIP was launched in 2007 as a guiding document for uptake by national governments and organizations to guide individual policies and laws, laying out multiple principles of Indigenization through affirming unique rights of Indigenous peoples throughout the globe (UN General Assembly, 2007). UNDRIP concretized on a global scale the importance of Indigenous flourishing and autonomy, and provides a "framework for reconciliation, healing and peace" that informed the development of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC; Government of Canada, 2021). Canada declined to adopt UNDRIP until 2021, in response to one of the Calls to Action by the TRC of Canada. The TRC was initially struck in 2007 and worked until 2015 to create a historical record of the residential school system in Canada, documenting the systemic genocide committed by the Canadian government through an assimilative education system. The TRC was mandated to document these harms in service of advancing a reconciliatory future between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians and produced a treatise of over 500 pages that includes 94 Calls to Action primarily aimed at the Canadian government and multiple governmental and non-governmental actors, though applicable to all Canadians at institutional and individual levels.

Laying bare harms done by residential schools and seeking subsequent redress through acknowledgement of the truth and advancing reconciliation is essential to advancing a reconciliatory future (Government of Canada, 2022; TRC, 2015), including the Indigenization of multiple core entities like educational institutions. The TRC explicitly calls on educational institutions at multiple levels to respond to the needs of Indigenous learners and affirm the responsibility of non-Indigenous actors to decolonize their personal and professional behaviors, identifying universities as uniquely and powerfully positioned to enact such changes as sites of learning for global citizens and leaders (TRC 2015; University of Alberta, 2022). Most relevant to postsecondary education are Calls #7 (elimination of education and employment gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people) and Calls #9 and 11 which speak to equitable attainment of postsecondary education. In response to these sociocultural shifts, U15 institutions launched multiple ISPs to "ensure Indigenous identities, languages, cultures and worldviews are reflected in everything the university does" (University of Alberta, 2022). Multiple ISPs directly position themselves in relation to the TRC and UNDRIP, demonstrating the mobilization of international and national policy into the sphere of individual organizations.

Strategic Plans

Strategic planning has been robustly used by private businesses since the 1950s (Steiner, 1979) to indicate the business's mission, vision, and values. Beyond a communicative tool, strategic planning provides a vehicle for institutional leadership to critically reflect on the practices that will advance the organization in a desired direction. Setting aside time and energy to codify institutional goals can be a useful exercise to ensure leaders at multiple organizational levels understand how the organization will function optimally, with the idea that the strategic plan will direct the individual behaviors and practices within the organization. Cornut et al. (2012, p. 22) posit that strategic plans "can be viewed as a distinct genre of organizational communication", and understanding strategic plans as genre is a valuable frame to understand the mobilizing power contained within these documents for policy actors (those whose behavior is guided by a particular policy) who must abide by the values and vision espoused in the texts. Yates and Orlikowski (1992) refer to similar communicative events across multiple institutions as a "social template" - the rhetorical genre is shaped and can shape social interactions, with similar characteristics found across multiple instances of the genre in alignment with classic genre theory.

Bryson, Crosby, and Bryson (2009) posit that strategic plans can act as important boundary-defining entities, guiding actions by multiple people, groups, and resources. George (2021, p. 1), while asserting that "high-quality" strategic plans generate success in the plan's implementation, acknowledges that "little is known about the conditions under which strategic plans are successfully implemented." George's (2021, p. 2) method of strategic plan development focused on identifying who is necessary to include in the strategic visioning, the process of developing the strategic goals for the institution and mobilizing the plan. Specific to this case study, we can understand higher education strategic plans as a specialized form of

policy intended to guide the behavior of policy actors within an institution while broadly communicating the institutional priorities through the "strategic" framing of the policy problem central to each strategic plan (McClellen & Stringer, 2016; McLaughlin, 1987; Tapera, 2014).

Conceptual Framework - Indigenization of Higher Education

Indigenization as a concept has been used in multiple disciplinary inquiries for several decades (Alatas, 2004), though gained traction in popular discourses in Canada as a result of the TRC Calls to Action and UNDRIP (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). I employ the conceptual framework of three levels of Indigenization elucidated by Gaudry and Lorenz (2018) to analyze the U15 Indigenous-centric strategic plans, understanding their conceptualizations of Indigenization as indicative of underlying institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Whiteman et al., 2017). Their three-tier explanation is based on contemporary understandings of often contested terminology including "inclusion", "decolonization", "Indigenization", and "reconciliation" specific to postsecondary education. Though these terms can have subjective meanings depending on the context in which they are used, Gaudry and Lorenz take care to locate these terms in relation to higher education and I therefore rely on their definitions for this analysis.

These multiple visions of Indigenization in higher education constitute 'institutional logics' as defined by Thornton and Ocasio (2008); organizational structures interplaying with multiple social factors to shape individual and collective behaviors within an institution. Institutional logics are "embodied in practices, sustained and reproduced by cultural assumptions and political struggles" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 101). In increasing degrees of radicality, Gaudry and Lorenz (2018) explain Indigenization in higher education as belonging to one of three categories: Indigenization as inclusion, reconciliatory Indigenization, and decolonial Indigenization. Drawing on Indigenous scholars, community knowledge holders, and students from multiple institutional contexts, they posit that higher education institutions is largely stuck at the "inclusion" level of Indigenization, thereby preserving colonial logics embedded in institutional processes, norms, and purpose. Indigenous inclusion is the "low-hanging fruit", retaining colonial power structures and locating the onus for change with Indigenous peoples to bear the burden of challenging colonial logics and structures. A consequence of seeking Indigenization primarily through inclusion is the naturalization of colonial institutions and positioning Indigenous people, knowledges, and practices as "other". Participants in Gaudry and Lorenz's (2018) study saw inclusion as a step towards an Indigenized institution, but not sufficient to transform institutional logics. Reconciliation Indigenization advances beyond inclusion towards a restructured institution "including educating Canadian faculty, staff, and students to change how they think about, and act toward, Indigenous people." (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 222). Decolonial Indigenization "fundamentally reorients knowledge production to a system based on different power relations between Indigenous peoples and Canadians", including imagining a "dual university" structure (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 224). Dismantling the university and rebuilding with a different ontological positioning and purpose

is within the realm of decolonial Indigenization, which would represent a wholesale overhaul of the institutional logics forming contemporary postsecondary education.

Critical Policy Analysis as Activism

Institutional Logics

Whiteman et al.'s (2017) method of CPA includes examination of what is included and excluded within written texts to expose institutional logics. This is aligned with Ahmed's (2020) discussion on document creation as a labor-intensive exercise in and of itself; by putting energy into crafting a strategic plan to codify and mobilize Indigenization, the respective institutions are affirming the value they see in this mode of communication to internal and external stakeholders. Though ISPs frame Indigenization as a policy problem worthy of strategic intervention, emanating from sociopolitical realities made unignorably visible by UNDRIP (UN General Assembly, 2007) and the TRC (2015), institutional logics of colonial hierarchies plague the strategic plan and subsequently curtail potentialities to move from Indigenous inclusion to reconciliatory or decolonial Indigenization (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). Understanding institutional logics can thus begin by understanding these components that underpin the rationality for policy enactment by multiple actors. For most of the ISPs, the rights and obligations for action (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) are clearly constructed by the TRC Final Report and UNDRIP, often directly addressed at the outset of each plan. Using Gaudry and Lorenz's (2018) classifications, we can understand UNDRIP as seeking to advance a decolonial future predicated on the rights of Indigenous peoples by foundationally shifting the logics forming Indigenous peoples' engagement with the social world, and the TRC Final Report as advancing a reconciliatory future by equalizing systemic power between Indigenous and Western epistemological systems.

Policy Problem Representation

Bacchi (2012, p. 21) states that since "what one proposes to do about something reveals what one thinks is problematic", understanding how the policy frames a given problem is essential to understanding what alternate social futures are made possible by the policy, thereby bringing institutional logics to the fore. To understand what the U15 institutions identify as the policy problem related to Indigenization necessitating their response via ISPs, I employ two of Bacchi's (2012) questions within the WPR tool (questions one and five). Bacchi's (2012) other questions (two, three, four, and six) are largely attended to by the preceding literature review and subsequent discussion of Indigenization aligned with Gaudry and Lorenz's (2018) conceptual framework and thus not the focus on this CPA, though they provide an essential starting point for scholars and activists when engaging in this methodology.

Bacchi's (2012) first question asks what the problem is represented to be, requiring examination of what is directly included in the policy and, more critically, what is not directly explicated. By virtue of the existence of ISPs, U15 institutions who have chosen this genre for communication (Table 1) are stating that Indigenous identities, languages, cultures, and worldviews are not sufficiently reflected in the organization's fabric, and therefore a strategic plan focused on Indigenization is warranted to address this gap to mobilize the social

imperatives put forth by the TRC and UNDRIP. Further attending to Bacchi's (2012) first question, it is notable that all of the ISPs reference the respective institution becoming a "leader" in Indigenization to support the myriad of other self-proclaimed facets in which the institution leads. The University of Waterloo states the goal of their ISP is "To become a global leader in Indigenous relations, reconciliation, decolonization, indigenization and implementation of the recommendations of the TRC." (University of Waterloo, 2023). Similarly, UBC positions themself as "emerging international leaders in the advancement of Indigenous human rights" (UBC, 2020), akin to the University of Alberta's goal of "tak[ing] a lead role in placing Canada at the global forefront" (University of Alberta, 2022). The University of Calgary nods to their position as a U15 institution stating "a research university such as University of Calgary is well equipped to lead in processes of reconciliation." (University of Calgary, 2019). The ubiquitous statements claiming leadership on national and international stages overtly acknowledge the need for international social change towards Indigenization. What is unrepresented across the ISPs is the collective power of this band of institutions to mobilize these changes; claiming individual importance is aligned with neoliberal ideologies of social progress, meaning that the ISPs adhere to expected norms of colonial higher education without adopting Indigenous notions of relationality (Donald, 2009) that would move the problem representation towards a decolonial model (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018).

A common feature across the nine strategic plans studied here is the inclusion of Indigenous graphics, photographs, symbols, and visual elements. With the exception of Dalhousie (2018), each ISP contains numerous instances of Indigenous imagery, photos, and symbols to support the textual components. Advancing inclusion by normalizing such images within an institutional-level plan is a classic tactic of inclusive Indigenization (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). The TRC calls for increased awareness, writ large, of Indigenous brilliance threaded through all facets of society, and by foregrounding this imagery in eight of the nine strategic plans, institutions are answering this call to make increasingly visible the diverse contributions of Indigenous individuals and groups to higher education communities. Despite the unignorable value in improved visibility, Ahmed (2020, pp. 84–85) speaks to the danger of representation through documents as a means of institutions developing congratulatory mechanisms to appear in alignment with larger social realities without concretizing action to shift the institutional logics from status quo to a new social order.

Exploring Bacchi's (2012) question five (what effects are produced by this representation of the problem?), we can locate chasms in ISP's enactment strategies with tangible effects on multiple populations. Ascribing responsibility to "everyone" to advance reconciliation is aligned with the spirit of the TRC (2015), and while an overly prescriptive policy could produce adverse results in advancing complex social change such as Indigenization, omitting clear progression metrics for multiple levels of policy actors leaves a chasm in the potential for meaningful social change. By focusing actions predominantly at leadership levels, these institutions, through their ISPs, reify a trickle-down approach to Indigenization wherein everyone is theoretically

encouraged to engage, but the purported policy future of widespread social mobilization towards this goal is left to the discretionary interpretation and actions of the vast majority of institutional actors. Representing the problem such that senior leadership positions are primarily accountable for Indigenization recreates existing colonial hierarchies to the detriment of widespread engagement and equity. Reifying these hierarchies through Indigenous-centered strategic plans denotes the institutional logics of U15 institutions, unveiling the foundational structures upholding colonial rationales in direct contradiction with the aims of the TRC and decolonial or reconciliatory Indigenization (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). Moreover, Pidgeon (2016) and Kuokkanen (2011) discuss the importance of interweaving Indigenous knowledge into the "fabric" of an institution; retaining colonial institutional logics via inclusive and top-down ascribed actions in ISPs do not adequately address this imperative such that reconciliatory or decolonial futures are explicitly enabled by this genre.

Actions and Accountabilities

By adopting an accountability framework ascribing responsibility solely to senior leadership or loosely describing actions that the institution commits to as a personified entity, multiple ISPs fail to provide concretized guidance for the broader community to uptake the social imperatives. Gaudry & Lorenz (2018, p. 222) critique this approach, stating that "leaders of transformative change are rarely already in the senior leadership positions", recognizing that transformative change into the reconciliatory or decolonial forms of Indigenization is going to be "bottom-up, not top-down." The TRC posits that "All Canadians, as Treaty peoples, share responsibility for establishing and maintaining mutually respectful relationships." (TRC, 2015, p. 126). The ISPs thus miss a crucial opportunity to mobilize Indigenization for "all Canadians" affiliated with the university, omitting a decolonized, participatory framework which would allow shared responsibility of Indigenizing Canadian higher education through all levels of policy actors. Ascribing accountability to multiple leadership positions with the assumption that individuals who occupy them will, and are able to, uptake the policy implementation reaffirms the logics of institutional superiority over human-centered Indigenization (aligned with the majority of Indigenous ways of knowing and being) which would fundamentally challenge these hierarchies. This missed opportunity is a critical oversight, made visible through CPA, which can foreclose upon alternate Indigenized social realities as policy actors at multiple levels of the hierarchical institutions are seemingly without accountability to mobilize Indigenization, antithetical to the TRC's assertion that every Canadian has responsibility to advance Indigenization.

Implications for Educators and Educational Leaders

Through this critical case study, we can see how essential social changes such as Indigenization are codified into institutional-level policy. Understanding the overt and covert conceptualizations of the policy problem through CPA illuminates the potential for such policies to foster social change, making possible alternate social futures. As the U15 group of universities represents educational communities of tens of thousands of students, staff, instructors, and

educational leaders, understanding this facet of their institutional policy suite provides targeted insight into how a social change of national and international importance (TRC, 2015; UN General Assembly, 2007) is represented within policy and the proposed actions taken to move towards an alternate social future. For educational leaders across Canadian higher education, as well as within other educational contexts, it is valuable to be able to critically create and examine such policies to ensure the desired social ends are made achievable.

Educational leaders are frequently responsible for aligning the conduct of their team with organizational priorities made visible through institutional-level policies. Understanding the origin of the policies through CPA and the resulting form the policies take is essential to successfully meet these leadership objectives. Engaging in CPA during a policy review, analysis, or considering these frameworks when developing new policy also supports thoughtful engagement with these materials, as understanding the subtexts and institutional logics reified within policies may help guide practical decisions by leaders themselves, and as they advise their teams. In this case, we can see that the use of strategic plans to mobilize change advancing Indigenization ascribes responsibility predominantly to educational leaders or ephemerally to the institution itself without an associated implementation plan, and thus assumes a trickle-down model of policy enactment.

Educational researchers who engage in action-oriented research can benefit from adding CPA to their repertoire to support thorough engagement in communicative genres with influential power on social realities. The methods identified by CPA to support the creation of research which can productively inform activism, including to further advance Indigenization within multiple Canadian organizations. CPA tools such as Bacchi's (2015) WPR framework and Whiteman et al.'s (2017) institutional logic interrogation are relatively accessible methods to provide activists with robust information on the policy landscape governing the current reality they seek to alter. In this critical case we can see the effect of supranational movement towards Indigenous right recognition (UN General Assembly, 2007), coordinated, grassroots activism over a sustained time period culminating in a national imperative to redress social harm (TRC, 2015) coalesce in an institutional policy response (i.e. ISPs). By understanding the visible and invisible components and institutional logics of high-level policies, we can better shape activism and critical policy engagement to support the realization of desirable social futures.

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