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Welcome from the Co-Presidents

On behalf of all of us on the CASAE Executive, we'd like to welcome you to the Université de Montréal for the 34th Annual CASAE/ACÉÉA Conference!

This year's conference presents an exciting and unique opportunity for CASAE delegates. We are very fortunate this year to begin our program with a keynote address provided by Michele Stanton Jean, who has had an illustrious career in adult education through her involvement with UNESCO, federal and provincial governments, as well as with numerous other national and international government and non-profit organizations. We also have a closing plenary panel whose members will share their responses to a question posed by Ms Jean. In between these two sessions, you can expect a smorgasbord of intellectually tantalizing symposia, paper presentations, roundtables, and poster presentations. Overall, we really look forward to three days of lively discussions about work that really matters!

Equally exciting is that this year we have worked with the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) in coordinating our conference. A number of you will be staying on for the World Assembly immediately following the end of the CASAE conference. CASAE came on board as an official sponsor for the ICAE World Assembly, and a number of our members are looking forward to participating in two CASAE sessions at this international meeting of adult education researchers, policy makers and practitioners. We are also happy to welcome several international delegates to our own conference, and look forward to hearing their contributions alongside those of our long-time and newer members based in Canada.

We have a great representation of graduate students at this year's conference, some of whom submitted papers for consideration for the Alan Thomas Best Graduate Student Paper Award. The quality of work is evident in the tough job the adjudication committee has had in coming up with only one winner! We are committed to the ongoing engagement of graduate students in the conference and the life of the Association more broadly. This year's conference includes a graduate student session held on June 10 coordinated entirely by and for graduate students. We also look forward to the announcement of the recipient of the Association's second Lifetime Achievement Award!

Any conference relies on active participation, and we thank everybody who has contributed – and will contribute – to the success of this year's event. Taking a conference from idea to reality is no small feat and we know that a number of people have given a great deal of time and energy in the past months. Extra-special thanks go to the following people: Arpi Hamalian and Audrey Dahl, who provided local support in everything from connecting with Ms Jean to finding our banquet venue to stepping in to help with local logistics; Robert McGray, who did an amazing job in coordinating the call for proposals, receiving and managing review of submissions, and editing the conference proceedings; Melissa White for chairing the Alan Thomas Best Graduate Student Paper Committee with fellow members Paula Cameron and Nancy Taber; Ashley Pullman and Scott MacPhail, coordinators of the Graduate Student Session; and Shauna Butterwick, Bill Fallis, and Shibao Guo for serving on the Lifetime Achievement Award committee. To the students who volunteered their time to help on-site at the conference – thank you for stepping up and being part of this!

We would also like to extend our thanks to the individuals who have served with us on the CASAE Executive over the past year – Melissa White, Maren Elfert, Amanda Benjamin, Arpi Hamalian, Cindy Cowan, Sheila Gruner, Dorothy Lowrie, David Monk, and Scott MacPhail. To those who will remain on board and to others who will let their names stand for election for the coming year, this conference and CASAE's other activities would not happen without you! We also acknowledge Donovan Plumb, Editor-in-Chief of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, our flagship publication; Patti Gouthro, Chair of the Constitutional Committee; and Shauna Butterwick, who has worked on the redevelopment of the CASAE website. Finally, we thank Tim Howard for his steady guidance and support from our Secretariat office.

We look forward to meeting you all, and wish you an enjoyable conference!

Kaela Jubas & Jude Walker

Co-presidents, CASAE- ACÉÉA

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Message From the Editor

Welcome to the 2015 CASAE/ACÉÉA national conference in Montreal.

It is exciting to gather again for this year's national conference, especially in such a vibrant city. One does not have to go far to find the historical and contemporary traces of adult education in the Montreal. The city is renowned for its past; it is also a city teeming with activism and progressive cultural activities. Hopefully you will have a chance to tour the plateau on a bike rental, walk to the summit of *Mont Royal*, or have a coffee downtown.

In the following proceedings, readers will find research written for four different categories: Symposia, Papers, Roundtables, and Poster Sessions. Each section offers a different opportunity for conference presenters and attendees. The symposia are longer sessions that have a collaborative focus, the papers detail the specific research projects of the presenters, the roundtable sessions allow for presenters to discuss and dialogue about their research, and the poster sessions offer an interactive opportunity to discuss ideas with colleagues. All of the sections reflect our diverse field and the cutting edge research presented by our peers.

I would like to thank those peer reviewers who helped to adjudicate the submissions for this year's conference: Scott MacPhail, Maren Elfert, Susie Brigham, Shibao Guo, Bruce Spencer, Donovan Plumb, and Hongxia Shan. The work that the reviewers do is a crucial part of being able to organize the conference. Also, many thanks should be extended to Kaela Jubas, Jude Walker, Arpi Hamalian, Audrey Dahl, and all who helped with the conference planning. Likewise, the proceedings could not have come together without Whitney Moran's skills with layout, Roger Gillis' technical assistance, and Donovan Plumb's work with the submission process.

Enjoy the conference.

Robert McGray

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About CASAE/ACÉÉA

The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education/Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes (CASAE/ACÉÉA) was established in 1981. It is a vibrant and energetic organization that provides a supportive network for graduate students, faculty members, researchers, and practitioners who are engaged in adult education. Membership to our association is open to all individuals and institutions – both formal and informal – who are interested in the field of adult education.

Our major gathering is the yearly three-day spring conference. The proceedings of past conferences can be found on CASAE/ACÉÉA website, www.casae-aceea.ca.

CASAE/ACÉÉA also publishes an academic journal, The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/La revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes (CJSAE/ RCÉÉA). CJSAE/RCÉÉA publishes original reports of research, critical reviews of the literature of adult education, biographical and autobiographical reflections on the field and practice of adult education, and book reviews. More information, particularly submission guidelines, can be found on our journal website.

CASAE/ACÉÉA maintains active links with comparable organisations around the world, including the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC), the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) and the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA).

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Challenging Constructions of an Enemy: Building Cultures of Peace With Canadian Young Adults

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St. Francis Xavier University

ABSTRACT

Violence has been a constant reality in most societies throughout history and continues to be normalizedas an innate part of the human experience. Today, millions of people each year are impacted by violence, from individual to societal levels including physical, psychological, and social impacts. Within this sphere of violence, young people "bear the burden" (WHO, 2014, p.9). This paper is based on a critical, collaborative, and participatory research study, exploring with 10 Canadian young adults (aged 19-26), how normalizations of violence are constructed, and how spaces and pedagogies can be created for building cultures of peace. Our findings expose a societal ontology of violence and highlight the risks associated with neglecting to include young adults in peace work, within adult education. Our findings also show how critical adult education can expose hidden and invisible power operating to maintain violence, thus, revealing opportunities for peacebuilding education within adult education.

Introduction

Violence has been a constant reality in most societies throughout history and continues to be normalized as an innate part of the human experience. Millions of people each year are impacted by violence, from individual to societal levels, including by suicide, sexual assault, bullying, exploitation, and international armed conflict. Over 1.3 million people die from violence annually, and within this context, young people "bear the burden" (WHO, 2014, p.9). In fact violence is one of the leading causes of death for people aged 15-44 (WHO, 2002). At the same time, the broader impacts of the non-fatal consequences of violence, including social, emotional, and economic impacts, are pervasive and becoming increasing complex (WHO, 2014). Understanding how violence is learned and constructed, can help in the development of peace theories and peaceful practices.

According to the Seville Statement on Violence (1986), which was created during a UNESCO meeting of scientists from the international community, humans do not have a natural propensity for violence. Yet, while the impact of violence continues to be widespread and intensified by globalization (Walby, 2009), the spaces to disrupt patterns of violence are shrinking. The WHO (2014) argue, the implementation of social and educational policy designed to transform violence are inadequate, highlighting a gap in both research and practice in the area of peace work and violence prevention. Community-based peace organizations are struggling to maintain funding (for example, Peaceful Schools); formal school systems are increasing curricular outcomes in the areas of numeracy and literacy, while excluding explicit focuses on peace studies; and many Western governments have ceased or significantly reduced support for conflict prevention and peace focused work (for example, the closure of the Pearson Centre). Despite a long standing national narrative as peacemakers, peace work in Canada is diminishing. The potential within sites of adult learning (including sites of youth/young adult learning) to develop peace epistemologies, and to increase peaceful pedagogies and skills to disrupt normalizations of violence, are unrealized and in need of further reflection and action. Adult educators have a significant role to play in re-engaging people and communities to build cultures of peace.

Critical, Collaborative Methodology

This paper is based on a research study conducted within a critical, collaborative methodology, and inspired by Participatory Action Research (PAR). The study focused on violence prevention and peace building with ten Canadian young adults (aged 19-26) already engaged in peace work. The young adult participants were active volunteers with the Even Wars Have Limits working group of the Canadian Red Cross. The Even Wars Have Limits working group existed in Halifax, Nova Scotia from 2004-2014, and

focused on the promotion of:

> humanitarian issues and action through public outreach and engagement on such topics as international humanitarian law, the effects of war on children, land mines, and explosive remnants of war. The EWHL group meets weekly and helps to organize speaker series, facilitate workshops, media events, exhibits and film screenings (Canadian Red Cross, 2013).

Together, we explored how the participants learned to construct notions of an enemy (or the dehumanized other), their contextual understandings of power, and how learning spaces and pedagogies can be created to reflect on and challenge or transform these constructions. The study utilized a collaborative and participatory methodology to centre the perspectives and voices of the young adult participants. Specifically, this qualitative research was situated in a critical paradigm. Central to a critical qualitative approach is a critique of power relations and knowledge constructions (Merriam, 2009). Within this paradigm, critical methodologies "seek to draw attention to the relations of power that shape social reality" (Morrow, 1994, p.59). Recognizing that violence is shaped by the societies and relations of power within them (Francis, 2002), a critical approach enabled a deep analysis of the power mechanisms involved in the construction of enmity, and how violence is normalized in the lives of the youth participants.

Research Methods

The selected research methods incorporated critical reflection and dialogue, participation, shared learning, and social action, in congruence with the collaborative and participatory methodological framework. The data collection methods included: participant-generated photos, reflective journals, individual interviews, and participation in two focus groups. In addition to the young adult participants, six experienced professionals, representing various disciplines in peace work (for example, peacekeeping, peace education, and violence prevention), were interviewed to provide additional perspectives for the youth participants consideration. The key learnings from the professional informants were shared with the young adult participants during the focus groups. The research took place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, however the professional informants were located across the country.

Constructions of Enmity

Violence interpenetrates our lives in multiple ways, in multiple spaces, and is deeply embedded within symbols (for example, street names and statutes), language, and behaviour. Popular culture, family and friends, cultural contexts, and formal schooling all contribute to how we come to understand violence and how we dehumanize *others* (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1999; Shultz, 2012). These constructions are culturally, temporarily, and spatially informed. Through our explicit and critical analysis of constructions of enmity, the young adult participants revealed many hidden and invisible

spaces where violence is maintained and nurtured, particularly in youth cultures. Our findings expose a societal ontology of violence and also show that critical adult education can expose how power operates to maintain violence, thus, highlighting the significant role for adult educators to play in creating opportunities for building peace.

The participants were invited to use cameras to capture images[1] of enmity in their everyday activities and to use journals to critically reflect on how power influences these constructions. Following the participatory photography and journaling exercises, the young adult participants, participated in an individual interview, followed by two focus groups to engage in critical, and collective dialogue about their representations of enmity and their knowledge constructions. Despite diverse representations of enmity, all participants discussed an awakening experience and an enhanced *critical consciousness* in relation to normalizations of violence (Freire, 1970). Lily[2] shared she "*was surprised by how much there is* [enemy constructions] *that I hadn't realized*" and further added "*studying about conflict* [in International Development courses] *made me more aware of it in general, but even just looking for it here, I found things that I didn't realize that were present*". The use of photography allowed the participants to deeply reflect on violence and enmity. Furthermore, the youth participants regularly discussed the importance of our shared learning experience, which allowed for in-depth explorations and dialogue around diverse perspectives, experiences, and assumptions. In this regard, Amya shared "*I like hearing other people's opinions.*" The collective analysis of the youth's perspectives on enmity and power, revealed five overarching themes and these themes are briefly discussed below.

1) Identity(ies) as Different - Deficient

Majority of the young adult participants shared selfies[3] to discuss the importance of examining one's own identity before constructing the identity of another. Audrey shared "*everyone has a lens to view the world. And how powerful that is. And we make decisions without ever reflecting back on where this decision came from.*" Audrey further explained how our failure to critically reflect on our identity(ies) enables a simplistic representation of self and other as opposed to appreciating the complexity of identity and lived experience. To illustrate the youths' representation of identity(ies), multiple photos were shared of mirror images of themselves, including foggy mirrors to emphasize the complexity (see Figure 1).

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1   The participants were not pleased with the quality of their photos for sharing so we enlisted an artist to

draw photos based on the participants descriptions.
2   Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the participants.
3   A 'selfie' is a photo of oneself, often taken by oneself.

Figure 1: Image representing multiple 'selfies' and the complexity of identities.

The participants also discussed how we are conditioned to view difference as deficient as opposed to embracing difference as an opportunity. Difference as deficient or dangerous is a normalized knowledge construction, which begins at an early age and contributes to the construction of an enmity, or the dehumanized other.

Disengaged Citizenship

Disengaged citizenship was another theme captured by the participants to explain how enmity is learned and constructed. Lily argued *"because society is now very individualistic and its all about being an independent person"* that our focus has shifted from communal living to self-centred pursuits. For Lily and many of the participants, this focus on the self, on the individual, contributes to a dissociative process where enmity can be more easily construed. Similarly, Ziko argued that our inability to *"connect with people"* is enhanced by our individual lifestyles, particularly in the West. Isla shared an image of a garbage can spilled in the street to capture disconnection (see Figure 2). Isla described watching person after person walk by the spilled can and no one stopped to pick it up. She described this as an example of *"no one willing to take responsibility"* and how the lack of feeling connected to other people, even in the context of this simple illustration, contributes to our ability to dehumanize.

Figure 2: *"No one willing to take responsibility"* - Isla
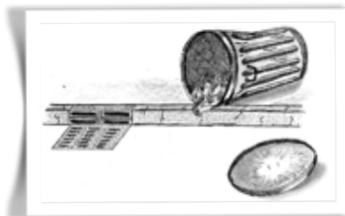
Systems of Exclusion

Related to disengaged citizenship, the participants argued systems of exclusion play a large part in the creation of the deficient other or the enemy. Several participants explored patriarchy as an example of systems of exclusion. For instance, Isla shared a photo of a sign: *"CAUTION!! Men Working in Lobby"* to highlight how pervasive embedded systems of exclusions are in society (in this example, women

are excluded from consideration). Isla further discussed how violence, particularly subliminal violence that occurs in signs and symbols in our everyday, go unquestioned. Isla stated, *"we've gotten so used to seeing these signs that we don't even question it or say anything about it but it made me angry."* Other participants discussed racism, homophobia and ageism as forms of exclusion that support constructions of the negative other, or the enemy.

Normalization of Violence

The participants described the photography activity as an explicit process enabling them to see violence, often violence they had not seen before. The youth described how violence is so embedded in society that we fail to question or in some cases even see where and how it interpenetrates in our lives. The participants shared multiple representations of normalizations of violence from pictures of video games, to social media, to pictures of competing businesses. In one example, Lily shared a photo of her male roommates playing video games and described how their *"fascination with war and means of war"* is problematic, leading to normalized violent constructions of other, in this case, of women as the game involved repeated violence toward women. Lily stated *"this pissed me off so much…this wasn't even part of the plot of the video game … and when I say "its not funny" they get all defensive and say "I don't know why you are so sensitive it was all a joke"… I don't find it funny, but its ingrained in their head… its a joke to them."* Lily and the other participants described how we often fail to see violence because it is so common place in society.

Competition and Rivalry

The final theme generated from the young adult participants was a focus on competition and rivalry. Several participants described competition as being at the root of enmity constructions. Ziko shared a photo of coins and described how constructions of enmity are often fuelled by conflict over resources. He claimed *"people will attack each other or dehumanize each other for certain economic benefits."* Rachel similarly shared, *"money is such a dominating force. Sometimes it can be a societal enemy."* Other participants discussed how corporate competition and sports embody violent ontologies, norms that are so ingrained in society that we fail to question them.

Discussions and Insights

The young adult participants highlighted the complexity of enmity constructions through the use of photography, critical reflection, and collaborative dialogue. Our explicit exploration of violence, specifically enmity constructions, revealed hidden and invisible power mechanisms which maintain violence in the everyday lives of the young adult participants. Recognizing dehumanization processes are

learned (Shultz, 2012), peacebuilding requires an analysis of how violence is constructed in order to develop peace theories, epistemologies, and pedagogies which transform violence toward the pursuit of peace.

Critical Adult Education & Peacebuilding Education

According to UNESCO (1995), "education is at the heart of any strategy for peace-building". Questioning the ontology of violence and exposing the visible and hidden powers operating to maintain negative constructions of other, or the enemy, are essential in order to transform the mechanisms maintaining violence. This critical examination of violence falls within the realm of critical adult education. Adult educators have historically aspired to social justice and cooperative principles for the purpose of increasing equitable living (English & Mayo, 2012; Jackson, 2011; Merriam, 2010; Nesbit, 2013). In relation to peace, conflict, and violence, adult educators can play a key role in building and re-building cultures of peace where equity, power, voice and social action are centred.

Freire (1970) argued the purpose of critical education is to instil hope, to empower liberation, and to increase social justice through enhanced *critical consciousness*. Critical adult education offers a framework to locate and name cultural violence, or the systems in place which validate violence such as language and religion, for the purpose of social change. Critical adult education also offers a framework for young adults to question and critique violence within youth cultures. Understanding constructions of enmity from the perspective of young adults, can enhance our collective effort to transform deeply embedded violence. Specifically, collaborative and critical learning around the notion of enmity, or the dehumanized other, can enhance our understanding of everyday interpersonal conflicts such as bullying so that peaceful processes can be learned and co-created toward non-violent responses to conflict.

Today, popular culture routinely portrays violence, including grave violations of human rights and humanitarian law, as an acceptable response to conflict. Critical reflection and collaborative dialogue critiquing these unquestioned representations of violence are largely missing within public discourse, particularly among young adults. Thus, adult educators, including young adult educators, can play an essential role in enhancing *critical consciousness* around the ontology of violence. Adult educators need to re-connect with the historical principles of social justice and critical education, and develop strategies and pedagogies with communities to transform violence and empower a culture of peace. Furthermore, with the reduced spaces for peace work and the shrinking budget for the development of peaceful practices, adult educators have an enhanced role in creating space and pedagogies for peace.

Young Adults & Peacebuilding Education

Young adults have skills and abilities that are both common and distinct from older adults. While young adults are a heterogeneous population, with diverse experiences and lived realities, Nabavi and Lund (2010) argue youth generally have an enhanced consciousness of global issues as compared to older adults and they are "better able to mobilize peers, communicate effectively using innovative technological tools, and locate and evaluate information on issues more quickly from a wide variety of sources" (p.7). These skills and abilities are evident from the contributions of young adults in the Occupy, Maple Spring, and Arab Spring Movements of recent years. Warner, Langlois, and Dumond (2010) claim "our communities will only reach their potential as vibrant and healthy places when youth are welcomed as full participating members" (p.95). This is particularly true in building cultures of peace.

The young adult participants spent eight months exploring how power influences enmity constructions and how spaces and peace pedagogies can be create towards building cultures of peace. Their insights into the normalizations of violence provides an invaluable glimpse into the power mechanisms supporting violence. The lack of literature focusing on young adults engaged in peace work outside of formal education structures, is problematic in the pursuit of cultures of peace. Peacebuilding education that neglects the voices, perspectives and participation of young adults fails to consider the everyday experiences of young adults and the powers operating within youth cultures. Young adults have valuable insights, strategies, and abilities for building cultures of peace.

Conclusion: Recommendations & Future Research

The normalization of violence is deeply rooted in our everyday lives, both consciously and unconsciously. Within the context of contemporary violence, the politics of fear and the construction of enmity is thriving in Canada. Whether the focus is on new *threats* such as Muslim women who wear a niqab, or persistent threats of continuously marginalized populations such as Aboriginal people, the construction of enmity flourishes. Dehumanizing processes are learned (Shultz, 2012). Thus, exploring how we are able to create difference as *deficient* or *dangerous* is an essential place to begin processes for peace. Furthermore, collaborative learning, framed within critical adult education, can create spaces for dialogue and social action toward building cultures of peace.

Peace work within adult education lacks a theoretical framework exploring peace ontologies and epistemologies. Developing a stronger theoretical foundation for peacebuilding education is essential to further understand the complexities of violence, peace and conflict, and to transform normalizations of violence. Secondly, youth are missing in adult education literature generally, and specifically within adult education literature focused on peace work. Failing to engage young adults in peace work results in adult education

theory and practice developing without the perspectives of a large, heterogeneous, and growing population. The lack of participation of young adults results in policy and programming that fails to realize the power operating within youth cultures supporting the normalization of violence. More research is need with young adults in the area of peace and conflict within adult education. Finally, appreciating the influence of popular culture today, particularly among young adults, merging critical adult education and culture studies to explore new possibilities for peace pedagogies is necessary to expose violence in all its forms.

The WHO (2014) argues "violence is preventable" (p.viii) and offer seven general strategies for preventing and reducing violence, of which one strategy is shifting cultural norms of violence. Critical adult education focused on explicit power analyses, troubling the ontology of violence (including the constructions of enmity), and increasing the participation of young adults, offers an approach to break open the ontology of violence and to re-build towards cultures of peace, where equity and respectful relations are quintessential.

> The present culture of violence based on distrust, suspicion, intolerance and hatred, on the inability to interact constructively with all those who are different, must be replaced by a new culture based on non-violence, tolerance, mutual understanding and solidarity, on the ability to solve peacefully disputes and conflicts (Symonides & Singh, 1996, p.10).

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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The Training of Youth Outreach Workers as a Racialized Spatial Praxis: A Critique of the Youth Outreach Worker program

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ABSTRACT

A major focus of the 'at-risk youth' discourse has been youth engaging in and experiencing violence, perceived deviance by youth, and a general lack of social integration of young people in traditional institutions (France, 2008; Kelly 2003). Governments in the global north as well as civil society in these countries – particularly the not-for-profit sector – have used the construction of 'at-risk' to conceptualize, design and implement social programs for racialized and other marginalized youth (Turnbull, 2011; Hoffman, 2011). This paper will examine the racial and spatial ordering of youth through policy and programmatic interventions by critiquing the Ontario Youth Outreach Worker Program's (YOWP) intervention model. In particular, we will examine the state's construction of racialized youth in poor communities as dangerous to society while employing the academy and civil society as a means to discursively expunge race through policy and programmatic interventions (Razack, 2002; Mohanram, 1999; Anderson, 1991).

Important and interrelated themes of the 'at-risk youth' discourse include youth engaging in and experiencing violence, perceived deviance by youth, and a general lack of social integration of young people in traditional institutions (France, 2008). This discourse has been mobilized by the media, civil society, the state, and scholars to construct a familiar narrative of youth as 'delinquents' while expanding the category of delinquency to include potentiality, where any or all behaviours can be marked as risky (Kelly, 2001). The at-risk discourse has been used to label a broad range of youth spanning race, class, and other social categories engaging in a variety of behaviours. While not intrinsically a racialized category, at-riskness has been taken up and reconstituted as a racialized category through state intervention.

This paper investigates the organization of the Youth Outreach Worker (YOW) Program in the province of Ontario. When the program was launched in 2006, it served

marginalized youth in priority neighbourhoods in the City of Toronto. The program was expanded in 2013 to serve marginalized youth across the province of Ontario. The deployment of this new outreach model begs an important question: if the province proposes to use an addictions treatment model to address issues related to poverty, access, and social inequity, then what, exactly, are youth addicted to? The model was not delivered without contestation from many of the other new YOWs, who objected to the basic premise of the model as an intervention in social inequity.

In this paper we argue that the YOW program embodies and enacts a racialized logic to organize the delivery of outreach services to youth in Toronto. This logic, we argue, is implicit in the theoretical and methodological approach of the program, but is obscured by its use of spatial and developmental logics vis-à-vis Toronto's Priority Neighbourhoods and Stages of Change theory. As we will elaborate, Priority Neighborhoods are both a discursive construct and a policy instrument used to identify poor, racialized, and 'at-risk' neighborhoods within the city of Toronto. This language has recently been updated to 'Neighborhood Improvement Areas.' By examining the ways in which both Stages of Change and Priority Neighborhoods utilize particular approaches to further racialize youth, this paper will examine the ways at-risk discourses have been mobilized against working-class racialized youth and how the term itself has become a way to 'talk' about race without giving heed to the political implications embedded in racism. Specifically, we will examine the ways the state, civil society and the academy work together to design and implement programming for racialized youth using at-risk discourses to re-inscribe racialized social relations.

We have organized this critique in three parts. First, we will place the emergence of this program within a historical context. By contextualizing the discursive practices of YOW program within the historical contradictions that produced

this intervention we hope to link the model to its rhetorical obfuscation of race. Second, we will analyze the spatialization of race in the City of Toronto via the creation of 'priority neighbourhoods'. This is an important precursor to understanding the ways in which the Stages of Change act as a method of reifying hierarchies as the program initially to identify the youth it serves. Last, we will analyze the Stages of Change model with a view to illustrating how its use of the at-risk discourse and individualizing pathologies produce a racialized discourse.

Development of the YOW Program

Our goals in this section are to elaborate the chronological development of the YOW program and to situate its developments within the "get tough on crime" policies and the Crime Prevention through Social Development (CPSD) model. In order to understand the racial and spatial logic of the program, one must understand the historical conditions under which it emerged. In 2006, the YOW program was launched as part of the Ontario Youth Opportunities Strategy, a sub-program of the Ontario Poverty Reduction Strategy, through a partnership with East Metro Youth Services (Knoll, 2012). When the YOW program was launched, explicit discussions on race were conspicuously absent. In the 2008 *Youth Outreach Worker Program: Preliminary Evaluation* youth are presented as a homogenous category with their place of residence as the only distinguishing characteristic. Throughout this report the researchers discuss "the youth" within the targeted communities without reference to race or any other social markers (Pepler, 2008). We argue that this absence was not a mere omission, but was in fact the result of an ideological construction with roots in Canada's colonial history and current neoliberal agendas. The YOW program's initial model used a "place-based intervention" in the form of priority neighbourhoods to identify at-risk youth; a strategy which places social precarity within a geographical rather then a strictly racial logic (Pepler, 2008 pg. 8). The task then becomes one of historical excavation, looking beyond the discursive production of YOW program to the political and social conditions from which it emerged and the ideologies embedded in its intervention.

The YOW program was launched as part of an attempt to address what the literature refers to as the 'crisis of youth,' and in particular as a response to the highly publicized spike in gun violence involving young people in Toronto in 2005 dubbed 'the summer of the gun' (Ferguson, 2012). According to a 2008 program evaluation commissioned by the Ministry of Children and Youth Services (MCYS),

> The Youth Outreach Worker (YOW) programme is one of several place-based interventions in the MCYS's tri-level campaign to prevent and intervene in the process of anti-social and/or violent behaviour among youth and to promote the development of skills and civic participation, including that of community/peer leadership. (Pepler, et al, 2008 p.8)

In many ways this program, and the discourse out of which it emerges, are attempts to account for and address the marked shift in the lived experience and social perceptions of young people in the last twenty to thirty years (Giroux, 2009). YOW program was introduced amid a growing body of evidence suggesting socio-economic causes for youth violence and, thusly, an interventionist response to escalating youth violence in Ontario (Community Safety Secretariat, 2004). Such a socio-historical approach to youth violence is later emphasized in the province's own report, *The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence*, demonstrating that the state does in fact possess the capacities to recognize the importance of social context in evaluating youth violence (McMurtry & Curling, 2008), and further to explicitly name the racialization of youth within the Canadian context. However, this attention to systemic marginalization is absent from documentation concerning the YOW program.

The YOW program can be understood as an approach to deter violence amongst youth under the banner of Crime Prevention through Social Development (CPSD). "Get tough on crime" and CPSD are the two prongs of the Canadian federal strategy concerning youth violence (Dunbar, et al, 2011). The 'get tough' approach works through the criminal justice system to identify contain persistent offenders, and criminalize 'deviant' behaviours. This approach is closely associated with models of community policing and intelligence-led policing, such as the notorious 'stop-and-frisk' policy known as 'carding' in Toronto. Alternatively, the CPSD model stresses prevention by linking poverty and inaccessibility of social services to violence and crime (Community Safety Secretariat, 2004; Dunbar et al., 2011). CPSD became an official strategy in the City of Toronto in 2004, one year prior to the 2005 spike in youth violence that would contribute to the prominence of the issue in Toronto's public consciousness (Poisson, 2012). As France (2008) claims, subsequent media attention and public response prompted the Ontario government to intervene. From intergovernmental talks between the municipality and the province, the YOW program emerged as an application of CPSD strategy.

Racial Practices in Canada & the Emergence of 'Priority Neighbourhoods'

The YOW program, however, was developed in a social and historical context characterized by settler colonialism and the so-called 'vertical mosaic' of Canadian society (Kallen, 2010). According to Razack (2002), Canada's national mythology is premised on Europeans arriving at an 'empty' territory, where 'enterprising settlers' and their descendants subsequently developed the modern, civilized Canadian state (p. 2). Later this mythology develops to include new 'waves' of immigration. "The land," Razack continues, "once empty and later populated by hardy settlers, is now besieged and crowded by third-world refugees and immigrants" (p. 4). In imagining itself as a 'multicultural' nation, Canada has been unable to disentangle itself from its origins and realities as a settler colonial nation, nor from ongoing imperialist and capitalist pursuits that influence both the racialized

organization of global labour supplies and the displacement and dispossession of particular refugee populations. Canada's 'multiculturalism' is itself an outcome of these geopolitical processes. The construction of Canada as a country of immigration, as opposed to emigration, results in a nationalism premised on the disposability and invisibility of indigenous people, the 'naturalness' of European migration and settlement, the 'imposition' of migration from the Global South, and the racialization of subsequent waves of settler immigrants within the 'vertical mosaic' of Canadian society (Thobani, 2007). Razack (2002) goes on to argue that the Canadian state perceives these 'crowds' as a threat to the order of the nation, requiring a high level of policing of (social) borders and coloured bodies. We argue this ideology is so profoundly normalized that the YOW program concretizes this reality without having to specify its intervention as designed for racialized people, and instead uses racialized neighbourhoods as a proxy for racial markers.

In 2004, the City of Toronto, in collaboration with the United Way, developed the priority neighbourhood list as part of the Strong Neighbourhoods Task Force initiative (United Way, 2004). This CPSD initiative aimed to reduce violence in underserved poor neighbourhoods by directing limited city resources and funding to these communities. The City of Toronto-United Way collaborations explicitly acknowledged a lag between public investment and demographic change in Toronto (Chapman, et al, 2012). The research produced by the Task Force uses a spatial analysis to identify the proximity to social services and the need for those services by neighbourhoods (Neighbourhood Social Infrastructure in Toronto, 2005). Along with proximity to social services poverty, particularly the concentration of poverty, is identified as increasing the need for services from the state.

Situated within the escalating 'crisis of youth' and 'summer of the gun' discourses of 2004-2005, the list appears to respond to increasing violence, particularly among youth, in Toronto's inner suburbs. The most visible manifestation of this violence is presented as gun crime in public areas. Shootings in schools, malls, and crowded city streets resulting in a barrage of media coverage prompted the convergence of the agendas of civil society and the municipality, helping to secure CPSD as a primary intervention technique and 'priority neighbourhoods' as the organizing logic of CPSD in Toronto. In 2014, the City of Toronto expanded the program to 31 neighbourhoods and renamed 'priority neighbourhoods' as 'Neighbourhood Improvement Areas' (City of Toronto, 2015).

As argued above, the context in which the YOW program was developed helped to form its content. Fear of 'out of control' youth in low-income communities with diminished access to social services were seen as a threat to the general public (Giroux, 2009; Kawash, 1998). Thus the YOW program builds on an existing racial/spatial logic embedded in the concept of priority neighbourhoods. While the focus on poverty as a cause of youth violence may be viewed as a progressive move, the spatial narrative connected to poverty points to the racial logic embedded in the priority neighbourhood model. Even a brief look to Canadian history uncovers a precedent for constructing such spaces of 'wildernesses' in need of civility (Razack, 2002). This reality is manifested in Toronto's attempt to deal with gun violence. According to the City of Toronto, a priority neighbourhood is in part defined by its lack of access to social services. These neighbourhoods have poor coverage of services (characterized by more than one kilometer's walk) for youth, seniors, and immigrants while possessing a high demand for these services (Neighbourhood Social Infrastructure in Toronto, 2005).

The research conducted by the Strong Neighbourhood Task Force in 2005 identified 13 neighbourhoods with low access to social services. Not surprisingly, the majority of these communities are densely populated by racialized people including 'newcomers' or recent immigrants to Canada. In a memo to city council titled *2006 Census Update on social risk Factors in the City's 13 Priority Areas* the ethnic and racial make-up of these communities are made explicit "10 of the 13 P.A. [priority areas] are fairly homogenous in that visible minorities represent a significant (near or greater than 2/3) of the population (pg. 3)." This proximity based risk evaluation model marks racialized communities as deficient spaces within the urban landscape. Said differently, proximity to 'civilizing' social infrastructure is cited as major concern for both residents and city governance.

The dangers contained in these anarchic wildernesses can be found in these 'uncivil' neighbourhoods, The Priority Neighbourhoods express a contradiction within the liberal capitalist state wherein uncivil, degenerate spaces are constructed as racially and culturally separate, but in reality are materially indivisible, from the modern urban 'governed' city space, and are situated in the violent confrontation between 'legality' and 'illegality' as well as wealth and poverty. This fracturing of the metropolitan space requires state intervention to appear to resolve this contradiction, when in essence the contradiction is obscured through a set of policies and practices that reify the existing racialized and spatialized social relations. The Priority Neighborhood attempts to address this contradiction by providing these neighbourhoods' the means to materially enter bourgeois civil society through access to services, infrastructure, and the 'rule of law.' We see how, in the mid 2000s, a policy ensemble emerged designed to incorporate racialized youth and other marginalized groups back into the city. This policy ensemble has several moving parts, emerging from different municipal and provincial bodies. The Priority Neighbourhoods initiative is one policy tool. The provincial Ontario Youth Strategy, as an umbrella of youth programming, can be understood as another. This umbrella includes the YOW program, but also other youth-oriented programming aimed to incorporate youth into the prevailing logic of the state. For example, the Youth in Policing Initiative brings youth from Priority Neighbourhoods into an apprentice-type program with the Toronto Police Service. Taken together, these sorts of programs may be seen as attempts to incorporate/civilize

communities imagined to be on the periphery of civilization.

The discourse of neighbourhood is really a discourse of culture by location (Da Silva, 2010). These programs contain an a priori racial logic that positions the cause of degeneracy (poverty and/or violence) at the level of culture. Further, the YOW program is not simply a neighbourhood improvement project: its aim is to improve youth. This is perhaps the most racially significant component of the YOW program. When the program was launched, it was without any discussion of the cultural, ethnic, or racial makeup of its target groups, this is evidenced by the absence of any meaningful discussion in founding documentation that race is a social force in the lives of young people. In its initial stage, the program discussed violence within priority neighbourhoods as somehow embodied in the youth of these communities. In other words, violence was something manifested in the behaviour of a 'at-risk' youth rather than embodied in a social context. To be clear, this discursive practice, which positions racialized communities as inherently dangerous and imprints this violence onto youths' bodies, is a racialized logic. Rather than having the YOW program acknowledge race as a concretized social practice and reality in young people's lives, the provincial government intervenes in priority neighbourhoods through the YOW program to resolve the contradiction of lawless spaces existing within the boundaries of the state (Blomley, 2003). Violence embedded in poverty, racialization, and a lack of access to social mobility is erased, as these would implicate the state in violence.

Stages of Change
In 2008, a preliminary evaluation of YOWP noted that, "the parameters established for the program [are] for outreach, rather than a service with 'clients'" (Pepler, et al, 2008 p. 8) and highlighted the efficacy of this form of outreach. The authors further observed that the success of the program depended on its recognition of the inadequacy of risk-avoidance and the elevation of skill development and strong systems of support. However, the program evaluation also argued that the outcomes of the program were nearly impossible to quantify or predict and that the methodology of the traditional outreach model could not be standardized. Based on these recommendations, in 2010 the YOW program began the process of shifting its theoretical and intervention model away from a traditional outreach model. The Ministry of Children and Youth Services partnered with Dr. Gregory Knoll, then a PhD candidate in Psychology at York University, to develop, implement and subsequently evaluate the Stages of Change outreach model for the YOW program. In 2012, Stages of Change was initially introduced in a limited capacity to assess its effectiveness in supporting at-risk youth.

The Stages of Change model for Youth Outreach is an adaptation of DiClemente and Prochaska's "Stages of Change" model of addictions treatment (Knoll, 2012). The original model categorizes human behavioural change process into six stages: pre-contemplation, also referred to as denial; contemplation; preparation; action; maintenance; and termination or relapse. These stages were first developed to assess and motivate behavioural change for people with alcoholism and other addictions (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1986). The YOWP employs all of these stages with the exception of termination or relapse phase. The wholesale adoption of an addictions treatment model as an intervention for social inequities faced by youth such as poverty, homelessness, access to education, sexual health etc. is troubling. Dr. Knoll provides smoking cessation studies as the evidence base for the use of the stages of change in this context. He then goes on to match the stages of change with a range of psycho-emotional developmental theories shifting away from the social to the individual as both the cause and remedy for the challenges youth face.

Through the adoption of Stages of Change, the YOW program systematically erases the social challenges racialized and other marginalized youth face, instead offering a psycho-emotional development model to explain the phenomena of at-riskness. The use of the stages of change model neatly places the social precarity, which produces the challenges youth experience, within their bodies. YOWP uses these categories to describe behavioural change processes in at-risk and other marginalized youth without attempting to account for social relations. Instead, the rationale YOWP gives for changing youths' behaviour is that of an inherent volatility with the potential for violence and social precariousness (Knoll, 2012). My interest here is to identify the discourse around at-risk as a racial/spatial project. The construction of at-risk signifies vulnerability to conditions of social insecurity or violence on the part of young adults and at the same time creates society as at-risk from the impacts of "socially malignant behaviors" of youth (Kelly, 2001). However, this traditional critique of at-risk does not speak to the ways in which the at-risk discourse is taken up as a racial construct in general. In my review of the SC model it is apparent that the uses of at-risk are laden with racial overtones and that the SC model itself is a way of reifying racial hierarchies. YOWP does nothing to disrupt this existing hierarchy. In fact, it reproduces this hierarchy by constructing poor youth in racialized communities as psychologically and emotionally defective.

The use of an addictions treatment model is a way of expelling racialized youth from universal, modern subjectivity. This is not a new strategy: Da Silva (2010) demonstrates the use of scientific reasoning to define who fits within the Cartesian subjectivity (the white modern man) and who does not (the racialized body). Dr. Knoll tells us repeatedly that youth in poor neighbourhoods are volatile, and if their behaviour is not managed could result in "severe violence and mental health issues during adulthood" (Knoll, 2012, p. 1). According to Knoll (2012), all youth do not face the same risk; rather youth who "reside in disadvantaged, inner city neighbourhoods have diverse vulnerabilities and needs that may often go unmet due to a lack of available and accessible services to meet their needs in a culturally appropriate way" (p. 1).

Youth Work and 'Born Again' Racism

In policy documents related to youth and young adults, the province of Ontario increasingly relies on bio-cognitive and developmental explanations for youths' behaviour, as in the case of the current Stepping Up (MCYS, 2013) policy framework. This evidence base has allowed the province to adopt and implement youth intervention models such as the YOW program's individualistic and medicalized intervention devoid of substantial socio-historical context. By individuating responsibility for violence, the state can remove its culpability and intervene in racialized communities as the 'restorer of civility' (Blomley, 2003). The Stages of Change model pathologizes behaviour in such a way as to draw the outline of a racial body without ever naming it as such. This outline is drawn with familiar racialized (coded) language. Knoll's (2012) discussion of fractured families, communities in disrepair, and youth aimlessly wandering the streets constructs a racial body in racialized spaces. Another aspect of the model, the well-meaning youth outreach workers going into these communities, speaks to the missionary tradition of saving racialized bodies from savagery (Mohanram, 1999; Nestel, 2002).

To understand YOWP's stages of change model as a racialized spatial project we need to go beyond an understanding of racism as a system of exclusion. In particular, as Da Silva argues, we must look to "an approach that goes beyond the view of race as a mechanism of exclusion (2010, p. 422). This critique allows us to understand how YOWP can seek to include racialized youth within society while simultaneously affirming long standing racial inequities, which expel youths from the modern social body. Within this framework, the province of Ontario can position intervention as an attempt to restore order, or as Blomley (2003) puts it, "liberalism (the liberal state in this case) tends to locate violence outside law, positioning state regulators as that which contains and prevents an anomic anarchy" (p. 121). In essence, through constructing at-risk, racialized youth as pre-civilized subjects threatening modern society, the state is able to locate violence outside of itself. The erasure of socio-economic histories and realities both facilitates this process and is its outcome.

In the YOW program, space becomes race through the use of priority neighbourhoods as a way of identifying and potentially containing violent youth. The use of addictions treatment as an intervention for social inequity can only make sense in this light. It is important to note that the processes of abstraction embedded within both the priority neighbourhood and Stages of Change models are hallmarks of the ideological production of knowledge (Smith, 1990). In this way, whilst one is listening to presentations on the YOW program and reviewing the documentation, the reader has the sense that something inherently racist is as work within the program, and yet it is difficult to explicitly name this process when 'race' as a category is seemingly absent from the analysis. However, by using a racial-spatial analysis of the provincial policy interventions, it becomes clear that the ways in which race is obfuscated are part and parcel to the

ways it is reified. Dr. Knoll's research creates a photonegative figure; the absence of race makes race all the more conspicuous. In this way, the YOW program obscenely embodies the neoliberal strategy of silence that Goldberg (2004) refers to as "born again racism":

> Born again racism is racism without race, racism gone private, racism without the categories to name it as such. It is racism shorn of the charge, a racism that cannot be named because nothing abounds with which to name it. It is a racism purged of historical roots, of its groundedness, a racism whose history is lost. (p. 226)

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

Rethinking the Constructivist approach to teaching and learning online for learners of African descent

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ABSTRACT

There are diverse, academic, and pedagogical models grounded in social, historical and philosophical traditions of various cultures around the world. For many adult learners from Africa, learning stems from cultural and experiential knowledge developed from their lived experiences which act as frames of reference for future learning. Cultural identities have an impact on the way adults learn within the social networks of academic institutions, and culture can be deeply imbedded in individual personalities. Adult educators are not always aware of the philosophical approaches that inform their work when in contact with learners from other cultures. Cultural programming can impact epistemological orientations and learning styles; cognitive and social experiences, and shape how learners communicate and interact with peers and teachers. This has significant implications for how teaching and learning is done in a multicultural and global environment.

Introduction

There are diverse, academic, and pedagogical models grounded in social, historical and philosophical traditions of various cultures around the world including liberal; progressive; behaviorist; and humanistic traditions. Adult educators are not always aware of the philosophical approaches that inform their work when in contact with learners from other cultures (Catterick, 2007). National and ethnic identities have an impact on the way adults learn within the social networks of academic institutions (Gay, 2010; Russell, Rosenthal & Thomson, 2010). In terms of teaching and learning, culture has been defined as a "system of socially and historically created traditions that include educational and pedagogical traditions" (Moore, Shattuck, & Al-Harthi, 2005, p.188). For adult learners from Africa, learning stems from the cultural and experiential knowledge developed from their lived experiences which provide frames of reference for their learning. Culture can be deeply imbedded in individual personalities. Cultural programming can impact

epistemological orientations and learning styles; cognitive and social experiences, and shape how learners communicate and interact with peers and teachers (Hill, Song & West, 2009). In support of this, Gay (2010) stated "even without our being consciously aware of it, culture determines how we think, believe and behave, and these, in turn, affect how we teach and learn" (Gay, 2009, p.9).

Diversity and E-Learning

Approaches to teaching and learning that assume sameness within multicultural learning environments can create roadblocks to learning for culturally diverse learners. For those learners, there is a need for congruency between their cultural backgrounds and those of the dominant culture (Guo & Jamal, 2007). Several studies affirm that e-learning environments are pervaded with cultural meaning which can led to differences in the way learners perceive their learning experiences (Moore, Shattuck, & Al-Harthi, 2005; Hannon & D'Netto, 2007; Charlesworth, 2008; Mitsis & Foley, 2009; Lum, Bradley, & Rasheed, 2011). As a result of homogenous e-learning theories, design, and facilitation methods, there are concerns that e-learning programs may not be responsive to the learning needs of learners from other cultures. These concerns are supported by low retention rates of culturally diverse learners within e-learning programs (Rovai & Downey, 2010; Zhang, Zhou, Briggs, & Nunamaker, 2006).

Adult learning environments are characterized by inequalities arising from the socio-cultural conditions of learners. Couched under the umbrella of student success and persistence initiatives, there is often a salient requirement for adult learners from other cultures to conform to the cultural norms of academic institutions that are reflective of hegemonic requirements placed upon them by the dominant culture. Gramsci (1971) described this as common sense, referring to "those unintentional and unconscious acts that result in the silencing, exclusion, subordination, and exploitation

of groups of people based on normalized courses of actions" (Ng, 2003, p.203). As a result, some academic institutions privilege certain groups while marginalizing others under initiatives like social and academic integration of students (Tinto, 1987). The underlying assumption of such initiatives is the belief that culturally diverse adult learners underperform and drop out of post-secondary institutions because of their inability to meet rigorous academic standards. Such assumptions ignore inequalities inherent in culturally hegemonic learning environments and instructional design and facilitation methods that require adult learners from other cultures to forfeit learning styles and Indigenous knowledge, for the pedagogical methods and epistemologies of the dominant culture. Reisberg (2012) argued that academic gaps that may exist between post-secondary institutions and learners from other cultures are often not those of difficulty with course contents but in teaching and learning styles including measurements for success, and in interpersonal interactions with teachers and peers.

Adult educators agree that learners from other cultures may need support frameworks that enhance their successful transition into, and persistence within post-secondary institutions. However, teaching models that undervalue previous learning experiences, the hidden curriculum, such as "pedagogical styles, teaching and learning environments, governance structures, teacher expectations, and grading procedures" (Guo & Jamal, 2007, pp. 31-32), based on the standards of the dominant culture, set culturally diverse adult learners at unequal positions with domestic learners. Although theories such as Tinto's (1987) theory of social and academic integration are duly validated for supporting the academic persistence of domestic learners, support for such theories become varied when applied to learners from other national cultures (Zepke & Leach, 2005; Mannan, 2007). Adjustments are needed to how teaching is done in multicultural environments so that culture, learning styles and responsiveness to diverse epistemological perspectives are given priority in the design and facilitation of e-learning programs.

Epistemological Diversity
Questions of what constitutes knowledge and how we come to know what we know are prevalent in scholarly debates on epistemology. Epistemology was defined by Landauer and Rowlands (2001) as methods of acquiring knowledge. The capacity for knowledge acquisition cuts across cultures and the ways for acquiring knowledge are varied. For many non-Western cultures, the discourse on epistemological diversity is of particular importance. Positivist philosophies argued that if there was consensus on what knowledge was in one culture, it was universal and true for other cultures (Coetzee & Roux, 2004). By so doing, positivist perspectives disregarded other ways of knowledge production as invalid. Merriam and Kim (2008) contended that many Indigenous and non-Western ways of knowing predate Western epistemologies that spread primarily through colonialization and globalization. As a result, Western epistemological perspectives

such as constructivism are not shared by majority of the world's cultures even though it is positioned as the dominant philosophy (McCarthy, 2007; Merriam & Kim, 2008).

Whereas epistemological pluralism is generally acknowledged, Siegel (2006) argued that the validity of any epistemology should be based on agreements of commonalities that are distinct from other cultures, ethnic groups and belief systems. Post-modern standpoint feminists for example, argued that experiences of women were too varied and diverse to be addressed using a single epistemological perspective for the feminine reality. Drawing from this argument, Siegel (2006) contended that the existence of variations within many non-Western cultures and ethnic groups validated the position that they cannot be assigned a single epistemology as a collective. Furthermore, ongoing criticisms against some non-Western epistemologies and Indigenous knowledge, is that they present the content of folklore as truths. Horsthemke (2011) argued that any epistemology unhinged from realism and science promoted relativism and diminished the criteria for knowledge and truth. Siegel's (2006) and Horsthemke (2011) contentions reflected the dichotomy between foundationalists like Descartes who emphasized universal laws for knowledge production, and consensualist like Kuhn who supported a theory of knowledge as the product of social consensus (Crotty, 1998; Green, 2008). Scientific knowledge was viewed as epistemologically acceptable by foundationalists even though Science does not always operate within the framework of strict realism (Green, 2008). Theorist like Kuhn argued that scientific discovery was not as objective, neutral or value-free as it has been positioned. Consequently, Kuhn contended that the overarching conceptual construct of how scientists made sense of the world was simply a paradigm that was subject to change when challenged by other constructs (Crotty, 1998).

Though Indigenous and non-Western epistemologies may not always align with epistemological standards of realism, science and rationalism, the very essence of constructivism affirms the validity of Indigenous and non-Western knowledge particularly in light of the socio-political influences around what counts as knowledge (Green, 2008). The notion of epistemological diversity should be critiqued on the ability of various epistemologies to advance knowledge in general, and not for the lack of conformity to Western and universal systems of knowledge production. Pallas (2001) contended that there was a need for educational researchers to engage with multiple epistemological perspectives despite differences, to prevent epistemological single-mindedness. Familiarity with non-Western ways of knowing and knowledge production can provide helpful insights to adult educators and help them better understand the perspectives of adult learners from non-Western societies (Merriam & Kim, 2008).

Constructivism, African Epistemologies and Adult Learning

Influenced by the work of Jean Piaget (1977), constructivism was considered a departure from some of the key assumptions of the positivist epistemology in which knowledge was considered absolute and objective. The positivist stance on knowledge disqualified other philosophies including Indigenous and non-Western ways of knowing. By legitimizing knowledge as a product of personalized experiences of the world, constructivism opened the door for multiple epistemological perspectives (Reagan, 2004).

In constructivism, the construction of knowledge was achieved by individual learners who create meaning from their personal experiences with the world. With social constructivism, knowledge production occurred through collaborative and active participation in communities of practice where new meanings are co-constructed by the community (Brown, 2005; Perera, 2011; Fallery & Rodhain, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978). Constructivism and social constructivism are still considered to be Western learning paradigms that are not practiced in many institutional cultures around the world (McCarty, 2007). Merriam and Kim (2008) contended that within many non-Western cultures, learning is considered the responsibility of all members of the community because it was through that learning the community itself could develop.

African epistemologies are grounded on strong interpersonal relationships with others; harmony; peace with nature; communalism; and spirituality (Bakari, 1997). In support of this, Merriam and Kim (2008) conceptualized non-Western adult learning as holistic and communal. These differences between constructivism and African epistemologies are particularly relevant in many West African cultures where what counts as knowledge is deeply embedded within collective communities (Hamminga, 2005).

West African Epistemologies

Cultures and the Indigenous knowledge base within Africa are vast and diverse due to the multiplicity of ethnic groups and cultures. Although the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) study (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004), supported the assertion that sub-Sahara African countries have distinct cultural similarities, those similarities and generalizations cannot be construed as homogeneous. For example, the term *sub-Saharan Africa* used in the GLOBE study has been criticized as an inaccurate geopolitical term that does not reflect the geographical conditions of 90% of African nations (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2011). Ekwe-Ekwe argued that there were only 10 African nations, inclusive of Morocco; Egypt; and Libya that could be accurately described as sub-Saharan due to having 25% to 75% of their land covered by the Sahara desert. Ekwe-Ekwe criticized the term sub-Saharan Africa as a nomenclatural code used to portray a shrinking African geographical landmass in popular imagination. Furthermore, the parts of West Africa often described as sub-Saharan including the nations of Ghana; Nigeria, and

Serra-Leone, have been cited as examples of the essentialist and inaccurate portrayal of the geography and the cultural diversity within Africa (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2011; Jackson, 2011).

Although epistemologies from Africa have constituted part of the debate of what counts as knowledge, it is important to acknowledge that no singular African epistemology can be homogeneously applied to all 56 nations within Africa. However, culture is a collective rather than an individual phenomenon. The epistemological perspectives among many West African cultures and ethnicities reflect similarities that exist in, and between the different ethnic groups, as a collective. In a culturally and ethnically diverse continent like Africa, these similarities are simply *collective particularities* (Vatrapu & Suthers, 2007). Siegel (2006) argued that there were too many variations within these cultural and ethnic groups to warrant assigning them unique epistemologies as a collective. However, by focusing on differences alone, Siegel diminished shared experiences and the consensus of these diverse groups, such as in West Africa, where despite internal conflicts and decades of hegemonic rule and cultural imperialism, first by colonialization, and then by globalization; cultural peculiarities, unique and similar epistemological perspectives have endured (Bakari, 1997; Hamminga, 2005).

Constructivism and African Epistemology

Hamminga (2005) described African ways of knowledge production and learning using a tree analogy and stated that "all power, all truth comes up from the roots of the family tree, the dead ancestors, to the trunk, the elders, and passes up to the parents and children, the branches, leaves, and flowers (Hamminga, 2005, p.61). To illustrate this point in teaching and learning, the responsibility for knowledge production using African belief systems, does not reside with individual learners as expected in constructivism-based learning. The knowing subject, using Hamminga's conceptualization, is the collective (trunk) which are all members of the community of practice as a tribe. The teachers (branches) as sages bear the responsibility for passing knowledge to the students (flowers) using instructivist approaches to teaching and learning (Cercone, 2008). The *roots* are the academic traditions of the institution such as professors of ages past who have contributed to scholarly knowledge. Consequently, learning theories that align with African epistemologies can be dichotomous to constructivist teaching and learning. In elucidating the concept of constructivism, Hamminga stated:

> First, consider yourself as an "independent", "isolated" individual. Second, build up your own private set of "reasons to believe". Third, on every occasion you have to decide whether to believe something or not, you should – come – individually, to your own – to your own conclusions, using your own set of reasons to believed, if necessary expanding them for the purpose. (Hamminga, 2005, p.58)

Hamminga (2005) argued that Western epistemologies can be contradictory to the core cultural values of many African cultures. Hamminga's description of constructivism indicated a need for awareness by adult educators that the universal application of constructivist based teaching to learners from other cultures in e-learning can create roadblocks to their learning, particularly for learners from West African cultures who may value holistic and communal teaching and learning philosophies.

Despite these differences, there exist many similarities in the formal education systems of African nations with Western countries stemming from the hegemony of colonialization and globalization. Challenges occur mostly when there are contradictions in core pedagogical values (Kinuthia, 2007). Instructivist and constructivist approaches to teaching and learning were the two main adult education approaches of the last century (Gold, 1999; Reeves, 1994). Instructivist teaching emphasized a systematic approach to learning content that was independent of learners. Constructivist philosophies emphasized learner-centered teaching and self-directed explorations (Cercone, 2008). Many adult learners, particularly from non-Western cultures, are taught in traditional, passive and instructivist classrooms (Cercone, 2008). As a result, learning environments that are based on instructor-led processes tend to be better aligned with their personal histories (Tweedell, 2000; Fidishun, 2000).

Without experience in social constructivist learning, some African learners may register for e-learning and be confronted with an unfamiliar learning environment where they have to construct their own knowledge with limited input from facilitators. Many challenges relating to constructivist approaches in e-learning have been cited including feelings of isolation by learners, conflict inherent in collaborative learning, difficulties with the minimized role of the instructors who is situated as facilitator rather than subject matter experts, and lack of confidence in the quality of online information without instructor's verification (Huang, 2002; Catterick, 2007). Other studies indicate that learners from within the same non-Western cultures have successful social constructivism learning experiences (Wesley-Smith, 2003; Neo, 2005) but challenges stemming from cultural misperceptions relating to power, positionalities and epistemological disjuncture can occur in cross-cultural e-learning environments.

In a constructivism-based community of practice, learning occurs within contexts where collaborations and team work may serve as instruments towards individual learning and personal knowledge that concludes at the end of the training session with a grade. For learners from other cultures, the contrived consensus of e-learning communities of practice based on enforced and temporal social solidarity, described by Hodgson and Reynolds (2002) as *community as sentiment*, can be a source of epistemological confusion. Conceptual differences between constructivism and African ways of knowing may reside in the process (holistic group learning and collaborative relationships versus instrumental collaborations) and purpose (communal advancement versus individual advancement) for knowledge acquisition. The concept of *community* for African learners may connote interdependence and collectiveness while for the Western learner; community may simply be instrumental with self-independence as the desired result.

Implications for Teaching and Learning

In an era of reduced funding for higher education sectors worldwide, many academic institutions have expanded their delivery of e-learning programs. Diversification and expansion of programs are usually aimed at extending the reach of institutions to an increasing pool of domestic and international learners for financial profitability, to lower costs, and position institutions competitively (Doherty, 2004). However, retention of e-learning students continues to be a source of concern for academic institutions, particularly because students' retention within e-learning programs are lower than traditional face-to-face learning (Zhang, Zhou, & Briggs, 2006; Rovai & Downey, 2010). A reason for the low retention of learners in e-learning is that many academic cultures around the world are based on Western academic parameters (Henderson, 2007). Homogenous e-learning programs and facilitation methods are often applied to learners regardless of their cultural backgrounds. It is not surprising that "interaction of course design and cultural issues" were noted as reasons affecting the retention of e-learning students (Rovai & Downey, 2010, p.145).

The cognitive, pedagogic, and epistemological aspects of teaching culturally diverse students online are critical to students' retention. Some of the cultural dissonance experienced by learners when they engage in e-learning programs from within a different cultural context may stem not only from the way e-learning courses are facilitated, but also from the way the course has been designed and structured. Scholars and practitioners have acknowledged the need to adapt for cultural differences. Under the premise that e-learning should meet the needs of all learners, designing a culturally flexible e-learning program necessitates the ability to adapt existing e-learning courses; adapt teaching styles; and incorporate culture into the instructional design process from the onset. Central to instructional design and facilitation of e-learning programs are the adult learning theories and philosophical underpinnings that influence adult teaching and learning processes. Adult educators and instructional designers need to understand how these theories relate to distance and e-learning practices (Cercone, 2008).

Theories that govern instructional design and facilitation describe methods of instruction as well as the situations in which those methods should be used (Reigeluth, 2013). However, no single adult learning theory or philosophical approach can be successfully applied to all adult learning environments (Frey & Alman, 2003). Factors such as learner needs, learner styles, learner experience, and learner motivation all contribute to a working philosophy of adult education. Postmodern adult educators have argued that the notion of one best approach to adult education was

essentialist because teaching and learning is dynamic and can be influenced by a changing cultural, political, physical, and social context (Fenwick & Tennant, 2004). Given the cultural diversity of adult learners in e-learning, and considering that e-learning environments can be hostile learning spaces without intercultural understanding and mutual accommodations, there is an ongoing need for adult educators to adapt their philosophical beliefs and teaching styles to accommodate diverse learners' experiences and needs. An awareness of the diversity and the variability of adult learners from Africa can support adult educators in identifying appropriate philosophies and theories for teaching and learning these culturally diverse learners.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ACÉÉA

Dying To Learn: Empowerment And Embodiment in Canadian Death Education

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ABSTRACT

After describing a personal experience of being present when his father-in-law died, the author traces the basic contours of death education in the Canadian context. The paper then explores death education through the themes of embodiment and empowerment, both of which are informed by the work of adult educators. Epistemological implications are briefly considered, whereby "what can be known" is understood not only as embodied knowledge, but as knowledge distinctively limited by the mortality of the human body. The paper ends with some provisional ideas for bringing together death education and a public health approach to the "social determinants of health".

When it's over, I want to say: all my life

I was a bride married to amazement.

I was a bridegroom, taking the world into my arms.

-Mary Oliver, *When Death Comes*

In 2012, my father-in-law Wendell was dying of metastatic prostate cancer. This should not have happened. As a man who expressed love easily and often, Wendell was unstoppable. As a lifelong learner, he was always reaching for the encyclopedia when something fascinating was at hand. As a teacher, he shared stories about his twenty-year career in a one-room Amish schoolhouse. As a white man who had participated in the US Civil Rights movement, he felt an inner drive to stick up for the underdog, even if it meant going to jail. As a farmer, he valued hard work and he rarely missed the opportunity to laugh about his own mistakes. He was a stunning example of what Mary Oliver calls a "bridegroom taking the world into his arms".

In his final weeks of life, gripped with pain, Wendell searched desperately for the physical strength that he had known for so many years, but eventually his question seemed to shift from "Am I going to live?" to "How can I die?" At the time, I failed to notice how very related these two questions were, but since then I have learned some things about the beautiful though challenging bond between living and dying.

After describing what happened immediately after Wendell died, this paper enters the arena of Canadian death education by exploring the closely related dimensions of embodiment and empowerment vis-à-vis a death-attentive approach to adult education. As one way of moving forward with this approach, the paper ends by considering how death educators might collaborate with those who work in the field of public health.

NEVER AS CLOSE TO THE DYING PROCESS

Wendell wanted his family to take care of him, and he wanted to die at home. Rightly or wrongly, he assumed that he would have much more control over the dying process at home than in a health care facility. It almost happened very differently when, about an hour before his death, we decided to accompany him to the hospital for some tests. After being transferred from his bed to a wheelchair, he sat waiting for us to gather some things for the trip to the hospital. He was agitated and in pain. Suddenly his breathing slowed and became very gentle. Those last few minutes were amazingly peaceful, and then he took his last breath.

In order to facilitate a time of goodbye, we decided to postpone the phonecall to the community care nurse who would come to certify the death, and to move Wendell back into the bed. As the person in the room with enough physical strength for the transfer, I rolled his wheelchair back to the bed and got ready to lift him. I pulled his arms up and onto my shoulders and then, using a bear hug, lifted his body up to a near-standing position.

It was at this moment that I had one of the most profound learning experiences in my life – hearing and physically feeling the air from his lungs being pushed out of him. This endlessly talkative and perpetually larger-than-life man was dead. The breath of life was gone. I was crying as I lowered him to the bed, and later I thought about how I would probably never come as close to the dying process – nor as close to a dead person – as I did at that moment. You might be able to guess why I was wrong.

DEATH EDUCATION IN CANADA

When it comes to learning about dying and death in Canada, ours is a time of contestation and innovation. In one way, the field is confounded by what some identify as a culture of "death denial" – consider the vast sums of money spent on products designed to defy aging and snub mortality, or the countless euphemisms that help us to avoid speaking directly about death. Add to this what Northcott and Wilson (2008) identify as the general historical trend in Canada whereby death's domain was gradually professionalized, bureaucratized, and medicalized to the point where "[d]ying and death were removed from the context of normal life and placed instead in the context of health care institutions to be managed by professionals" (p.102). In this context, knowing what to do with a family member's dead body is no longer necessary because doctors, funeral directors, and other functionaries take care of all the details. The result, according to Northcott and Wilson: "Bureaucratization shifts control over dying and death away from the dying person, the family, and community, and towards officials who are strangers and who operate according to the bureaucratic culture rather than the individual's relevant subculture" (p.103). For those who object to these trends toward professionalization and bureaucratization, death education becomes a project of resistance. For others who take these trends as matters of fact, death education "simply" becomes a project of increased effectiveness and/or efficiency in the delivery of death-related care by nurses, doctors, hospice workers, and the like.

In another way, the combination of cultural, medical, and social innovation in everything from end-of-life care to funeral practice to online memorialization provides unparalleled occasions for learning. Moreover, the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Canada to ban the prohibition on doctor-assisted suicide not only obligates parliamentarians to generate legislation, it also stimulates conversations about the meaning of life, the medical definition of death, the intricacies of who should be allowed to make life and death decisions, and the extent to which one can facilitate a "good death".

Moreover, even while professionalization continues to influence the contours of death education, countervailing approaches serve to expand the field. For example, in studying death in the age of globalization, McManus (2013) observes that "[t]he experts are no longer in a hierarchical relationship where professional dominion over the body dominates

the proceedings". Professionals are still involved, but their work becomes part of a more complex negotiation: "The professional, the dying, the dead and the bereaved come together to negotiate the symbolic content, the meaning and the terms-of-passage for those who are transitioning from life to death" (p. 105). If this is true, death educators need to have a kind of postmodernist competency in order to meaningfully engage such symbolic negotiations.

These contextual factors continue to shape the evolution of formal death education in Canada. Universities and colleges now offer courses in thanatology – the study of dying, death, and bereavement – and death-related curricula have made their way into the training of nurses, doctors, social workers, school administrators, and other professionals. Similar to their counterparts in other places around the world, Canadian death educators work along the lines of what Kastenbaum has called "the study of life – with death left in" (2004, p. 19). In general, "[leading figures in formal death education emphasize that, at its core, such education emphasizes life and living" and, therefore, that the study of death celebrates "the various dimensions in which human life is expressed and experienced: the physical, the behavioural, the emotional, the cognitive, the interpersonal, and the spiritual" (Balk, 2014, p. 147). As much as death education proceeds with this kind of uplifting approach, however, educators still face significant obstacles. In reviewing North American death education, Cupit observes that "[p]erhaps the most significant death education lesson learned was that this subject was neither to be acknowledged nor studied" because it was seen as "[t]oo culturally toxic for conversation"; thus, death became something to be feared, and "stress from dying and death was compounded by cultural ignorance" (Cupit, 2013, p. 348).

How can death education overcome such fear, stress, and ignorance? The intersection between the fields of thanatology and adult education provides unique options both for theoretical innovation and for transformative, everyday praxis. Of course, adult education and death education are not mutually exclusive projects. Nevertheless, by exploring the twofold pedagogy of embodiment and empowerment, adult educators and death educators can learn from one another while co-constructing new approaches to life-and-death matters that everyone will face.

EMBODIMENT – A WAY OF KNOWING ABOUT DEATH

In assessing the many varied streams of adult education in Canada, Nesbit (2013) offers this boiled-down summary of the tradition:

1. A set of unyielding social purposes, informed by passion and outrage and rooted in a concern for the less privileged.

2. A systematic and sustained philosophical and critical analysis that develops the abilities to connect

immediate, individual experiences with their underlying structures.

3. A keen attention to the specific sites, locations, and practices where such purposes are made real in the lives of Canadians (p. 7).

On the surface, death educators might urge adult educators to be clear about the extent to which they believe these "unyielding social purposes" can be intelligible without reference to the mortality of Canadians. Indeed, citing adult educators' tendency to treat both teachers and learners as amortal – that is, not clearly identified in any particular way vis-à-vis mortality – death educators might appropriately ask for the third point to be modified as follows: "A keen attention to the specific sites, locations, and practices where such purposes are made real in the lives *and deaths* of Canadians". Likewise, adult educators might urge death educators to be clear about the extent to which they understand "immediate, individual experiences" of death as being connected to underlying social structures.

One way to elaborate this reciprocal challenge is through embodied learning. Especially in the field of transformative learning, much work has been done on the body as a site of knowledge production – learning through physical movement, sensation, singing, health, disability, and so on. The experience of death adds yet another realm in which we can learn through the body, putting us in touch with what a dead body might know and what our own dying body can teach us.

Ollis (2012) explains that bodies "are messy and fleshy things, and educators are uncomfortable with emotionality and the agency that emotions can give a learner" and that bodies "can challenge and shift the authority of the educator in the learning process and in their management of the classroom" (p. 177). Rather than avoid the physical body, educators can choose to acknowledge the body as an educational site in and of itself, and embodiment as a means of knowledge production. Wilcox (2009) explains that "[i]f we take embodied knowledges seriously, it is not enough to simply add new tricks to our teaching, research, or activism oeuvre….our ultimate goal is not to add embodiment and stir; it is to invite conversations concerning embodied knowledges and their radical implications" (p. 118).

Among these radical implications is an unexplored epistemological imperative – namely, to account for how the mortality of the body impacts what can be known through the body. It might seem like a strange thing to draw attention to the fact that those involved in education will die someday, but it should be no more peculiar than finding significance in the gender, race, or class of those same people. As has been well-demonstrated by educators with a thoughtful sensitivity to feminism or race-based analysis, there are always epistemological and pedagogical implications in social location. Surely the same sort of thoroughness is in order when it comes to acknowledging the significance of mortality within any pedagogical project. In other words, there should be a natural congruence between adult education and death

education especially given the great ease with which critically-minded adult educators recognize the pedagogical consequences of participants' social location vis-à-vis such dynamics as gender, race, and class. Thus, adult education should be well-primed for recognizing the implications of human mortality as a significant dimension within any learning environment.

In this vein, it is worth noting another relatively unmapped area of research in which dying and death become processes within which we understand ourselves within the vast planetary body – the larger community of mortals – thereby expanding the meaning of embodied learning and helping us to learn resilience (and impermanence) from other creatures. As climate change and ecological crisis continue to loom, students of transformative learning and thanatology might initiate useful and innovative collaborative research along these lines.

EMPOWERMENT – A WAY OF LIVING AND DYING

During the days and hours before my father-in-law died, most everything Wendell knew (and most everything we knew as family members) was intimately tied to the fact that his body was dying. So, too, was the shifting experience of empowerment and disempowerment tied to his dying. On the one hand, together we learned certain care strategies that facilitated his choice to stay at home. On the other hand, some key details of how his body was shutting down were beyond his and our control. To what extent is empowerment a reasonable goal in the process of dying? Should empowerment be a learning objective for death education?

Herein lies another area of interchange between adult education and death education. Each in their own way, both include certain strategies to raise critical consciousness and identify the locus of proactive, change-making agency for all those involved. For example, some of today's most vigorous death education efforts seek to empower individuals to plan for and facilitate their own home-based end-of-life care, or to intentionally purchase eco-caskets and green burial plots rather than accept whatever a death-related professional might recommend. Moreover, fundamental assumptions about what should constitute death-related professionalism are changing as a direct result of this empowerment factor – for example, some Canadians now request the services of "death midwives" who see their facilitative role within the death process as somewhat parallel to the role of birth midwives within the process of birth (CINDEA, 2015). These are just a few examples within the rapidly growing movement to "reclaim death".

It seems to me that practitioners and scholars of adult education can usefully contribute an approach to *death empowerment education* in which adult learners feel empowered by their exploration of death and dying. Such an approach will require in-person learning in groups where knowledge is co-created and co-wondered, where our common experience of mortality can be co-described, and where learning

activities can help participants to feel like they are protagonists within the journey of life and death. Far from engendering morbid or depressing thoughts, such an approach can fill learners with hope.

Can such an approach link the field of thanatology with struggles for social justice? Perhaps existing scholarship furnishes part of the necessary foundation for this effort. Stepputat (2014) assesses the relationship between dead bodies and politics, and claims that "the fate of dead bodies and human remains seems to be a very appropriate field to study in order to trace how claims and performances of sovereignty are developing in the contemporary world" (p. 29). Whether these "performances" might replicate or transform situations of injustice is unresolved and, therefore, "[t]he prospects for death practices in advanced modernity are informed by an optimism for possibilities yet to be imagined, cross-cut by the real danger of re-inscribing enduring social inequalities" (McManus, 2013, p. 235). Implicit in these approaches is the potential for education to empower participants as change-makers within their respective worlds of dying and death. If we can see, as Auger (2007) describes, "a vast array of everyday social practices that constitute a death", and if we see death "not as a given…but rather as a socially constructed and maintained phenomenon" (p. 27), then empowerment can be operationalized through very intentional training, equipping, and educating in order to shape this process of social construction.

TEACHING ABOUT DEATH, CONTRIBUTING TO PUBLIC HEALTH

Among various strategies for advancing both embodiment and empowerment in Canadian death education, a public health approach can engage both personal and societal experiences of dying and death. In broad terms, I would describe this approach as a type of community-based education in which people's learning about death both relies on and extends their experiences of embodiment and empowerment, and in which death becomes integrated within existing discourses around the social determinants of health.

The work of Kellehear (2015) within the Australian context is instructive for a Canadian public health approach to death education. According to Kellehear, "[o]nly by increasing the education level, and therefore the quality of community engagement about death and loss, are we able to bring a more informed public to the table so that they may willingly and soberly address these important topics and reduce the level of hysteria and public anxiety" (p. 222). He further observes that "[a]lthough it is true that public health professionals have little experience in matters to do with dying and death, it is equally true that palliative care colleagues have little formal training in health promotion, health education, or community development"; an obvious opportunity exists, then, for complementary training programs and professional exchanges in order to co-construct knowledge about the relationships between death and public health (p. 231). For Kellehear, death education "remains the single most

important public health challenge for the future if we dare to hope for informed public discussion and rational policy development in end-of-life care" (p. 232).

How might we advance a public health approach to death education in Canada, and through what strategies can we effect the same kind of interdisciplinary learning as described by Kellehear? One option is to stimulate new activity by way of existing discursive strategies and policy mechanisms surrounding what are known as the "social determinants of health" – that is, things such as income, employment conditions, social environments, gender relations, culture promotion, coping skills, and other factors that influence the health of given populations (Government of Canada, 2015). Especially in light of the current legal and societal debates around doctor-assisted suicide, we need to identify something along the lines of "good death" or "dying with dignity" as another social determinant contributing toward a healthy community, and associated educational efforts will be required so that we can learn how to understand, promote, and even regulate such determinants at various local, regional, and national levels. In addition to providing a useful common ground between death educators, health workers, legislators, and members of the public, such an approach could also contribute to local economic development and an increase in voluntarism.

In this scenario, educators might find themselves working alongside those from quite different disciplines in order to facilitate and support the purposes of death education. Imagine the outcome when a seasoned facilitator, steeped in the traditions of popular education, leads a group of hospice workers through a learning process that starts with their own experience of working with dying people every day, and then imagine the same facilitator leading a workshop that includes nurses, faith leaders, and people living with terminal illness. Imagine a palliative care doctor leading a discussion among elementary school teachers as they consider various approaches to talking with children about dying and death. Imagine the director of a local public health office launching a public education campaign to promote death planning and advance directives, and inviting an ad-hoc team of teachers and funeral directors to generate a series of curricular tools and social networking strategies. Imagine an annual public event held in a local cemetery involving presentations by scholars, poets, and visual artists.

These are just a few examples of how a community-based approach to death education could empower those involved while at the same time contribute to a healthy community. To varying degrees, these strategies can also promote embodiment to the extent that those involved are encouraged to identify and value their own emotions, their own physicality, their own mortality. Although embodied learning might feel like an inelegant or tricky way to learn about death, it is important to acknowledge, with Moon (2009), that "[t]he activities and objectives of lifelong learning cannot occur in existential isolation (detached from the mortal condition of learners) but, by necessity, find their worth under the constraint of life's finitude" (p. 316).

CONCLUSION

When it's over, I don't want to wonder

if I have made of my life something particular, and real.

I don't want to find myself sighing and frightened or full of argument.

I don't want to end up simply having visited this world.

-Mary Oliver, *When Death Comes*

I recently taught a six-week course called "Introduction to Death and Dying" as part of a lifelong learning program offered by a local university. This non-credit class consisted of fourteen students with an average age of about 70. After several weeks, one student admitted that she was too embarrassed to tell her friends the title of the class she was taking. Another student described what happened when he was sitting with a group of peers and said, "So, I'm taking this class on death and dying, and I find myself thinking…"; one-by-one, his friends either got up and walked away, or immediately turned to someone else and changed the subject. By contrast, a guest speaker had hardly finished presenting her personal experiences with home-based funerals when one student got up, walked to the front of the room, and hugged the guest speaker because she had been so touched by what had been shared. Several students reflected on the course as a whole as being "inspiring" and "refreshing" for the way it connected with the common experience of mortality that we all share.

This experience shows that conversations about dying can stimulate both a feeling of nervousness and a strong sense of solidarity, and death-themed adult education can generate experiences of both connection and disconnection for those involved. To what extent are we ready for more widespread death education, and to what extent are we ready not only to learn about mortality, but to learn *through* our mortality?

In the days following Wendell's death, I kept thinking about that moment when I lifted his body and heard the air come out of his lungs. That was an intense, embodied learning experience, and I continue to ponder its meaning. Yet, I was wrong to say that I would probably never come as close to the dying process as I did at that moment. More and more, I am learning that my own life journey will take me much closer to my own dying than I can imagine. Within this lifelong learning process, along the lines of Mary Oliver's poem, I do not want to encounter my own mortality and find myself "sighing and frightened or full of argument". From the complex world of scholarly research to the complex world of my own changing body that can feel like a workhorse one moment and a creaky old geezer the next, I want to be full of curiosity rather than argument.

This paper explored an approach to death education in which intimate, embodied knowledge of human mortality can connect with broader social and even planetary realities. In the same way that the discipline of adult education can surge forward whenever it thoughtfully accounts for realities such as gender, race, and class, so too can its work deepen as it integrates pedagogical and epistemological insights that ensue from human mortality. Moreover, this embodied approach to death empowerment education will find unique synergies with those working in the area of public health. To the great extent that this approach might lead to empowerment for all Canadians, we should be dying to learn more.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Guidance And Career Services Used By Adults Without A Diploma Who Envision Going Back To School

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The results[1] presented here are from a study whose original data collection was conducted in Quebec in 2013 and 2014. After a presentation of the problem statement regarding adults without a diploma who are considering returning to school, the methodology is exposed as well as quantitative and qualitative results. The discussion engages a dialogue with other research about services that are currently in place to support adults returning to school of different ages as well as diverse life plans.

1. Problem Statement

Quebec is recognized for its high rate of adults under 20 returning to secondary education, after having interrupted their schooling without receiving a diploma after reaching the age of 16 (Raymond, 2008), the limit for compulsory education. However, many obstacles remain and not all adults succeed to get the coveted diploma. These obstacles are multiplied for older adults, many of who hold several responsibilities, including family and work (Lavoie, Lévesque, & Lapointe, 2007). Thus, we see that in adult education centers, intermittent schooling of adult students is common (Bélanger & Voyer, 2005, p. 38). In addition, and especially for adults without a diploma[2] who do not have a steady job, the jobs that are held do not provide quality employment opportunities allowing skills development to be recognized through the recognition of acquired competencies (RAC)

process in vocational education and training. Many adults who are considering returning to school or who are actually in school, experience ambivalence about formal education because they are struggling between conflicting social expectations (Illeris, 2007). This ambivalence stems from competing standards, expectations, demands, opposing values or feelings, which give both a negative and positive perception of the same issue (Baril & Bourdon, 2014).

A guidance intervention can help address these barriers as well as feelings of ambivalence, before and during training, while supporting the clarification and retention of the adult learners' project. Notably, it can be helpful in making an informed choice of a training program or activity, a direction in development, as well as making choices through the training process (e.g. respond to a job posting or stay in training). However, we find that the population of adults without a diploma is still under studied in counselling and career development, even if they do receive counselling services in schools, public employment network and various community organizations (e.g. Bélisle & Cardinal-Picard, 2012). It is also noted that the actors and the studies done in adult learning and education do not directly involve the field of guidance strategies for lifelong learning.

In 2011, the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS) and the Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale (MESS)[3] partnered with the Fonds de recherche du Québec–Société et culture (FRQSC (FRQSC) (MELS, MESS, & FRQSC, 2011) to fund a study on the guidance needs of adult without a diploma between the ages of 18 and 64. The accepted research proposal was centred on guidance needs in a lifelong learning perspective. This paper focuses on the results of that study to further a better understanding of the

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1   This project is indebted to several people who participated in the study. The present analysis draws heavily from Bélisle and Bourdon's report (2015), including annexes by cosignatories David Baril and Amélie Simard. Thank you to Nolan Bazinet for his contribution to this translation.
2   In this study, adults without a diploma are those without one of two high school graduation diplomas : the Secondary School Diploma (SSD) which attests the completion of general education after five years of schooling at the secondary level (a total of 11 years of schooling), and the Diploma of Vocational Studies (DVS), which recognizes training and qualification for a trade, training that often begins after the third year of high school and is of a variable duration (between 600 and 1800 hours), depending on the trade.

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3   Since the cabinet reshuffle of February 27, 2015, we are referring to the ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la recherche (ministry of Education, Higher Education and Research) and the ministère du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale (ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Solidarity.

characteristics and the learning pathways of adults without a diploma that were considering returning to school to obtain a SSD or DVS in 2013 and 2014, as well as the type of guidance and career support they were seeking to facilitate their return to school and their retention in training.

2. Methodology

A mixed methods design was chosen, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. It combined three types of original data collection: a semi-structured interview, a focus group (total n=79) and a population sample survey (n=450). In addition, we proceeded with an analysis of public data and a secondary analysis of qualitative data (n=56), per interview collected in two other studies from the Centre d'études et de recherches sur les transitions et l'apprentissage (CÉRTA) with adults without a diploma (Bourdon et al., 2009; Michaud, Bélisle, Garon, Bourdon, & Dionne, 2012). However, the results presented here are those based on the original data.

The call for proposals (MELS et al., 2011) was asking that the study document the point of view of adults without a diploma. It also asked to provide a data collection analysis by region or group of regions (Greater Montreal, central regions, resource regions); sex; age group (under 20, 20-24, 25-44, 45-54, 55+); main activity (in school, employed, unemployed, inactive); source of income (public financial support providers, employee, other); level of education (literacy, presecondary, cycle one or cycle two in general education for adults, vocational training); immigrant status; belonging to a visible minority. We also paid attention to the adults' contexts such as the presence of children, health conditions or disability.

The telephone survey (n=450) was conducted by a team from our research center, CÉRTA, of people engaged in guidance counselling university programs, the majority at the master level. Lasting approximately 15 minutes, it targeted adults from 18 to 64, who speak French, live in Quebec and do not hold a high school diploma (SSD or DVS) or post-secondary degree. Adults trained outside Quebec who hold a diploma that is not recognized as the equivalent of a high school diploma in Quebec were also included in the sample. Stratified random sampling was carried out from a telephone survey base, prepared by a specialized company. Comparisons with census and other official statistics indicated that the final sample is representative of the entire population of Quebec adults, aged from 18 to 64 without a diploma. Statistical analyzes were conducted in SPSS 20. Associations and reported differences in the results are significant at the .05 level.

The original qualitative data collection was carried out by five focus groups (n=43) and 36 semi-structured interviews. Participating adults completed a socio-demographic questionnaire, usually at the end of the meeting. Adult recruitment was carried out with the valuable collaboration of diverse partner organisations: community organizations in the field of guidance and career services, food security, housing and other community services, education and training centers, local employment centers, trade union, personal network CÉRTA colleagues, etc. The average length of recorded content focus groups was 2 hours and 41 minutes. The personal interview was a semi-structured one, with an average duration of 66 minutes. The transcripts were included in a database created from NVivo 10. The method of thematic analysis used is based on a model developed and used many times by CÉRTA (Bourdon, 2002; Bourdon & Bélisle, 2008) and is made from a thematic tree form, consisting of dimensions, headings and sub-headings.

A protocol was submitted for an ethics review and was found to meet the institutional expectations by the Comité d'éthique de la recherche – Éducation et sciences sociales de l'Université de Sherbrooke.

3. Results

The population survey reveals that 60% of Québec adults without a diploma who are not currently in school have considered returning to school over the past five years, or since they last attended school. As the title of the paper suggests, the results presented here are focusing on adults who are considering returning to school.

3.1 Characteristics of adults who consider returning to school

There are some significant associations between thinking of returning to school and the independent variables. Thus, back to school plans greatly decrease with the age group. All of the adults aged 18-24 in the study have considered going back to school (100%). This proportion indicates that the social pressure to obtain a first degree may be particularly strong among young adults. This proportion decreases to 82% among those aged 25-34, to 71% for those aged 35-44, 59% among those 45-54 years and reaches its lowest among those aged 55-64, 39%, which still remains a significant proportion.

As expected from the literature on the subject, considering returning to school is associated with the highest level of schooling completed. Thus, adults who have not passed primary school level are less likely to have considered returning to school than first or second cycle secondary school leavers (37% vs. 64% and 61%). Back to school plans are also associated with the presence of dependent children, adults with children are more likely than others to have thought about going back to study (69% vs. 57%).

We also asked adults considering returning to school to indicate to what point one of four reasons could motivate them to return. The most common motivation cited by almost three-quarters of adults (74%), is to obtain a recognized diploma, followed closely by improving their skills for employment (69%) and improving skills for self or family (65%). The desire for social encounters in motivating a

return to school affected adults the less (38%), but this proportion remains high and indicates that a return to school is considered not simply for economic reasons.

We have also noted several significant associations between back to school motivations and the independent variables. Thus, obtaining a recognized diploma and improving skills for employment are associated with age. These two reasons are mentioned by more than 71% of adults in each of the age groups between 18 and 54 years while they are mentioned by less than half of adults aged 55-64. Obtaining a recognized diploma is a reason that is also associated with the presence of dependent children, those having evoked that reason more than others (84% vs. 69%). Improving their knowledge and skills for themselves or for their family is also associated with the presence of children. Adults with one or more dependent children are more likely to identify this reason than others (75% vs. 60%). The possibility of social encounters as the reason for going back to school is associated with gender, the presence of dependent children or disability or health problems, making it difficult to participate in school or at work. Thus, this reason was evoked more by women (44% vs. 31%), by adults without dependent children (43% vs. 29%), and those with a disability or health problem (53 % vs. 33%).

We also asked adults what was the highest degree they would wish to obtain one day. We found that among adults without a diploma contemplating returning to school in recent years, two in five do not wish to receive a degree (19%). For those wishing to get a degree, it is primarily a high school diploma, most desired is the SSD (34%) followed by the DVS (29%). Others are twice as likely to want a university degree (12%) rather than a college diploma (6%).

Given that the recognition of prior learning can play an attractive role for adults without a diploma considering returning to school or training for a qualification, the survey included questions about the General Development Test (GDT), the Secondary School Equivalency Tests (SSET) and the Certificate of Vocational Qualifications (CVP)[4] in the section regarding their training history. We found that 7% of adults that considered returning to school had completed the GDT, while 11% had already done the SSET. The proportions of these adults who have passed these tests or obtained the CVP vary from 2 to 7%.

3.2 Adult without a diploma's use of guidance and career services

As we have seen, adults who are considering returning to school have varying characteristics. In regards to the use of guidance and career services, there is also variation, some wanted more professional services, others claimed that they could fend for themselves or with the help from those around them. Among the 50% of the study population who

would like to receive guidance and career services, only 15% know where to get them. We found that almost two out of five adults without a diploma received at least one guidance and career service during the five preceding years before the survey (42%). Certain types of services seem more accessible, such as assistance in preparing a résumé or to obtain information on training possibilities that are offered, while help for recognition of prior learning had been obtained by a very small number (6%). These results are consistent with results based on qualitative analysis that found that certain categories of services are better known than others and more frequently used in adult life courses. In this paper, we focus on learning and work information services whose existence is known by the vast majority of adults, and we also focus on services supporting the conceptualization and realization of a learning project and services supporting the official recognition of prior learning which are much less known but widely desired by adults.

Adults seek information about learning and work opportunities at a transitional time in their life or when they are questioning their life course. Several mentioned searching the Internet, with or without professional help, to explore, for example, opportunities to undertake courses or training in school or elsewhere. The appreciation of those services varies among individuals and their application, relevance and timeliness perceived by adults in regards to the services received. However, to a large extent, the adults interviewed claimed that the information service alone is not enough. The advice they receive, the relation between the information and what a counsellor has retained from the person interests, competences or life course, adds a certain value or credibility to the information services. However, several problems are noted in regards to the disclosure of information: the difficulty to discriminate, filtered or patchy information, the counsellor's ignorance of current possibilities for people without a diploma, stereotypes about adults without a high school diploma, etc. That being said, the appreciation of the learning and work information services is high if the information given opens up new possibilities. Conversely, when there is a delay between the need for information and the time when the demand can be made to the counsellor, the appreciation of the information service is negative. Many adults without a diploma would like improved and customized learning and work information services, while others do not ask for that type of services, saying that they know what training they need and how to get it.

Guidance and career interventions can help adults with the achievement of a learning project, but these services are not well known, even by the many adult learners in our study. With the 2002 Québec adult education and training action plan (Gouvernement du Québec, 2002), schools boards, adults education centers and vocational training centers have established services identified at reception, referral, counselling and support services[5] (MELS, 2006) including

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4   Other intermediate certificates and attestations exist in basic education in Quebec, but we retained only those known in the focus groups, given that the award of time constraint.

5   In French, Services d'accueil, référence, conseil et accompagnement (SARCA).

guidance services. Guidance counsellors[6] as well as educational and vocational information counsellors or training counsellors are involved in those services. These services are aimed towards adults that are registered at institutions, as well as those that are not. Such services are not limited to learning projects in formal education, but in principle can support the conceptualization or realization of learning projects in the workplace, community or elsewhere. However, unlike almost all other guidance services documented (Bélisle & Bourdon, 2015), the support services that assist in the realization of a learning project, such as SARCA, do not seem to benefit from a reputation effect (Pawson, 2008) among adults who do not have a diploma. Few adults who are considering returning to school are aware that they can be assisted through guidance and career services. Thus, the guidance services are mainly associated with information about school programs and job opportunities in the sector, but very few are informed that guidance and career services can also give support for the clarification of a learning project, to prepare it according to the adult financial needs as well as other adult's responsibilities and contexts, and to help dealing with barriers or ambivalence during schooling. If on one hand, the existence of financial assistance that is granted for the unemployed adults by Emploi-Québec, the public network employment agency, is well known by adults, those who do not have access wish that the organization changes its criteria to support the return to school for employed people and people with a qualification, but do not have a diploma. Therefore, these adults do not want to feel that they have to fight to get it. Many of them require more assistance to support their retention in training and would like that their particular contexts to plan and realize a learning project be taken into account.

4.   Discussion

The study shows that there are many adults without a diploma within Quebec that consider going back to school, but among certain transversal phenomena observed, we have noticed a low visibility/readability of guidance and career services and relatively limited use of these services. Another transversal phenomenon is that there is still little guidance that is articulated to a lifelong learning perspective. The little awareness among adults of the recognition of prior learning's new features, known to promote bridges between different learning spaces (Bélisle, 2012) gives illustration of this. Therefore, the little dissemination of opportunities of official recognition of prior learning, as RAC in vocational training, particularly from guidance counsellors or other types of counsellors or agents in schools, community, public employment network or private services, becomes a constraint on the potential attractiveness of these devices and the basic training that they can recognize partially or completely. Yet elsewhere in the world, including Europe, the

proximity between the lifelong learning and lifelong guidance has been carried out for some years (Godbert, 2014).

Thus, we have seen in the last decade significant institutional developments in guidance and career services, including a decompartmentalization effort to promote lifelong learning (Borras & Romani, 2010). New frameworks include special attention to help low-skilled employees move towards skilled training. In some countries, such as France, the right to register for career guidance has become written into the law. Thus, the Loi du *24 novembre 2009 relative à l'orientation et à la formation tout au long de la vie* clearly establishes the link between these two. However, our study shows that much remains to be done to move away from a person/job matching perspective (Danvers, 2009), which often seems to characterize guidance and career services as opposed to more contextualized approaches (Michaud et al., 2012), which take into account the variety of characteristics and contexts of those helped, and are seen as preferable in supporting adults without a diploma.

Another point of discussion we want to raise here is the designation of adults without a diploma. Studies from the United States comparing living conditions of adults with a diploma, adults holding a High school equivalency certificate, obtained after successful completion of the General Educational Development tests (GED), and adults who have interrupted their education (dropouts) have indicated a gap between living conditions (e.g. income, health) of each of these groups (e.g. Rachal & Bingman, 2004; Tyler, 2003; Zajacova, 2012). The standard of living for people with high school diploma is better than that of GED recipients, and this last group's standard of living is better than that of adults with no diploma. Our choice to not consider GED recipients or adults having other attestation or certificate that is granted upon completion of the SSD or DVS, can stimulate debate about the emancipatory orientation adopted in the lifelong and livewide learning perspective that we have taken (Bélisle, 2012; Bélisle & Bourdon, 2015; Bélisle, Michaud, Bourdon, & Rioux, 2014). Indeed, GEDs are one of the measures adopted by the Quebec government (Gouvernement du Québec, 2002) to support the recognition of prior learning and skills through a lifelong learning perspective. It is not our goal to question this, but to draw attention to the fact that large scale studies available to date show that the majority of GED recipients do not have the same standards of living than those with a high school diploma. Thus, just as for adults who have interrupted their schooling before obtaining a diploma, those who have obtained an attestation or an intermediate certificate facilitating their entry into the labour market have questions about career or learning opportunities. It seems to us that including them as adults without a diploma in research, as in guidance and career services, gives them equal opportunities in correspondence to the right of education enshrined in the Education Act (Loi sur l'instruction publique, 2015). It seems therefore important that collectively we keep the doors open for guidance and career services tailored to all adults without a diploma.

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6   This is a reserved title in Québec for qualified practitioners (master degree and diverses obligations) who are members of a professional order, l'Ordre des conseillers et conseillères d'orientation du Québec (OCCOQ).

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Transitions To Adulthood:
What Do We Know, What Do We Need To Know?

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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the ways in which transitions to adulthood are measured and quantified. We present a review of the current state of the literature and the different theories of adult development that tend to describe how young people can achieve a "successful" adulthood. We hope that the paper will serve as a starting point for critical discussions about the relationship between career and adulthood.

"Do you know what it's like to be cusping on adulthood and not know who you are, what you want to be, or even if you want to be?"

—Georgia Lass, Dead Like Me

Introduction

One of the most important questions that we ask young people is, 'what do you want to do when you are older.' It always seems like a simple and straightforward question that is meant to guide young people into thinking about what they want to do for their future occupations. This seemingly straightforward question, however, is really loaded with a great deal of social expectations and a judgment about whether the young person is being realistic or either shooting to high or too low. Very often, the person asking the question, an adult or teacher, or someone with some kind of authority, has an expectation of how a young person will answer the question. This leads to an important dilemma in research on young people, which is how do we understand what and how young people aspire, without asking them to fulfill the adult expectation that usually consists of high status professional occupations like being a lawyer, doctor or engineer, or the alternative, lower status service and trades based occupations.

The literature in this area is constantly shifting. What we know about aspirations often falls into two categories. What

do young people say about aspirations, and how are teachers and parents advising young people about aspirations. It is important to think of the advise about career choices as linked to a language of *opportunities*. Primarily by the opportunities provided by the place in which the aspirations are formed, or what Furlong and Cartmel (1997) call "opportunity structures." One supposition is that presenting a range of possibilities to individuals may help adolescents to make career choices. For example, if young people are fully aware of the kinds of occupations or education programmes available to them, they might have higher and clearer aspirations. However, knowing the options available for occupations can also send a different kind of message, which includes guiding some young people towards or away from professional occupations.

This question of what we need to know about how young people form aspirations has become central in our research. We start from the position that we have a common sense understanding of wanting young people to have high aspirations, to want to be doctors, lawyers and engineers. However, what we know is that not everyone can have a professional career. This is based on a variety of reasons, some of which include, ability, knowledge about the labour market, and the money to attend post secondary education. Research in this area needs to consider the ways in which adult and career identities are formed as young people are finishing secondary school and choosing pathways towards work or postsecondary education. As researchers in the field we realize it is necessary to unpack what we know and what we need to know about the available that tell us how young people transition to adulthood.

How Adulthood Is Constructed

For most young people in Western society, the years from the late teens through the twenties are characterized as a time of profound change, exploration and personal

importance. It is during this time that we presume that individuals engage in self-exploration, deciding who they are, what they want to be, and what they want out of life (Arnett, 2000, 2006, 2014; Erikson, 1968). Decisions made during this time can impact how a young person perceives adulthood and acceptance of the role. Often the transition to and through adulthood is contingent on "whether individuals in any given society [culture] hold a common notion of adulthood" (Modell, Furstenberg & Hershberg, 1976, p.9). What may be considered traditional markers of adulthood and adult-like characteristics may differ within a given society or between societies. Schulenberg, Sameroff, & Cicchetti (2004) note "[like] all major life transitions, the transition to adulthood is embedded in a socio-cultural context, and therefore, may vary in occurrence, content, and meaning by gender, socioeconomic background, culture, and historical period" (p.801). It is these shared understandings that lead us to the common social markers that either allow to define who is and who is not an adult.

Adulthood is often thought of as an apex, something to be strived for, however, it has "become more difficult to grow up, because passage to adulthood has become less and not more clearly charted" (Modell et al., 1976, p.8). The research reports that youth today take much longer than young people a half-century ago to reach traditional adult statuses, including leaving home, completing education, entering the labour force, and forming a family (Shanahan 2000; Furstenberg, 2000). The traditional school-to-work and youth-to-adult transitions have became more prolonged, complex, and uncertain during the past three decades as a result of labour market restructuring - the turn from manufacturing industries to service industries - and rising educational requirements for employment (Krahn, Howard & Galambos, 2015; Furlong, Woodman & Wyn, 2011).

Wyn and Woodman (2006) argue that generational shifts have caused "[changes] in labour markets, in the relationship between education and employment and in workplace relations, have altered the significance of the traditional 'markers' of adult status in industrialised countries" (p. 501). This has resulted in youth facing more uncertain and unstable labour market conditions than they did in previous generations (Kerckhoff, 2003). Wyn and Woodman (2006) comment that the development of young people's careers are characterized by part-time and flexible forms of work, combined with other activities such as education. Additionally, there has been a shift in educational structures, attendance and participation in higher education has "been driven by beliefs about the economic value and societal benefits of certain forms of learning, types of skill-acquisition, and patterns of behaviour as preparations for contemporary labour forces" (Côté, 2014, p. 79). The result is that there is a great link between career and adulthood even though it not as clearly marked in the developmental literature.

Flexibility in defining adulthood is a hallmark of more recent scholarship, for example Arnett (2000) states that youth can choose from a multitude of paths of entry into adulthood "[exploring] a variety of possible life directions" where

"little about the future has been decided for certain" (p. 469). This is echoed by Bjorklund and Bee (2008) whereby "the content of social roles and the pattern of role transitions open to young adults … have become more flexible and diverse over the years and less directed by any cultural or institutional structure" (p.137). What this tells us is that there are changes to the social construct of what we think of as adulthood.

How The Transition To Adulthood Is Measured

Shifting from how we define adulthood to the process of how we get there. The transition to adulthood has been widely studied across a variety of fields, including anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Movement into adulthood, as noted above, is often characterized through normative role transitions, such as completing education, moving out of the parental home, entering the workforce, marriage, and becoming a parent (Furstenberg, 2000; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Johnson, Berg & Sirotzki, 2006; Shanahan, 2000), however, the markers and transition into adulthood have decompressed since the late 1960's due to socio-economic and cultural changes (modernization) within Western society becoming increasingly individualized (Furstenberg, 2000; Shanahan, 2000). These changes have been influenced by short-term economic fluctuations, historical events, and social inequalities within cohorts (Shanahan, 2000). This shift in the traditional transition to adulthood has a less strict enforcement of the prescribed social timetables and has allowed for increased variation in the life course, especially during early adulthood (Shanahan, 2000; Shettersten, 2002).

Even with an understanding of more variability in the life course, it is clear that there are normative patterns in the transition to adulthood that have shifted over the past several generations. Half a century ago adulthood came easier and earlier compared to today (Furstenberg, Kennedy, McLoyd, Rumbaut & Settersten, 2004; Furstenberg, 2010a, Furstenberg, 2010b). Historically, youth followed a socially constructed age-related path as they transitioned into new adult roles such as movement out of the student role, entry into the labour force, marriage, and parenthood. Each of these developmental markers "may not universally announce adulthood, but they certainly bear an overwhelming and apparent association with participation in the adult world" (Modell et al., 1976, p.9). Recent research indicates "young adults and older adults alike do not consider experiencing these events as the defining element of entering adulthood" (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010, p.60).

A great amount of research has been published exploring the meaning of reaching adulthood by collecting the perceptions of how youth who are in the process of becoming adult perceive their transition into adulthood (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Arnett & Galambos, 2003; Mortimer, Oesterle & Krüger, 2005; Pallas, 2006). These studies on the transition to adulthood, and others, have focused on three general recurring questions about how youth transition into

adulthood as summarized by Carman (2008): (1) What criteria are perceived to be the most important to signify the transition from adolescent to adult status? (2) Are these criteria uniform across social contexts, or are these conceptions socially and culturally bound? And, (3) what qualities are characteristic of adults?

As a sociological concept, the transition to adulthood is a life course phase located between adolescence and adulthood during which individuals perceive themselves as no longer being adolescents but not fully adults either. The phase, according to Arnett (2000), ranges from the late teens to the late twenties and is characterized by identity exploration, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between, and feeling that it is the age of possibility. This phase, viewed through the lens of life course theory, "is an integral part of a biography that reflects the early experiences of youth and also that shapes later life" (Shanahan, 2000, p. 668).

One of the interesting and problematic shifts has been this addition of theories that halt or extend the period of adolescence. According to Arnett (2000) and Côté (2000) this period or phase is where youth can take time to explore and find themselves and provides 'time-out' to explore vocational and personal potentials before settling into adulthood. From Arnett's perspective, young people spend a great amount of time exploring educational, employment, and lifestyle roles in their late teens to mid-to late 20s allowing youth the flexibility to 'test-drive' different vocational paths, easing the transition into adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2007, 2014). Through this transitional task, "young people assess their own interests, abilities, and opportunities, and accept or reject particular careers as possible options for themselves" (Creed & Blume, 2013, p. 3).

Often the research describes youth through individualistic attributes such as accepting responsibility for one's self, gaining autonomy and independence, and becoming financially independent (Arnett 1997, 2000; Côté 2000; Elder, 2007; Mayseless & Scharf, 2003). It is also a period of time where youth are thought to begin to develop an individualized sense of self separate from that of their parents (Arnett, 2006). If it where simple, the transition to adulthood would be "characterized by extended identity exploration and the slow adoption of adult roles and behaviors" (Krahn et al., 2015, p.246). However, there appears to be a tacit acceptance of this extra phase in life that is constructed for young people rather than by them. Some of the critiques of Arnett's and other individualistic theories are that they appear to be very much mired in middle class values, tend to describe young people in deficit ways, often reflect neoliberal values and they make it much harder for young people to self-identify as adults (Benjamin, Domene & Landine, 2014). Moreover, it forgets that, as the European Group for Integrated Social Research (EGRIS)(2001) points out, "young people are actively trying to shape their present and future lives, albeit constrained within the economic, social and cultural conditions they find themselves within" (p.103).

Although the literature has provided us with an understanding of the benchmarks used to define adulthood, newer studies (See St. Clair & Benjamin, 2011) are trying to tease out the difference between realistic and aspirational occupational choices as way to understand the transition to adulthood. Aspirations are a key influence on numerous developmental outcomes, including determining future educational activity (e.g., university attendance) and eventual occupational attainment (Andres, Anisef, Krahn, Looker & Thiessen, 1999). We argue that we need to go even further to understand how aspiration structures are generational and the ways in which they impact unstable vocational pathways.

Adult Development And Vocational Pathways

This interplay in the research noted above leads us to wonder what role does a chosen vocational pathway play in shaping how youth perceive the markers of adulthood, the transition to adulthood and when they begin to self-identify as adults. Our argument is that the vocational pathway that an individual chooses plays a strong role in shaping their identity, and how they perceive the markers of adulthood and their transition to adulthood (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996).

Often what we know about how occupational aspirations are formed for young people stems from the literature on career advising. One key problem that is pointed out by Hoyt (1981) addresses the training of teachers, as he argues that classroom teachers are not universally supportive of career education because the benefits of career advising are not always apparent for teachers. Stewart, Hutchinson, Hemingway & Bessai (1989) suggest that personal attributes related to achievement in school, like self-concept, influence occupational aspirations, but that occupational aspirations are also "mediated by environmental factors like parental and teacher support and advice".

One thing that is consistent throughout all of the literature is that the relationship between aspirations and career advising provides an important starting point for understanding how young people form aspirations in the context of schools. It is also important to remember that advice is not neutral and the guiding principles are often based on the perception of what is in a young persons best interest. There are no real alternatives to growing up and getting a career.

Conclusion

The ambiguity surrounding adulthood and what it means in different cultures, generations and geographic locations make it difficult to develop a concrete definition of adulthood. No matter how one defines or describes the markers and roles of adulthood, it is a socially constructed concept that varies from generation to generation and from culture to culture.

One area that is often not included these discussion are markers of the transition to adulthood, or through adulthood, are

the physical, health, spiritual and cognitive markers that we go through, - changes in our senses, fluctuations in weight, changing physical stamina and strength, changes in health, changes in spirituality, decreasing concentration, declining memory and intellectual ability - as we age, which play just as an important roll as the socio- and psychological markers.

We need a better understanding of where career aspirations originate and therefore how best to situate educational interventions. There is a great deal of pressure on high school students as they start to choose a career and this choice often works as a binary construction of adulthood for young people: adults know what they want to do for a career, and adolescents are expected to find out. In order to achieve a "successful" adulthood, students are expected to choose careers and know how to go about achieving them. Research in this area must have both academic and policy application, and should be utilized by teachers and policy makers in the province. Our hope is that this paper will serve as a starting point for critical discussions about the relationship between career and adulthood.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

The Job Lifecycle Framework Of Informal Learning

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ABSTRACT

One of the long vexing challenges in informal learning in the workplace is how it happens. In professional circles, the discussion is dominated by 70:20:10, referring to the proportions of informal, coached, and formal learning posited to occur. In academic circles, the discussion is dominated by Informal and Incidental Learning Model, which focuses on the incident that triggers informal learning and what happens afterwards. This paper proposes a third framework: one that considers the learning needs of workers throughout the tenures in their jobs. The framework combines threads of discussion from the literature on learning in the context of the job. It suggests several distinct stages of learning in the context of a job, and the types of learning that the literature suggests that learners typically use. These stages include (1) training to perform the current job, (2) socializing into the organization, (3) expanding the scope of tasks workers perform, (4) building additional proficiency in the job, (5) handling undocumented tasks and troubleshooting undocumented problems, (6) preparing for special projects, (7) preparing to participate in organizational initiatives, (8) updating skills, (9) identifying the next opportunity, and (1) preparing for the next opportunity.

Introduction

Two key frameworks and models of informal learning dominate the discussion of how it happens. Informal learning refers to activities in which learners control some or all of the process, content, purpose, and location, and may or may not be conscious of the learning (Carliner, 2012; Wihak, et al, 2008; Colley, Hodkinson, & Malcolm, 2003).

The first, the 70:20:10 framework, focuses on the quantity of learning by different means. Frst proposed by late University of Toronto professor Allen Tough in the 1960s () and further developed by Michael Lombardo and Robert Eichinger from the Centre for Creative Leadership (1996), 70:20:10 suggests that 10% of workplace learning occurs formally through training, 20% occurs thorugh coaching by supervisors and co-workers, and 70% occurs within the context of the job, often without any formality. The concept has gained wide recognition with the establishment of a global consultancy based in Australia called the 70:20:10 Forum. The second model, the Informal and Incidental Learning model (Marsick & Watkins, 1990; Cseh, Marsick, & Watkins, 1999), first emerged in 1990 and has been refined since. This model primarily focuses on the informal learning process within individuals: the incident that "triggers" learning to commence and the process of learning that follows. Both of these frameworks focus on how people learning: the first on how much, the second on the process. Neither anticipates what people learn informally.

The Job Lifecycle Framework of Informal Learning provides the basis for filling this gap. This framework considers the learning needs of workers throughout the tenures in their jobs. The framework combines threads of discussion from the literature on learning in the context of the job. It suggests several distinct stages of learning in the context of a job, and the types of learning that the literature suggests that learners typically use. According to Carroll (1990), the more straightforward—or minimalist—the instruction for job tasks at this point, the better workers can master it.

Phases in the Framework

This section describes each of the key phases in learning that occurs during the job and suggests the roles of formal and informal learning in each.

Phase 1: Training to Perform the Current Job. In some cases, the training focuses on performing immediate job tasks, In other cases, the training focuses on broad ways of thinking that guide decision making on the job. This is accomplished through a variety of means, including formal classes (both scheduled and self-study) and structured on-the-job training, often followed by supervised performance of a task.

The extent of topics covered and format of the training vary, depending on the nature of the work and the skills of the new workers. All workers need an overview to the products and services offered by the organization, as well as the terms most commonly used by workers in the organization. New workers in some fields typically bring skills and knowledge, and only need an orientation to the ways in which the work at the new employer either builds on, or differs from, their training. For example, engineers typically start jobs with engineering degrees; the orientation does not need to cover basic engineering concepts. Similarly, many training and development professionals start jobs bring relevant degrees and certification. New workers in other fields bring little or no skills to their jobs. For example, new marketing representatives for technology products might start their jobs with advanced degrees in business or engineering, but degree programs teach neither the sales processes and techniques nor the product knowledge needed on the job.

Some organizations provide workers with extensive formal orientation training. This typically occurs in organizations that experience high turnover and hire large numbers of workers at a single time, organizations whose workers extensively interact with the public (such as sales representatives), and workers in regulated organizations and for which no formal credentialing exists (such as orderlies in nursing homes).

But because a typical department has 5 to 15 workers, and usually hires just one or two workers at a time, most organizations cannot offer new workers formally scheduled orientation classes. So by necessity, at least some of this orientation happens informally, usually through a form of structured self-directed learning, even in the largest organizations.

In such a situation, the new worker receives a tour of the work area and a manager or senior worker introduces the new worker to the rest of the department. The new worker also receives a series of materials to read (sometimes in print, more likely online) and may take some self-study courses on general technical topics, such as safety issues and overviews of processes followed by several departments.

Many organizations prepare guides for managers and senior workers overseeing the orientation to advise them how to coach new workers through the orientation process, especially organizations that experience high turnover, such as those in retail and customer service. For example, one large coffee chain of coffee houses has an orientation program in which senior staff members follow a guide book to orient new workers and prepare them for the job tasks that they will perform.

Although new workers typically have high levels of motivation, they also typically have limited knowledge about their specific jobs and unknown confidence in performing them. As a result, even if the learning occurs informally on the job, workers benefit from a high level of support ad structure at this phase of learning, especially in the first days and weeks. Such structure not only ensures that learners have covered the key material and mastered it intellectually, but also provides workers with feedback on their on-the-job performance (even after formal training has ended) so workers can build appropriate skills and confidence in their ability to perform.

Even if they do not prepare formal learning programs for this phase of development, Training and Development professionals can support orientation efforts by preparing general self-study materials that apply to all jobs, templates (kind of like fill-in-the-blank forms) that departments can use to structure the orientation effort, and provide checklists and discussion guides to coach managers and senior workers who oversee the orientation process.

Phase 2: Socializing into the Job and Organization. Also occurring at this time, but considered separately, is socialization to the organization. The type of socialization needed varies. A brand new employee needs socialization into the department, division, and organization. In contrast, an employee who transfers from another department in the organization might only require socialization to the department. Although organizations often rely on formal training to inform workers about key policies, benefits, and company history and values, the majority of socialization occurs informally. Some happens through formally structured interactions with colleagues, such as lunch on the first day on the job; some happens through less structured conversations on the job and some is learned through various types of ongoing communications from the organization.

Although the facts and language of a culture can be taught, ultimately, most people integrate into a culture by interacting in it. So most organizations use a variety of use less formal and informal approaches to integrate workers. These include:

- Lunch. Many organizations instruct managers or supervisors to take workers to lunch on their first day of work. Although primarily a social gesture, the storytelling that occurs during these social events lets workers learn about one another as people rather than in terms of their positions, and facilitates the work relationship.

- Affinity groups, which are groups of people who share a similar characteristic (in this case, being a new worker), and lets them safely raise questions and concerns that they might not feel comfortable sharing with their co-workers. Affinity groups can happen online or off. Some affinity groups schedule events. For example, many law firms use affinity groups to integrate summer interns.

- Online mentoring support systems, which suggest activities that mentors for new employees (in this case, the manager) should do at various points in the first 90 days on the job, and then checks to make sure that the mentor performed these tasks.

Some organizations also use e-learning to tell workers to introduce workers to their histories, organizational structure, key products and services, and internal terminology. But Training and Development professionals need to be careful about how they present this material to workers—not just in terms of what they present online, but also in terms of how they introduce it to workers. Although e-learning is useful for presenting factual information in a consistent way, sitting workers in front of a computer to learn all about how the company believes "people are our most valuable asset" contradicts the intention.

Because socialization is ultimately an individual process that occurs at a different pace for each worker, the majority of the process is, from a practical perspective, informal. But informal does not mean non-existent. Formal gestures such as lunch on the first day of work, formal meetings with all co-workers within the first week of the job, and an early introduction to senior management leave an impression with the new worker and communicate the organization's interest in integrating the worker. That attention or neglect, in turn, affects both the speed and extent of the integration.

Phase 3. Expanding the Scope of Tasks Workers Perform. After workers develop basic competence in the job, they are ready to take on additional job responsibilities and learn ways to more efficiently perform job tasks already learned (ones that might be easier to learn using simple approaches, but more productively handled using other approaches). These tasks might include expanding the scope of responsibilities performed, customizing processes, and troubleshooting problems. A combination of formal and informal learning supports this process, such as Tips and Techniques courses for computer skills, Lunch and Learn sessions for a variety of skills, and consulting documentation and the literature. Much of it could be informal as learning needs are often situated within the context of the work assignment and many work assignments are unique.

Some of the learning might occur through formal learning, especially self-study programs and short classes. But the majority of it happens both on-the-job, usually through formal conversations and follow-up one-on-one coaching, and the documentation of processes, policies, procedures, and techniques in policies and procedures guides, operations manuals, references, and job aids.

Both the worker and the organization share participation in setting the agenda for learning how to expand the scope of assignments, usually prompted by need or interest. Sometimes, the worker initiates the request for learning. For example, as Casey becomes more comfortable handling her initial set of responsibilities, she might find herself finishing her work before the end of the work day and might ask for something else to do. A long-time worker might express an interest in having more variety in the job, and might seek new opportunities and the learning that goes with it.

Phase 4: Building Additional Proficiency in the job. During this phase, workers continue their efforts to become more productive, effective, and valuable. Learning goals at this phase point revolve performing everyday tasks more efficiently and effectively. Sometimes, workers sometimes formally initiate learning at this phase. Sometimes, the employer initiates learning at this phase. Most frequently, however, learning at this phase happens unconsciously or unintentionally. Workers trying to build their proficiency in a job use many of the same learning methods used to help workers expand the scope of assignments they can handle. Some of the learning might occur through formal programs (some intended for learning, some not), such as online tutorials, workbooks, webinars, presentations, and short classes. But the majority of it happens both on-the-job, especially through interactions with co-workers in the context of the job, coaching about performance, and reading policies and procedures guides, operations manuals, websites, references, and job aids.

Because of the different ways that workers learn at this phase, the types of opportunities to learn vary widely and, as a result, so does the level of structure needed to learn varies widely. In the least structured situations, like learning to use a software application more efficiently, workers might learn on their own or through conversations with others, and effectively apply the learning with little support and without much need for recognition.

In some moderately structured situations, workers might naturally receive feedback as part of an ongoing work process, so that if they need guidance in applying the learning, the process builds in that guidance. In the most structured situations, workers might participate in formal and semiformal learning experiences to build desired skills. In such instances, workers probably have identified the skills they want to develop and believe that some focused effort might help them develop those skills. For example, a manager who is looking for ways to more compassionately provide feedback to workers might choose to read a book on the subject. Workers also appreciate recognition for the cumulative impact of their improved proficiency resulting from their informal learning.

Phase 5: Handling Undocumented Tasks and Troubleshooting Undocumented Problems. As workers become experts in their jobs, they often handle tasks that are not documented and rely almost exclusively on informal means for addressing these tasks, such as troubleshooting problems that are not documented in the service literature. John Seely Brown describes "watercooler" conversations—that is, informal conversations in person and in places not intended for learning or thorugh online fora—that foster this type of learning among experts.

Workers typically hone their skills with undocumented challenges in these ways:

- Refining problem solving strategies, especially strategies for diagnosing problems and manipulating the software and hardware to accomplish the intended goals

- Reading or listening to cases of challenges that others have addressed, both successfully and unsuccessfully

- Seeking the advice of others who have complementary expertise

- Trial-and-error in their own work assignments, followed by reflection (whether conscious or not)

Workers can learn the general strategies for solving problems through formal or informal learning. Using formal learning tends to speed up the learning process and can ensure that workers follow prescribed problem-solving strategies, if the organization prefers that. Simulation speeds the learning process further because, in addition to preparing workers for worst-case scenarios in "safe" learning environments, it can present workers with a variety of other vexing situations they might not encounter on the job.

But many experts are self-taught in solving problems in their areas of expertise, using strategies learned through reading and watching others. Nearly all experts who handle undocumented problems have honed their expertise and expanded the range of challenges they can comfortably address through informal learning strategies.

Unless the organization transfers the worker to a different project (and, therefore, requires that the worker develop expertise in a completely different subject), workers dealing with undocumented challenges typically establish their own learning goals for learning. Others, however, choose the undocumented problems that these experts typically address.

Phase 6: Preparing for Special Projects. In some cases, workers need to prepare for particular work projects that demand new learning. For example, an engineer might be working with a project intended to introduce a new technology to products. Similar to a needs assessment for a training program, such learning involves a combination of formal and informal processes, including structured research projects.

Phase 7: Preparing to Participate in Organizational Initiatives. In other cases, an organization is launching a new initiative that could change the way that people perform their jobs or the context in which they do so. Examples include the launch of a new enterprise system, a major change initiative, and a merger. In such cases, workers need to training—often formal—to learn about the new initiative and correct their former ways of working. Furthermore, such efforts might require re-socialization efforts, efforts that might include formal components, but are only successful with informal follow-up.

Phase 8: Updating Skills. In addition, workers' skills could become outdated the longer they stay in their jobs and require updating. Learning at this phase starts with the recognition that skills require updating, a recognition that is sometimes intrinsically motivated and, other times, extrinsically motivated. In some cases, this might require unlearning old skills in addition to acquiring new ones.

At this phase, workers ideally realize they need to initiate learning hearing news that affects their work, news that may come formally or informally. The problem is, many workers do not always learn about the news that affects them. Already occupied with their current responsibilities, some workers do not follow the news. Some follow as much company news as they can. These workers admittedly dismiss some of it as irrelevant and, in the process, occasionally dismiss something relevant. Some do not follow the news at all; for example, many workers do not follow the business news or read all of the industry news that reaches their inboxes. The volume is too high to track. In other instances, workers do follow the news, but might only do so once a month or once a quarter—and sometimes, overlook something urgent.

Because the extent of learning required to integrate a change varies by the nature of the changes, the level of structure that learners need to master learning goals similarly varies. For changes in occupational knowledge—such as the knowledge of a physical therapist or an accountant-- workers typically have primary responsibility for initiating the learning. For example, registered electrical engineers are expected to keep up with developments in their field on their own, with little or no prodding from the employer. For changes in organizational knowledge—such as new products, services, policies, and procedures—the organization has the primary responsibility for initiating learning. To make sure that workers maintain current knowledge, however, many employers include this requirement in the performance plans of their workers.

Phase 9: Identifying the Next Opportunity. The last two phases of learning within the context of a given job involve preparation for the next position. The first occurs as workers start to realize (either on their own or with external prodding) that they need to move onto a new position. During this phase, workers need to realize first that they need to consider another job and then consider what that job might be. Because much of this process involves one of self-reflection, it is primarily informal, although formal resources assist with it, such as job seeking workshops and career placement tests.

Phase 10: Preparing for the Next Opportunity. Following identification of the next job, workers need to prepare for those jobs. The last phase of learning involves preparing for the next position. This process is often formal, because the worker seeks formal credentials for the next position and,

for many of those positions, formal credentials include successfully completed coursework.

Conclusions

This framework complements the Informal and Incidental Learning model by suggesting some of the possible triggers that launch the learning process, as well as the format(s) that workers might employ to learn and provide insights into the roles that formal and informal learning play at each of these stages.

This, in turn, would provide context for 70:20:10. But rather than focusing on whether this is an appropriate proportion, such a model suggests that different methods dominate at different phases of the life cycle of a job.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION/
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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

The Radical Potential Of Community Service Learning: Who's Learning? Who's Teaching?

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ABSTRACT

Community Service Learning (CSL) is a rapidly growing aspect of the Canadian higher education system. There have been critiques of the charity model with its deficit orientation of community and its unidirectional view of the university-community relationship. The alternative involves more reciprocal relations in which community and universities are equal partners. In working with CSL at my university I have become increasingly concerned with how community is positioned as Other, as only a site *of learning where students apply classroom knowledge. Community is more than just a location, it is also a teacher and a source of knowledge and theory. Understanding community as teacher and source of knowledge calls for a reframing and exploration of "who's learning? and "who's teaching?" in CSL. To answer those questions the paper begins with a definition and a brief summary of CSL research, before exploring ideas that can help to move towards CSL practices that embrace the notion of community as teacher.*

Definitions, Structures And Research

The Canadian Alliance for Community Service Learning defines CSL as "an educational approach that integrates service in the community with intentional learning activities. Within effective CSL efforts, members of both educational institutions and community organizations work together toward outcomes that are mutually beneficial". Community is a key word and crucial to all definitions and practices associated with CSL. What community means is, however, rarely articulated beyond what it is not, that is, it is not academia. In this way, the centrality of academic knowledge and practices and hierarchical relations between university and community are assumed. Ibàñez-Carrasco and Riaño-Alcalá (2009) note how ubiquitous the term has become and suggest it is "nearly bankrupt". They further note that the notion of community is often romanticized and "currently applied to almost any gathering of persons, ideas, and products to add a patina of authenticity" (p. 2).

CSL has developed into a major area of practice within U.S. post-secondary institutions. In Canada it is a more recent phenomenon but it is rapidly becoming institutionalized as evidenced by the recent establishment of the Canadian Alliance for Community Service-Learning (CACSL) which now has over 30 Canadian Universities as members. At UBC, my home institution, CSL has rapidly expanded. The Centre for Community Engaged Learning (CCEL) plays a coordinating role, helping to develop partnerships between communities, faculties and students. Community engagement (CE) is also evident in UBC's strategic plan called *Place and Promise*:

> UBC exists for the communities it serves: local, provincial, national, and global. An integral part of those communities, the University enters into relationships where decisions about means and ends are made collaboratively, costs and benefits are shared, and learning is reciprocal. Beginning with interest and outreach and moving through engagement and empowerment, UBC recognizes degrees of commitment and nurtures relationships along the full spectrum. In its highest form, community engagement casts the community partner in the leading role with the University acting in support. (http://strategic-plan.ubc.ca/the-plan/community-engagement/)

UBC's commitment to CE appears to be quite progressive compared with the other 15 research-intensive universities (U15) in Canada. In my exploration of the websites of these universities, I examined how and if community engagement (CE) was taken up. A university is identified as research-intensive based on the amount of sponsored research funding it receives, plus the number PhD graduates. All U15 websites referred to the importance of CE in the practices of the university. At the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta there were dedicated units for CE. Interestingly, I found the most developed institutionalization of CE at those universities not identified as part of the U15. In most of the

U15 cases, CE was linked to particular projects and academic disciplines or units, with health and medicine frequently involved in CE. In some academic programs CE was central to the curricula and in many universities, CE was also associated with the university's teaching and learning support units. Community was however rarely defined, although community partners were listed and included corporations, health care organizations, immigrant services agencies, labour unions, social services agencies, aboriginal organizations and arts organizations.

CSL has been the focus of many years of research much of it exploring U.S. programs; Canadian studies are rapidly expanding as well (Taylor & Ravkov, 2014). Most CSL research has focused on benefits of CSL for students including helping students learn to integrate theoretical and practical knowledge in innovative ways (Cone & Harris, 1996; Felten and Clayton, 2011); to cross boundaries between post-secondary educational institutions and other sites (Fernandes, Flores & Lima, 2012; Furco, 1996; Helle, Tynjälä & Olkinuora, 2006; McMillan, 2009); and to become critically engaged citizens who understand how to work for social change in diverse communities (Dunlap, Scoggin, Green & Davi, 2007; Mitchell, 2015; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Other research has noted how through CSL students develop deeper cultural understanding (Sipos, Battisti & Grimm, 2008; Crabtree, 2008), more active civic engagement (Mayo, Gaventa & Rooke, 2009; Keith, 2005), and accrue both vocational and personal benefits (Kiely, 2004; Smith, 2008; Chickering, 2008; Moely, Furco & Reed, 2008).

More recent studies have turned attention to studying communities' perspectives of CSL. In her review of community benefits of CSL, Bain (2012) found research on both short and longer term outcomes as well as outcomes for both community partners and the community they served (Basinger & Bartholomew, 2006; CASCL 2009; . Hansen et al, 2007; Institute for Civic and Community Engagement, 2010; Mbalinda et al., 2011; Worrall, 2007). Short term outcomes included benefiting from students' labour and students' future commitment to voluntary service, as well as improved image and services. Long-term outcomes included helping community organizations to achieve their goals and purposes and to bring about innovation, revitalization and sometimes to provide new services. Staff in community agencies noted that CSL students and faculty supervisors brought in useful knowledge. CSL partnerships also helped organizations develop awareness of their own local knowledge empowered them to find their own solutions. Through this process of co-creation, recognition was brought to communities who often feel marginalized. Bain also found reports of how CSL helped community organizations make links with policy makers and improve their resources management process as well as develop further capacity to evaluate their services and conduct research. Bain also noted that CSL partnerships led to deepening commitment to the voluntary and non-profit sector and organizations were also able to identify future staff. These results were similar to those found by Carson (2009) who also brought attention to the dark side of CSL including the time it takes to orient students and how much this takes away from providing services to their clients.

Ivan Illich, in his famous 1968 speech to a group of US volunteers who were heading to Mexico, was one of the first to challenge the charity model of CSL; he argued that students were no more than vacationing salesmen for the middle-class "American Way of Life," since that was really the only life they knew. Later on many others joined the growing expression of concern about the charity and colonial model of CSL, calling for a social justice orientation (Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Daigre, 2000; Densmore, 2000; Ferrari & Worrall, 2000; Sleeter, 2000; Bickford, & Reynolds, 2002; Eyler, 2002; Butin, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Cooks, Scharrer & Castaneda, 2004; McCabe, 2004; Keith, 2005; Mitchel & Humphries, 2007; Mitchell, 2007; Mitchell & Humphries, 2007; Crabtree, 2008; Endres & Gould, 2009; Blouin & Perry, 2009; Verjee, 2010; Bruce & Brown, 2010). Weerts and Sandmann (2008) make a case for moving towards a more reciprocal model: "The new philosophy emphasizes a shift away from an expert model of delivering university knowledge to the public and toward a more col-laborative model in which community partners play a sig-nificant role in creating and sharing knowledge to the mutu-al benefit of institutions and society." (p. 74). A decolonizing social justice orientation to CE, with roots in activism, is emerging from the dominant discourses on CE as an action-oriented strategy for combining social analysis and activist engagement for social change (Kahne, Westheimer & Rog-ers, 2000; Stoecker & Tryon, 2009; Butterwick & Gurstein, 2010; Verjee, 2012).

My Journey
In 2011, working with my colleague Jennifer Chan, we offered a course on the topic of CSL which involved students reading the critical literature about CSL and being placed in various agencies to experience CSL. Students partnered with a variety of agencies including multicultural and immigrant serving agencies, literacy organizations, mental health organizations, a mother's health group, and neighborhood houses. They engaged in an array of activities including: conducting surveys, doing historical research, designing learning activities, facilitating youth theatre, teaching communication skills including how to create video and effectively use social media, business development, youth and community outreach, health education, and developing web resources.

With funding from the Community Learning Initiative at UBC, interviews with 14 of the community partners who had hosted CSL students from that course were conducted (Butterwick & Henry 2015). In our analysis several themes emerged including how matching students and organizations and clarifying expectations were central to a productive partnership. Closely aligned with this matter of matching, hosts also identified the importance of effective communication between students, the agency and the

academic supervisor. An often heard challenge, which has also been noted in many other studies, was the temporal aspects of CSL and how the activities and needs of community organizations do not easily align with courses and academic calendars.

When I undertook this study, I was concerned about how CSL has the potential to exploit communities, many of which need students because their resources have been cut by governments whose decisions are informed by neoliberal notions and austerity measures (Bruce & Brown, 2010). I was concerned that the responsibility for the education of students was being shifted onto communities without recognition and compensation and with limited understanding of how supporting students in a placement required time and resources that were already scarce.

This perspective was not something expressed by the community hosts in our study. Instead, we were surprised to hear many hosts, without prompting, indicating a strong commitment to students' learning and many spoke about student learning as part of their mandate. As one host commented: "as a host partner, you want to give them something even if it's small but still meaningful". Hosts' commitment to student learning was also apparent when they expressed concern about students' levels of stress given their academic workloads and if students were had enough challenge and if they valued their CSL experience.

This notion of 'Community as Teacher' was a strong theme of Mali Bain's MA thesis (2014). Through interviews and document analysis, Bain explored the development of the partnership between an Indigenous organizations, the Fraser Valley Aboriginal Children and Family Services Society (Xyolhemeylh) and the Division of Health Care Communication at the University of British Columbia (UBC-DHCC). In this partnership, the traditional role of university serving community was reversed as UBC sent students from various health care professional programs to the 'Community as Teacher' program. This 3 day cultural camp had begun in 2006 to connect Indigenous youth, and their families with elders and their culture. By participating in the camps, UBC heath professional students were exposed to Indigenous pedagogical approaches and Indigenous culture. An evaluation of this camp and its impact on students' learning indicated how students developed knowledge of cultural differences, as well becoming more self- aware and how they could improve their communication with Indigenous peoples (Kline, Godolphin, Chhina, & Towle, 2013). This study also pointed to how communities developed awareness of their role as educators of health professionals.

Who's Learning, Who's Teaching: Reframing CSL

As noted, I am concerned with how we can reframe CSL and CE activities so that community is understood to be more than just a location or place for applying theoretical knowledge to real problems. In my exploration of community as teacher, source and creator of knowledge, I have turned to literature and ideas that disrupt the dominant view that the academy is the legitimate creator, source and distributor of knowledge.

Recognizing community as teacher is, I argue, part of a decolonizing approach, one which brings attention to how "colonial domination and its ideological frameworks operate and are reproduced in and through the design of community and education-based practice" (Tejedes, Espinoza, & Guitierrez 2003, p. 11). The importance of a decolonizing approach is powerfully outlined by Regan (2010) who speaks to how non-Natives must undertake the unfamiliar journey of decolonizing the mind and accepting the uncertainty that it may bring (p. 18), not through books but through experiencing it (p. 23).

Feminist perspectives have also contributed this reframing project. Feminists have advocated an activist orientation to CE (Naples & Bojar, 2002) and to bringing an intersectional analysis so that the focus is not only on gender, but other ways in which social markers and locations such as race and class are operating to maintain hierarchical relationships (Razack, 1998; Schick, 2000; Bannerji, 2000; hooks, 2003; Henry &Tator, 2010).

Critical race feminist theory (CRT) along with Critical Whiteness studies bring attention to how Whiteness, patriarchy, and classism operate in CSL to create hierarchical arrangements (Verjee & Butterwick 2014). CRFT is grounded in critical race theory (CRT), a framework developed by critical legal scholars as a way to foreground how racism is a key dimension of oppressive societal, social and institutional structures (such as the legal system and education) (Delgato & Stefancic, 2000; Vargas, 2003). CRT, in addition to offering a critique, also identifies counter-narrative as an important mechanism for challenging hegemonies based on hierarchies of race, gender, and class and through these processes outlines avenues for social change (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). A CRFT lens necessitates an intersectional analysis of inequities that exist in society in understanding gender, racial and class stratification. From a CRFT standpoint, a model of CSL and CE would be underpinned by accountability to racial, gender and class equity, and therefore social justice. Such a model calls for transformation of social, political and economic systems, particularly within educational settings (Closson, 2010; Verjee, 2012).

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2010) and Verjee (2012) suggest that structural and systemic change is the only way in which meaningful and substantive long-term relationships can be secured in any type of CE effort. CRFT helps to outline an ethic of the scholarship of engagement and collaboration with communities that addresses the root causes of inequality. Such a project must be led by racialized communities affected by systemic discrimination and exclusion in their desire for social change (Verjee, 2012). This requires addressing ideologies of White privilege within academe, and committing to institutional transformation. Universities, therefore, would need to invest in understanding the histories, social relations, and conditions that structure groups unequally (Razack, 1998), as much of critical CE involves

working with marginalized communities to remedy and alleviate multiple sites and spaces of oppression.

CRFT, decolonizing, and Critical Whiteness Studies can bring more sustained attention to formations of exclusion, but articulating an alternative to the deficit orientation is of equal importance. The notion of "community cultural wealth" outlined by Yosso (2005, p. 69) can support a vision of an alternative approach by "focus[ing] on and learn[ing] from the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged". In her arguments about the "ethical possibility of education", Todd (2012) calls for an existential shift away from learning *about* the Other to learning *from* them. This shift "allows us an engagement with difference across space and time, it focuses on the here and now of communication while gesturing toward the future and acknowledging the past; it allows for attentiveness to singularity and specificity within the plurality that is our social life. (p. 16)

Challenging the dominance of Western, Eurocentric and colonial knowledge is also a concern of Andreotti, Ahenakew, and Cooper (2011) who call for alternative epistemologies in higher education based on the pluralism of Boaventura de Souza Santos. Santos (2007) speaks of the abyssal line which creates a line between what is acceptable knowledge and what is not. What is acceptable is "modern knowledge" based on the scientific method, and on other side of the line "there is no real knowledge; there are beliefs, opinions, intuitive or subjective understandings, which, at the most, may become objects or raw materials for scientific enquiry" (Santos 2007, p. 2). The trashing of these 'alternative' knowledges Santos calls 'epistemicide'. Santos seeks to break down hegemonic dominance that persists within Western epistemology through inter-knowledges and "ecology of knowledges" (p. 42) which, according to Santos, means "a recognition of the plurality of heterogeneous knowledges (one of them being modern science) and the sustained and dynamic interconnections between them without compromising their autonomy"(p. 11). Andreatti et al note that for Santos "learning other knowledges does not mean forgetting one's own" (p. 42). Scientific knowledge is not abandoned, rather it should be used in counter-hegemonic ways. In this ecology of knowledge model, knowledge is not assumed to be representative of reality, rather knowledge is viewed as an intervention. What is required is a move away from "mono-epistemicism" towards a "radical co-presence" which speaks to how any specific knowledge is always incomplete and there is an interdependence of knowledge.

Critiques of the unidirectional approach to community-university relationships have called for reciprocity and mutuality in these relationships. This orientation ignores the significant differences that exist between many communities and academia. Iris Marion Young (1997) challenges this assumption that there can be symmetrical reciprocity and that we can understand the Other or 'put ourselves in their shoes'. For Young, symmetry is an *impossibility* because "each participant in a communicative situation is

distinguished by a particular history and social position that makes their relationship asymmetrical." (p. 39) The assumption of symmetrical reciprocity is dangerous because it obscures difference and it also impedes communication. "If you think you already know how other people feel … because you have imaginatively represented their perspective to yourself, then you may not listen to the expression of their perspective very openly" (p. 48-49). She suggest that relations with Others be viewed as gifts because gift giving is always asymmetrical; it requires "opening onto the other… the trust to communicate cannot wait for the promise to reciprocate or the conversation will never happen" (p. 50). As understanding develops through dialogue and sharing, the result should not be feeling confident that you know the other, rather it should be an *awareness of all that you do not know*. Young directs us to engage in dialogue, ask questions (without interrogation) from a stance of "moral humility". Her goal is "to develop an account of moral respect and egalitarian reciprocity that depends less on … unity and consensus and attends more to the differences among people" (p. 41)

Another source of insight into reframing CSL through Community as Teacher lens comes from Ruitenberg's recent review of Derrida's idea of hospitality (2015a) which brings attention to how community as host is in the position of receiving students (and by definition the university). This challenges notions of the university occupying the more powerful position of being host and of holding the most important knowledge for students to receive. Ruitenberg (2015b), reflecting on the ethic of hospitality, suggests an ideal situation where faculty and community leaders collaborate and share the responsibility of opening up a particular world to students who are newcomers. Seeing community groups and organizations as hosts and educators reframes CSL and raises questions about what it means for academic faculty, staff and students to receive, and be received into a heritage and a tradition which cannot and should not be seen as fixed, rather they are dynamic and porous. Ruitenberg (2015b) asks "how we see (translate?) community practices as part of the heritage and tradition that university students can and should engage with? How can we help to frame community practices and knowledge as knowledge that is "of worth" from the university's perspective, and what would it look like to engage critically (but not disrespectfully) with this tradition?"

Implications and Significance for Adult Education

If we take to heart that community is a source of knowledge and has an equal role to play in the education of our students, and if we understand community as host, exercising hospitality to students (and the university), there are implications for how we develop relationships between universities and community organizations and how we prepare and orient students. What does it mean to prepare students to receive the teachings (gifts) and knowledge that communities have to offer? What does it mean for universities to recognize community organizations as sources of

knowledge, as hosts and as key participants in the larger project of education?

Developing partnerships with community and preparing students for their CSL placements requires, at minimum, working towards what Weerts and Sandman (2008) call a two-way exchange. But more than that, it involves a repositioning such that we are learning *with* others (Jefferess, 2008) rather than about them. As Young (1997) suggested, this requires a kind of humility and openness to the Other, a recognition the partiality of our knowledge and an appreciation for the dynamic and continuous search for knowledge. This stance of not knowing, however, seems contrary to the traditional orientation towards academic goals of arriving at certainty about a phenomenon.

Further complicating how we engage with the Other, Masschelein (2010) suggests that it is not a matter of developing a critical lens and becoming aware of what is happening in the world and how our perspective and social location shapes that view. Rather, it is about "liberating or *displacing* our view … [it] asks for a poor pedagogy, i.e. for practices which allow to expose ourselves" (p. 43, my emphasis). This echoes Illich's 1968 challenge to students to take up voluntary powerlessness. "The only thing you can legitimately volunteer for [„,] might be voluntary powerlessness, voluntary presence as receivers, as such, as hopefully beloved or adopted ones without any way of returning the gift". The idea of 'poor pedagogy' also links to Young's (1997) call for moral humility and Ruitenberg's notions of hospitality, where we need to see how communities are both hosts and educators of students (and faculty and staff). Young and others have identified an inquiry processes that is not about interrogation, but learning from and with others.

Another key aspect of orienting students and our partnership practices will be to interrogate the right to act. As Arnold (2015) notes, in educational initiatives oriented to developing students' global citizenship (common goals of CSL), learning from community (not about community) during their CSL placements, should also involve an exploration of how universities and privileged students are complicit in the suffering of others; we need to ask "who gets to act?".

If we seek to move towards an ecology of knowledges, As Andreotti et al (2011) (and Santos 2007) argue, students need to be supported and prepared "to move beyond the type of dialectics that requires students to make a choice or to create a synthesis between the two lenses (and reproduce mono-epistemicism), towards equipping students to hold both (or more) perspectives in tension (p. 46).

I look forward to sharing these thoughts and experiences with others at the CASAE conference. I appreciate that what I have outlined in this paper are only fragments. This is a work in progress and I hope they contribute to creating a web of understanding. It seems that a useful way forward is to develop a kind of critical conscious curiosity and an openness of heart and mind to understanding ourselves and Others.

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Reclaiming the plot:
Grassroots publishing and Social Movement Learning

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates grassroots publishing as a "third space" site for adult learning and knowledge production. Grassroots publications have long played important roles in diverse social movements. However, there is little academic literature on this relationship, particularly in terms of how adults learn by participating in grassroots publishing. Drawing on theoretical literature and empirical research on rural women's zines about "mental illness," this paper explores implications for grassroots print publishing as third space social movement learning.

Background

The adult education field emerged alongside the social movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries against issues including war, child labour, and workplace exploitation (Hall, 2009). Ever since, these movements have been identified as powerful sites for knowledge production (Foley, 1999) for adults both inside and outside a particular movement (Hall & Clover, 2005). The adult education literature, however, has been critiqued for undervaluing and undertheorizing social movement learning and knowledge production (Choudry, 2014; Hall, 2009). Furthermore, the little literature that exists on this topic tends to favor academic perspectives over the diverse voices, ideas, and theoretical frameworks circulating within, and as a result of, these movements (Choudry, 2014).

Within North America, small circulation print materials such as pamphlets, newsletters, and zines have documented the voices, ideas, and theories within abolition, gay liberation, women's, and psychiatric rights movements, and beyond, over the past two centuries (Kessler, 1984; Ostertag, 2006; Piepmeier, 2009; Streitmatter, 1995). However, the social movement press, so integral to the development of movements, has been largely overlooked in social movement research. This is perhaps due in part to its deviation from criteria for mainstream publications, including total circulation, advertising revenue, publication length, longevity, objective viewpoint, and seamless, professional aesthetic (Ostertag, 2006). While literature exists examining grassroots print media as tools for recruitment and disseminating alternative perspectives, largely within the second (Feigenbaum, 2013) and third-wave (Piepmeier, 2009) feminist movements, the implications for adult learning within—and beyond—these contexts remain relatively unexplored.

Grassroots media and knowledge production have been key catalysts of social movement learning in the global North. In his groundbreaking work on American people's presses, Ostertag (2006) situates grassroots print publishing as a core strategy for contesting dominant political and intellectual boundaries. Ostertag therefore argues that a grassroots publication cannot be considered apart from the specific movement in which it is generated, including its "internal dynamics and strategies, its relation with its immediate adversary, its relation with the state, and its location in the broader culture" (pp. 1-2). Seizing control of publishing and distribution of texts has enabled the distribution of alternative viewpoints on diverse social issues, for readers within and outside particular movements.

One "new" social movement with ties to adult learning is the mad pride movement, which engages community education to raise awareness about the lived experiences of mental illness diagnoses directly from patients/survivors/consumers rather than from psychiatrists or academic experts. By the 1990s, a global social movement called "Mad Pride" emerged as a way of mobilizing psychiatric survivors (Baird, 2014; Reaume, 2008). The Mad Pride movement has arguably brought psychiatric rights greater public visibility; at the same time, however, it has encountered criticism for perpetuating what many consider an illusory and dangerous division between "madness" and "sanity" (Allan, 2006)—a division that prompted injustices toward psychiatric survivors in the first place.

Grassroots treatises on psychiatric justice can be traced back to at least the mid-1700s in North America, when advocate Benjamin Franklin used his printing press to publish pamphlets advocating for asylum inmate rights (Gross, 1994). Later that century, in Baltimore, Maryland, Elizabeth Ware Packard used an independent printing press to publish accounts of horrific testimony from psychiatric inmates—this time from an insider perspective as a former inmate herself. Packard's treatises resulted in the overturn of laws enabling men to commit their wives (Carlisle, 2000). Over 16 years, Packard published seven books and several pamphlets (e.g. Packard, 1866; 1868).

More recently, the "mad" or consumer-survivor-expatient movement rose in the 1970s to link geographically and socially disparate people in a call for just treatment. Psychiatric activist David Oaks (2003) points to the culmination of the civil rights movement as a major influence on the emergence of this movement. He locates self-published alternative perspectives on mental illness as central to contesting stigma and unjust patient treatments. While the bulk of "mad" social movement activities, however, unfold within urban centres, participation in print and/or online grassroots publishing remains an important avenue for rural people to engage in the psychiatric rights movement.

A notable Canadian example of self-publishing for psychiatric rights is the grassroots anti-psychiatry newsletter, *Phoenix Rising: The voice of the psychiatrized* (www.psychiatricsurvivorarchives.com/phoenix.html). *Phoenix Rising* was published and distributed at no cost from 1980 to 1990 by the "On Our Own" collective. Like Franklin and Packard, On Our Own seized control over the printing process to critically explore issues such as housing insecurity, strategies for reducing or eliminating reliance on pharmaceuticals, community conference proceedings, and legal information, first hand—information and perspectives glaringly absent from mainstream public discourse.

Akin to the aesthetic and content of social movement newsletters like Phoenix Rising, zines have been are increasingly incorporated into diverse social movements since the 1990s. Zines are "noncommercial, nonprofessional, small circulation magazines that their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves" (Duncombe, 1997, p.6). Psychiatric rights, LGBTQ, disability, and anti-racist social movements have similarly engaged with zines as an aesthetically and financially accessible tool for individual and collective education and social change.

Theoretical Framework
Several bodies of theory inform this paper, including literature on social movement learning and transformative learning within the adult education literature, and third space theory from the postcolonial literature.

Social Movement Learning
In the 19th and 20th centuries, so-called "old" social movements like trade unions were formed to advocate on behalf of emerging working classes. Since then, newer forms have encompassed a range of organized collective activities toward peace, civil rights, gender equity, and environmental justice (Morris, 2005). Involvement in social movements can generate practical skills and knowledge, and critical understanding of self and society, though this learning is contradictory, complicated, and never purely emancipatory (Foley, 1999). In these rich and interconnected ways, adult and social movement learning feature in collective struggles toward social change.

Since the mid 1990s, the Adult Education literature has been increasingly concerned with social movements as sites for learning and knowledge production (Harley, 2012). Around this time, for example, Holford (1995) claimed social movement learning's potential for "a radically new understanding of the relationship between adult education and the generation of knowledge" (p.95). The social movement learning literature has since evolved with a focus on theorizing either intentional, organized learning within social movements (primarily as *popular education* inspired by Freire, Boal, and others), or spontaneous learning within movement activities and processes (primarily theorized as *incidental learning* informed by Foley). Incidental social movement learning, "learning in the struggle" (Foley, 1999, p.39), remains under-researched and under-theorized compared with more structured and intentional learning practices within such struggles for social change (Foley, 1999; Scandrett, 2012).

Third Space Theory
Theories of "third space" have emerged in cultural and gender studies to denote the site where hybrid identities and subjectivities are negotiated. Postcolonial scholars such as Bhabha (1994) and Licona (2005) engage in third space theorizing to explore how human identity is not either normative or other, but rather an ambiguous and fluid negotiation between these states. Moving beyond stable subject positions informed identity markers such as race and gender, Bhabha argues that we must focus our attention to sites where difference emerges between and among these positions. These sites of tensions, he argues, are politically and theoretically necessary to developing "strategies of selfhood" (p.1), new ways of signifying and embodying history, identity, authority, collaboration, and resistance—"elud[ing] the politics of polarity" (p.56), thus making new political developments and ways of being possible.

According to Bhabha (1994), Third Space unfolds within and around two contexts: first, the everyday spaces where oppressed people plan their liberation; and second, a site where oppressed and oppressor come together, perhaps only momentarily transcending differences, while maintaining their material specificity. For Bhabha and Rutherford (1990), third space theorizing, with its fragmented concept of identity, is not a relativist or liberal rejection of politics, but a "recognition of the importance of the alienation of the self in the construction of solidarity" (p.213).

Feminist scholars have also engaged third space theories to examine the "borderland" where women from marginalized positions contest and critique dominant ideas, drawing from their decentered vantage point both inside and outside hegemonic structures. In third space theory, this decentered perspective is not peripheral, but rather the source of critical knowledge required for imagining counter-hegemonic alternatives. Third space theories have been taken up in diverse ways within adult education literature. English (2005), for example, engages a third space lens to explore the practices and perspectives of international adult educators working in the Global South, whereas Moquin (2007) explores third space theories to interrogate research encounters between indigenous subjects and non-indigenous researchers. Building on this literature, the current paper examines zines as third space sites for learning within and beyond social movements.

Findings

In addition to the research literature on social movement learning and third space theories, this paper is informed by empirical data from a narrative, arts-informed study on young women's depression. Zine-making workshops and interviews were conducted with three young rural Nova Scotia women who experienced depression in their early 20s. Participants Elizabeth, Magdeline, and Margo were aged 29 to 40 at the time of the study, and claimed Métis, Acadian, and Scottish-Canadian backgrounds. Data presented here focuses on the women's experiences of participation in grassroots print publishing through making personal zines (or "perzines") about lived experiences of mental illness.

Using a "third space" lens, study findings reveal that zines foster learning by presenting open-ended sites for self-narration, thereby "reclaiming the plot" of individual and community self-determination. Grassroots print publications such as zines can foster both individual and collective learning, playing roles in critical self-reflection at the individual level, and popular education at the collective level, as normative assumptions are named and challenged.

Zines as open-ended sites for learning

Participants reported deep investment in the zine making process, citing its open-ended format and incorporation of images and creative writing as key catalysts for learning. All three described the zine as a space where process, style, and content aligned. The zine's both open ended and linear format enabled participants to narrate their lived experiences of depression without confining these experiences to a straightforward, linear account.

Participants described the aesthetic format as open-ended and ambiguous, with symbolic and literal representations. These qualities enabled them to share non-dominant perspectives on mental illness grounded in their every day and night lived experience. Margo noted that by fusing freewriting and drawing she was able to move beyond textual demands for a "complete thoughts," definitively naming and labeling her rich and often ambivalent experiences. She noted that the zine enabled a more "intuitive" approach to storytelling and inquiry:

> You learn things, you know, by writing and drawing them out… Oftentimes we only express thoughts that are complete. So by doing a freewrite, just putting down quick ideas, it lets you draw on things that you wouldn't ordinarily communicate. I think the ability to use words differently was a strength.

Margo also identifies another strength of the zine: the embodied connection to inquiry, as "writing [ideas] and drawing them out," taking tacit, embodied knowledge and working them out on the page. While words may in some cases help to "pin down" and express difficult ideas and emotions, they may also "spell out" difficult ideas or experiences one may prefer to leave unspoken. For Margo, incorporating images within her zine enabled learning beyond language: "I might have been able to do a whole zine without using words [laughs]. I would have been happy with that."

Zines as a holding space for hybrid identities

Research participants reported that the zine process enabled them to re-story their experiences of depression, thereby reframing hegemonic medical models of mental illness that focus on biology and other individual-level factors.

As part of "crystallizing" effect of zine narration, Elizabeth describes zine making as an opportunity to identify and reflect on key themes in her life story—a third space in which contradictory currents can co-exist without requiring reconciliation. Elizabeth explained that while conducting a research project on soldier women in Nicaragua, she found that the women "always started their testimonies by stating their class position—whether they grew up working class or peasant, etc." At the time, Elizabeth noted, she thought it strange, wondering why they would situate themselves in this way. However, she noted, "now I realize they were stating the social bath they were in." This context, or "social bath," Elizabeth came to realize, was integral to the life stories of the women she was studying, as well as Elizabeth's own life story. Connecting this realization with her zine, she noted:

> In a way, I consider this zine a testimonial too. So I started by stating where I am coming from. The things I learned being Catholic as a child, the sexual abuse, and being a feminist all made a unique weird clunky matrix in my head and heart that didn't always make sense. A lot of contradictory messages. On my first page I have the traditional Catholic image of Madonna and child. I state my influences outright.

Here Elizabeth links her individual life story with the stories of the Nicaraguan women she studied, drawing inspiration and insight from their naming of their social positioning as

a narrative frame. Her social bath as identified in her zine, a "weird clunky matrix," includes her Catholic religion, her experiences of sexual abuse, and her gender and feminist outlook. (Elizabeth also includes romanticism as another strand in this complex life web, in tension with the others.) In the zine itself she uses visual motifs (starting with the Madonna and child image) to represent these interwoven but never completely reconciled strands of identity and experience. Mid-way through the zine, she identifies these motifs as key factors in her experiences of depression:
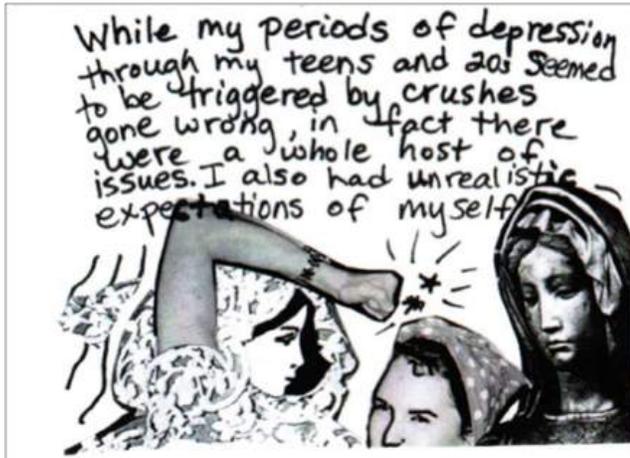
Figure 1. A whole host of issues. Excerpt from the zine *The Firebird and other stories* (2011).

Though on first glance, though romantic disappointment seemed to trigger these periods of struggle, through her zine narrative Elizabeth explores the rich context against which these experiences unfolded. These factors, combined with high self-standards and expectations, created the fertile ground for periods of psychic suffering.

Participant interviews reflected the catalyzing role zine creation plays in naming and reflecting on inherited social norms. All four participants reported a reexamination of dominant social narratives while experiencing and healing from severe depression. This questioning led to a process of transformation, albeit still at least partially located within the dominant medical model for mental illness. Drawing on lived experiences of depression and broader social contexts, Margo, Elizabeth and Magdeline challenged binary oppositions between "sane" and "insane," and questioned capitalist ideals of normalcy, productivity, materialism, and professional success.

Margo emphasized her revised understanding of normalcy and "functioning" in light of her experiences with bipolar disorder: "I've learned that there's no such thing as normal," she noted:

> Health would be being able to function well every day, and feel like you're reaching your potential, and there's nothing that's limiting you. You may be able to function, [but] not [necessarily] have a job. Functioning is different for everyone. … My friend once said that she thought that everyone was a bit crazy

[laughs] I think there is probably some truth to that. We just tend to think of normal so we can have something to compare everything else to.

Margo thus blurs the line between "normal" and "abnormal," "sane" and "insane," thereby moving the conversation about depression into a third space of "both/and." In this space, a person can be both normal and abnormal, sane and insane, a messy reality that calls simple diagnostic labels into question.

Magdeline similarly came to question inherited assumptions through transformative experiences related to depression. Critiquing her earlier, "pre-depression" emphasis on professional achievement and financial reward, Magdeline notes that these priorities actively prevented critical reflection on her direction in life. Rather than immersing ourselves in busyness, she argues, "There is inherent value in just slowing down and questioning where we're going and what we consider normal and successful: 'Have a good job, get a degree, buy a car.' It's clearly laid out." She noted that, "Environmental destruction is the product of well-adjusted, successful people doing their jobs. So I'd rather be on the outside of that. I don't want to be well adjusted to what we've created right now."

Zines as both *personal* and *collective learning*

Findings indicate that zines transcend clear lines between individual and collective identities and learning, thereby becoming third spaces both within and beyond social movement boundaries.

Zines identify and explore wider social themes woven into individual experience. At the same time, they are an accessible form for educating others about lived experiences and social issues integral to social movements. Magdeline, for example, framed zine creation as a personal journey that took on individual meaning when put into practice:

> I had never made [a zine] before, and didn't even know I wanted to. I am really engaged with it, and really enjoying it. But it's been kind of a personal thing though. My default position is to isolate. So it's been a very personal experience, but personal knowing that I am intending to share it. I had never written something that I intended other people to read. No one has ever asked me to.

Elizabeth, for example, linked the accessibility of the zine form to her creative motivation for making it:

> The zine is really accessible for the reader so it's a great way to share an experience. I think that's what I'm being compelled to do. And I didn't realize just how compelled I felt until I started doing it. I really wanted people to get this. The combination of images and very simple words, I think, is a good way to get [my message] across.

Margo expressed a related, albeit ambivalent, perspective about the possibilities of zines for challenging conventional mainstream portrayals of mental illness. In her view,

> Making zines to educate people about different people's experiences that aren't based just on medical histories but on the lived experience of it, is a good way to combat the stigma of it. Just people sharing their stories, although everyone will have their own opinion about it, no matter how hard you try to change their minds.

Study participants also described the zine making process as a space where they could name and reflect on the rich web between their individual, community and social positioning. In her zine, Magdeline narrates the history of her Aboriginal and Acadian ancestry in Nova Scotia. For her, this history is inextricable from her personal, "individual" story of depression, and the zine she produced for this research.
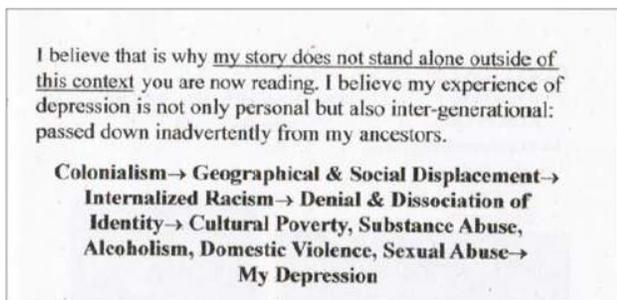
Figure 2. My story does not stand alone. Excerpt from the zine Mongrel Mag (2011).

Here Magdeline draws direct links to her mental illness experience and the devastating thread of abuse, violence, addiction, and intergenerational trauma wrought by colonialism. In several places in her zine, Magdeline reframes experiences interpreted as individual, biological phenomena as social patterns arising from systemic oppression, thereby reframing this oppression as a source of critical knowledge. In this way, the self-reflection fostered by zine creation facilitates connections between individual and collective learning for social change.

Grassroots Publishing as Third Space Social Movement Learning

Magdeline, Elizabeth and Margo's experiences of zine creation affirm grassroots publishing as a site for third space social movement learning. Study data revealed that zines foster learning by presenting open-ended sites for self-narration, thereby "reclaiming the plot" of mental illness. Study findings demonstrated that grassroots print publications such as zines can foster both individual and collective learning, playing roles in critical self reflection at the individual level, and popular education at the collective level, as normative assumptions are named and challenged. Zines by rural women survivors of depression reveal that grassroots

publishing is a way that people living on geographic borderlines can engage with social movement issues and learning.

English and Mayo (2012) argue that "Those who engage in the task of adult education in connection with social movements and carried out on critical pedagogical lines must emphasise the collective dimension of learning and knowledge creation—reading and transforming the world *together*" (pp. 127-8; emphasis in original). Grassroots publications such as zines can bridge both individual and collective learning, as a personal testimonial that can educate others about lived experiences of "others." Zines can create a hybrid space where the past is engaged to elucidate and politicize the present. Magdeline's zine, for example, engages in localized colonial histories to re-politicize her psychiatric diagnosis as a result of intergenerational trauma.

Study findings affirm Foley's (1999) claim that involvement in social movements, in this case grassroots print publishing, can generate practical skills and knowledge, and critical understanding of self and society, though this learning is contradictory, complicated, and never purely emancipatory. In these rich and interconnected ways, adult and social movement learning feature in collective struggles toward social change. Zines, in their fusion between personal and political, also enable creators to explore their identities and positioning in relation to wider social, historical, cultural, and political contexts. In this research, for example, participants explored psychiatric, as well as women's, LGBTQ, and First Nations issues and identities, thereby nesting their individual lived experiences within wider social contexts. The act of creation became an initiation into a community, both real and imagined, of people living with similar challenges, insights, and opportunities wrought by mental illness, gender inequities, and colonialism.

Study findings correspond with Hall and Clover's (2005) dual definitions of social movement learning—learning that can occur *inside* the movement, in the form of the learning of writers, editors, and publishers, as well as their fellow movement members; and *outside*, as disseminated to the wider public beyond the boundaries of the movement itself. However, this research challenges these locations as binary oppositions, proposing instead that in grassroots print publishing, social movement learning can unfold in both spaces simultaneously. By narrating their stories, zine creators engage in counter-hegemonic practices that contest "expert" accounts of everyday lived experience. This narrating the personal, linking to the social, for distribution to an imagined public, constitutes a form of social action in itself.

Narrating hybrid identities through the zine's open-ended image/word format facilitates a third-space exploration of tensions and fault lines in identities and lived experiences—without requiring that these tensions or contradictions be resolved. Elizabeth, for example, can draw on her Catholicism, feminism, and romanticism as visual motifs representing competing strands in her self, together forming a hybrid identity that informs both her history of sexual abuse, and later, her depression. Naming these strands, and

maintaining their contradiction, can be viewed as a strategy for making one's self strange—enacting the alienation of the self that Bhabha (1990) identifies as a precursor to solidarity with others.

Zines by rural women survivors of depression reveal that grassroots publishing is a way that people living on geographic borderlines can engage with social movement issues and learning. As a site for third space social movement learning, zines provide opportunities for critical learning and knowledge production. Zines emerge, then, as a fertile space for both individual and collective learning and transformation, thereby collapsing assumed lines between individual and community/movement learning, and between learning that occurs inside and outside a given social movement. For rural women survivors of depression, this means reclaiming the plot of their storied lives from the geographic, economic, and cultural edge of North America.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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A Typology Of Conference Programs

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Abstract

One of the most common formats to promote formal and informal adult learning is the conference. Conferences afford formal learning opportunities through workshops (often providing continuing education units (CEUs) for completion), and informational presentations. Conferences provide informal learning opportunities through discussions, such as panel discussions, networking sessions, and the conversations that happen in business meetings scheduled in conjunction with conferences, during meals and other formally scheduled social events, and in the hallways, conversations that are often impromptu. Although the peer-reviewed provides insights and guidance into the general management of conferences (no small issue as a modest conference budget can be tens of thousands of dollars and a large budget can exceed $1 million) (Seiler, 2014), managing conference logistics (such as Nicholls, 2007) and ways that conferences can contribute to the professional development of novices (Eraut, 2007), the literature offers little if any guidance in organizing a conference program so that it might achieve its educational purpose (such as Terry, 2014, who suggests accepting everything). Working from a framework of genre theory—that is, the study familiar patterns of a particular type of communication product or event, "a way of organizing information that has become so common that readers will probably recognize each new instance as belonging to the genre" (2002, 272), this working paper first explores the key characteristics of conference sub-genres, including the nature of the event sponsor, the mission of the event, the revenue sources, and intended product or record of the event. These characteristics affect the process for selecting speakers and the policy on compensating speakers. The three sub-genres of conferences include the scientific symposium, a single-track event in which peers present to their peers; scientific conference, a multiple track event in which peers present to peers; and professional conference, a multiple track event in which peers learn from other peers.

Introduction

One of the most common formats to promote formal and informal adult learning is the conference. Conferences afford formal learning opportunities through workshops (often providing continuing education units (CEUs) for completion), and informational presentations. Conferences provide informal learning opportunities through discussions, such as panel discussions, networking sessions, and the conversations that happen in business meetings scheduled in conjunction with conferences, during meals and other formally scheduled social events, and in the hallways, conversations that are often impromptu. Although the peer-reviewed provides insights and guidance into the general management of conferences (no small issue as a modest conference budget can be tens of thousands of dollars and a large budget can exceed $1 million) (Seiler, 2014), managing conference logistics (such as Nicholls, 2007) and ways that conferences can contribute to the professional development of novices (Eraut, 2007), the literature offers little if any guidance in organizing a conference program so that it might achieve its educational purpose (such as Terry, 2014, who suggests accepting everything).

This working paper is intended to address the gap. It proposes an emerging typology of conference programs, based on a review of over 200 academic, professional, and commercial conferences aimed at training and communication professionals.

Theoretical Orientation

The theoretical orientation underlying this paper is genre theory. Price and Price offer a definition of genre that works well for implementing the concept of genres in practice. They define genre as "a familiar pattern, a way of organizing information that has become so common that readers will probably recognize each new instance as belonging to the genre" (2002, 272). Associated with this practical concept

of genre is that of *convention*. A convention is a "customary form… and configuration. ..that members of an audience expect" (Kostelnick & Roberts,1998, p.33). Both genre and convention are means of identifying and coding the expectations that users bring to specific communications contexts. To successfully meet users' needs, designers must understanding and address these expectations. Broad genres can also have variations, called *sub-genres*, each with their own specific conventions in addition to the general ones.

The academic concept of genre takes a broader view, exploring not only the conventions of the form, but also the "interpretive and cultural-historical aspects of compound mediation that are so important in understanding the use of" materials (Spinuzzi, 2003). In other words, in addition to considering the questions, "What is the purpose of this genre and what material goes into one?" the academic approach to genre also explores the social and political dimensions of the context from which the genre emerged. In the past, the academic view of genre has also taken a restrictive view of genre, stating that a communication product must meet certain situational requirements and address substantive and stylistic requirements (particular types of content and form that always appear in this form of communication), and follow an organizing principle to be considered an instance of a genre (Foss 1989). More recent discussions of genre find such an approach admittedly restrictive and often useful for mature genres only. Such a flexible approach is especially necessary with online genres. Not only is the medium young (the Internet only came into wide during the past decade, and other forms of online communication only emerged in the 1980s) but the genres for communicating online are still emerging (noted by, among others, Crowston & Williams, 2002).

Distinguishing Between Genre and Medium

Many people confuse genre—"a familiar pattern, a way of organizing information that has become so common that readers will probably recognize each new instance as belonging to the genre" (Price & Price, 2002, 272)—with medium, the means by which the material is delivered to its audience, such as in print, online, or through a face-to-face event.

Until the past decade, conferences were held face-to-face, so the discussion of medium was a significant one. In the past decade, however, parts or all conferences have moved online. Some examples include an all-online event, which is a conference that follows the typical structure of a conference with keynote presentations and elective sessions, but all of the sessions are held online; hybrid event, in which some of the conference occurs online before or after a related face-to-face event; and a simulcast event, in which the conference occurs face-to-face, but participants can join online in a live broadcast of the event held on the Internet.

Although medium is an increasingly important issue in conference planning, it is a different issue than genre, and all of the genres mentioned in the subsequent sections can be delivered in any medium.

Characteristics of Genres of Conference Programs

Several aspects of genre interest researchers. As suggested earlier, the most significant are the genre conventions, as these are distinguishing characteristics of a genre or sub-genre.

Researcher believe that these conventions help audiences receive messages and respond meaningfully (Allen, 2000), thus improving learning. Among conventions of interest are the following:

- The way that they will find or be presented with information. Within different contexts (genres), participants are likely to bring different expectations about the way that they will be led to content of interest to them. For example, people expect a conference program and signage to direct them to sessions of interest in a face-to-face event.

- The types of information available. Within different contexts, participants expect to find different types of content. For example, conference participants expect broad messages and perspectives from keynote presentations and specific messages from elective sessions.

- The format of the information. Within different contexts, participants expect different presentation strategies that are tailored to both the nature of the content and participants' needs and motivations. For example, the format of material from a formal paper differs from the format of a workshop.

- The communication style. Within different contexts, participants are likely to communicators to address not only their need for content, but their roles in accessing it and motivation to use it. For example, participants expect speakers to address their roles as researchers or practicing professionals.

- The organization of the content. Within different contexts, users are likely to expect not only different organization of content. For example, participants expect research papers to nominally follow the IMRD structure (Introduction, Methodology, Results, Discussion).

- The quantity of content. Within different contexts, users are likely to expect different quantities of information. For example, participants expect research papers to be brief but keynote sessions to be longer.

- The nature of these characteristics within a genre often defines the genre.

Characteristics Affecting the Nature of the Conference Program

These key characteristics provide an overall influence over programs. These characteristics include:

- The nature of the event sponsor (such as a university, professional association, for-profit corporation) (Toh, Peterson,& Foster, 2007)

- The mission of the event (such as peers sharing their research with one another, education and training of participants, networking for the purpose of moving projects forward, or a combination of these)

- Revenue sources (that is, do the revenues that cover conference expenses primarily come from the registration fees paid by participants? Commercial sponsors? Research or similar non-profit or governmental funders?)

- Intended product or record of the event, such as an edited collection, a conference proceedings, or a copy of the slides used by speakers.

One characteristic of conferences that only has limited impact on the nature of the conference program is its theme. In the context of a conference, a theme is intended as topic that presentations nominally address. A theme can be broad, often is specific to a single year of an annual conference, and intended to address either a current topic (such as "Challenging Times") or location of the conference (such as "A Mission to Communicate," a theme for a conference in Houston, home to Mission Control for NASA), something that could be mentioned in every presentation. Or a theme can be specific and intended to be the focus of every presentation, such as e-learning in higher education, or the competency models in training and development. The theme only affects the conference program when it is used to limit the selection of presentations.

These characteristics, in turn, provide a basis for policies and procedures for selecting a program. These policies and procedures include:

- Process for selecting speakers. Conferences whose primary mission focuses on peers sharing their work with other peers tend towards a peer review process for selecting most speakers except keynotes and invited speakers. In contrast, conferences whose primary mission focuses on education or networking tend to use a more closed process that emphasizes issues such as speaking ability, past performance of the speaker, and the ability of the topic to attract participants.

- Policy on compensating speakers. Different missions for conferences influence whether a conference compensates speakers. A conference whose primary mission is peers sharing their work with one another is likely to expect that a significant portion of its attendance comes from speakers, and is not likely to compensate them or, at most, offer a nominal discount on registration (no more than 10%). In contrast, a conference whose primary mission is educating its participants.

Categories of Conference Programs

Based on the nature of the event sponsor, mission of the event, source of revenue, process for selecting speakers, and policy on compensating speakers, a program model emerges. These general program models emerge:

- Scientific symposium, a single-track event in which peers present to their peers. The peers are usually selected by a peer-review process, only one session is scheduled at a time, and participants are expected to attend all sessions. An invited keynote or two provide inspiration to the participants. In some cases, a major publication, such as an edited collection or a major research report, might result from the event. Scientific symposia are often one-time or infrequently scheduled events and could be sponsored by a research funding agency, university, or similar nonprofit sponsor.

In some cases, presentations are selected through an analysis of submission to a Call for Proposals. In such cases, conference costs are typically covered by registration fees, with the fees paid by speakers (who either pay full registration fees or receive a nominal (perhaps 10%) discount).

In other cases, presentations are selected by an organizing committee. In such cases, conference costs are usually covered by a third party, such as a research funding agency or a university. These funds usually cover the expenses of all speakers and might also cover costs of participation in the event and production of any post-conference materials.

- Scientific conference, a multiple track event in which peers present to peers. Like a symposium, the peers are usually selected by a peer review process. But at a conference, several presentations are scheduled at the same time so participants need to choose what they attend and one is expected to attend all sessions. One or more invited keynotes and speakers provide inspiration to the participants. The primary record of a scientific conference is a published proceedings. Some proceedings are indexed others are not. Scientific conferences are often usually annual events sponsored by professional organizations, and primarily rely in registration fees from participants for revenue.

Conference costs are typically covered by registration fees. Most academic organizations require that participants pay full registration fees and conference planners rely extensively on these fees to cover conference expenses. In fact, because speakers are the largest numbers of participants in some academic conferences, pressure exists to accept all proposed sessions to cover the budget.

- Professional conference, a multiple track event in which peers learn from other peers. Unlike a scientific

conference, the primary purpose of a professional conference is education from experts in an area rather than peers sharing their work with peers. Formal workshops—often for CEU credit—play a central role in these conferences. As a result, the program is usually selected by a program manager. Sometimes, a committee advises the program manager, in other cases, one does not. Well-known speakers, usually scheduled with the assistance of a speakers' bureau, act as a draw for prospective participants and provide inspiration people who attend. The primary product of such an event are handouts with copies of the slides used by speakers, as well as recordings of sessions that either can be sold to people who could not attend or as a benefit to members and customers of the sponsoring organization. Professional conferences are sponsored both by professional associations and commercial organizations and rely on registration fees, fees for workshops (often separate from registration) and sponsors for revenue.

In conferences sponsored by professional association, the majority of participants are not speakers and, therefore, planners rely less on the registration fees of speakers to cover their costs, some professional associations offer either significant discounts (more than 10%) or free registration for speakers. This, in turn, limits the pressure to accept all submissions in response to the Call for Proposals.

Some conferences bill themselves as "un-conferences," that is, they don't have typical sessions. But a closer look at their programs suggests that they do, indeed, have some formal structure of sessions on particular topics facilitated by identified speakers.

Concliusions

In terms of advancing theory in adult education, recognizing the differences in types of conferences provides insights into the primary types of learning outcomes expected from each. Scientific symposia and conferences are likely to focus on informal learning outcomes while a professional conference might support formal and informal learning.

Similarly, the sources of revenue also suggest how programming decisions are influenced. For example, scientific conferences that rely on speakers to pay registration fees are less likely to be selective in choosing their programs, because each rejection represents lost revenue from a known paying participant. In contrast, professional conferences that intend to educate members might seek out the well-known names to attractive prospective participants. But because speakers partially build their brands by speaking as much as possible, one conference is likely to choose the same speakers as another as this becomes a self-referencing group. Ones that also rely on commercial sponsorship might be tempted to give speaking slots to sponsors who make a significant contribution to the event. Anecdotal evidence of these practices exists, and their presence raises questions about the effectiveness of each type of conference in achieving its intended goal.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Designing and Instructing Critical Disability Studies and Mad Studies in Education: Reflections on Enacting Critical Pedagogy in Practice

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I situate my teaching praxis in Critical Disability Studies (CDS) and Mad Studies. I consider institutional mediating factors enabling and constraining the fruition and delivery of teaching CDS-Mad Studies courses and enactment of critical pedagogical practices. I theoretically ground my experiences as an instructor using the work of bell hooks (1994) and other critical pedagogues. I view teaching CDS and Mad Studies in higher education as a transgressive act, and argue that social justice educators have a responsibility to teach about disabled and mad perspectives, knowledge, and lived experiences in relation to other intersectionally marginalized identities (Liasidou, 2013). As a Mad-CDS instructor, researcher, and activist I am deeply committed to addressing at ableism, sanism, and eliminating barriers limiting access and full participation of mad and disabled persons in higher education. These political commitments guide my critical pedagogy. I hope to extend the works of Mad-CDS scholars to humbly posit a set of coordinates; sketching possible practices, ways of teaching and reflecting on teaching with Mad-CDS informed pedagogies for equity and social justice.

Introduction

Teaching represents a political practice that opens possibilities for change (Freire, 1970). Educationalist Giroux (2003) understands pedagogy as a "moral and political practice" (p.6) that represents a form of "critical intervention" (Giroux, 2014, p.37) influencing politics and what counts as knowledge, shaping thinkable forms of agency. Critical pedagogy is a "practice of freedom" (hooks, 1994, p.21) aimed at the "transformation and the abolishment of marginalisation and oppression" (Gabel, 2002, p.185). Thus, critical pedagogy needs to be connected to moral and political discourses, focusing on power, justice, and transformation (Goodley, 2014) where classroom knowledge and practices are tied to public life and desires for social change and the countering of oppression (Giroux, 2014). Critical

pedagogy represents a means to address marginalization of mad and disabled persons in educational settings.

Disabled and mad persons are largely absent from discussion surrounding pedagogical practices in higher education. Disabled people remain marginalized, excluded, and underrepresented in higher education (Liasidou, 2014; Gibson, 2012). Furthermore, critical pedagogues have largely ignored issues of dis/ability and mad and disabled persons' views (Goodley, 2014). Pedagogical approaches and decisions may dis/able particular ways of thinking, acting, and being in the world among others. Thus, pedagogy mediates particular subjectivities to emerge, become intelligible, and valued or devalued in educational realms. Localised university institutional disciplinary knowledge-power relations (Foucault, 1995; 2007) dynamically set discursive limits of pedagogy, thereby enabling and constraining complex ways disability and madness are onto-epistemologically known, taught, learned, and represented in university settings. There is a need to attend to the socio-political temporal-spatial realms in which dis/ability takes place and matters.

Critical Disability Studies

According to Meekosha and Shuttleworth (2009), CDS is an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field, which challenges the dominant ways disability is often thought of in medicalizing, pathologizing, individualizing ways by non-disabled individuals. CDS represents a field of scholarship, activism and inquiry that often counters dominant ways disability is viewed as lack, deficiency, and an individual tragedy (Goodley, 2014). CDS is political site of possibility (Titchkosky, 2011) to think critically about educational systems and practices and the entire human condition. CDS disrupts ideas of the normal learner (Goodley, 2014) and challenges educators to think critically about pedagogies for diverse learners.

Gabel (2001) notes disagreement exists about what constitutes disability and being disabled and suggests that narratives may be an effective way to engage in thinking differently about disability. For McLean (2008) teaching about disability represents ethical responsibility for educators involving the need to identify, confront, and change "ableist and oppressive views of disability" (p.605). As such, CDS informed pedagogies may challenge the dominant ableist normative oppressive values.

Mad Studies

As *Mad Matters* authors (Menzies, LeFrancois, & Reaume, 2013) note: 'Mad Studies can be defined in general terms as a radical project of inquiry, knowledge production, and political action devoted to the critique and transcendence of psy-centred ways of thinking, behaving, relating, and being' (p.13). Mad studies emerged as an inter-disciplinary field of inquiry (Reville, 2013) centered on drawing on survivor, consumer, ex-patient knowledges to resist and attempt to "change regimes of 'treatment' and 'help'" (Church, 2013, p.181).

Mad Studies (Church, in press) represents often:

> draws from people "whose lives have collided with the powers of institutional psychiatry" to critique and transcend "psy-centred ways of thinking, behaving, relating and being". Particularly important to us is Mad Studies as critical pedagogy against discrimination and oppression which is nested… "in the immediate practicalities of everyday human struggle" (LeFrancois, Menzies & Reaume; 2013, pgs. 15-17)

Thus, mad pedagogies may critically unpack oppression encountered by mad persons.

As I have noted elsewhere (Castrodale, 2014) "the Mad people's movement is also connected to intersecting experiences of gender, race, poverty, class, sexuality and disability" (p.1) where "the term Mad is reclaimed by people pathologized and psychiatrized as 'mentally ill' to take back oppressive language" (p.2).

> Drawing from Mad people's perspectives represents a way to challenge psychiatrism and biomedical ways of understanding madness to open new possibilities for thought and action in educational systems and intervention programmes surrounding mental health. (Castrodale, 2014, p.3)

The subversive use of 'mad' reclaims this term from its prerogative roots to reinsert mad as a politically identity and counter hegemonic stance. Identifying as mad is an act of subversion. Mad persons turn language used in negative and oppressive ways to reclaim the term mad, pointing to epistemic violence of psy-knowledge-power systems. Mad persons have been characterized as abnormal and subsequently treated in harmful marginalizing and alienating ways. Mad histories demonstrate the gendered, raced, classed dimensions of mental health labelling, sorting and dividing practices.

Theorizing CDS-Mad Pedagogies with hooks

According to hooks (1994) teaching counter-hegemonic knowledges represents a sustained transgressive practice. Teaching for equity and justice requires openness, flexibility, and passion where: "there could never be an absolute set agenda governing teaching practices" (hooks, 1994, p.7). Setting flexible agendas and opening spaces for students to share their unique experiences, expertise and knowledges are ways promote participatory and inclusive learning environments. hooks (1994) also notes that it is important to hear one another's voices and to "insist that everyone's presence is acknowledged" (p.8). hooks (1994) suggests that this may be achieved in dynamic classrooms by valuing everyone's contributions as resources.

According to hooks (1994): "confronting one another across differences means that we must change ideas about how we learn; rather than fearing conflict we have to find ways to use it as a catalyst for new thinking, for growth" (p.113). hooks (1994) notes that engaging in dialogue is a means for individuals to discuss different locations within structures, to share ideas and map out "terrains of commonality, connection, and shared concern with teaching practices" (p.130). There is thus a need to build Mad-CDS communities in education of activist-scholars-student-learners engaging together in dialogue.

For hooks (1994) there is a need to politically discuss agency, power, struggle, language, and disciplinary boundaries in efforts to decentre authority through engaged pedagogy, theory, and teaching and learning practices. hooks (1994) writes that resistance requires self-reflexive engagement with normative discourses.

Reclaiming subjugated knowledges (Foucault, 1995) also represents a possible site of resistance and agency.

According to hooks (1994):

> Uncovering and reclaiming subjugated knowledge is one way to lay claims to alternative histories. But these knowledges need to be understood and defined pedagogically, as questions of strategy and practice as well as of scholarship, in order to transform educational institutions radically. (p.22)

Mad-CDS pedagogies thus attend to unearthing rich lived histories of mad and disabled subjects, linking these histories to contemporary constituting practices and systems of dominance and oppression.

hooks (1994) asserts that professors need to examine their roles as transmitters of knowledge. In this manner, professors may avoid the pitfalls of dominating, hierarchical, authoritative and coercive models of pedagogy that silence and devalue students' personal experiences in classroom discussions (hooks, 1994). Instead, hooks (1994) favours a

communal classroom space that values diversity of experience and avoids privileging the voices of students from any particular group. hooks (1994) also poses questions about how instructors may facilitate ways individuals acquire knowledge about experiences foreign to them, ones they have not lived and realities not knowing experientially, particularly when speaking about marginalized and oppressed peoples. This prompts instructors to modestly acknowledge how our knowledges are in fact limited and how we may learn from others.

According to hooks (1994): "experience can be a way to know and can inform how we know what we know" (p.90). As such, bringing in the experiences of self-identifying mad and disabled persons likely contributes to increasingly rich and nuanced understanding of mad-disabled subjects' needs, desires, circumstances, and live experiences. hooks (1994) urges instructors to examine complexity of experience from multiple locations to discuss diverse standpoints and gather knowledge in increasingly inclusive manners. This also entails engaging in the struggles of oppressed persons, drawing on their standpoints, narratives, and knowledges to critique dominant structures and posit new ways of knowing (hooks, 1994). This resonates with a central tenant of the disability movement "nothing about us, without us" to suggest that mad and disabled persons' knowledges represent central and important pedagogical sites.

According to hooks (1994) the body represents a site of learning to challenge power in institutional spaces: "once we start talking in the classroom about the body and about how we live in our bodies, we're automatically challenging the way power has orchestrated itself in that particular institutionalized space" (p.136-137). Thus, the historical-socio-material-embodied locations of mad and disabled persons also represent important pedagogical considerations.

My Critical Teaching Praxis

In 2011-2013 Bachelor of Education students at Western University were receiving instruction on disability from large proportion of faculty, well versed in psy-expertise and traditional special education. Traditional special education largely entails identifying individual characteristics of disabled students intervening in ways to normalize students. As Slee (2004) notes: "the discursive field of special education itself prevents our aspiring teachers from *thinking otherwise* about the deep structures of disablement" (p.47). The proliferation of psy-discursive language ensured that disabled persons became understood as truly special, differently able, abnormal, and exceptional. Mentally ill subjects required psy-interventions and expertise identify, label, and fix them. There was little consideration of how disability and madness connects with issues relating to equity and social justice. In many ways, teacher candidates were absolved from thinking about able-bodied privilege, normalizing systems of thought, and how their pedagogies and practices might represent, (re)produce, and understand disability in truly abhorrent ways.

In education, experts from psy-sciences and special educators have carved out domain and allocated themselves the authority (Rose, 1999) to speak about disability on often on behalf of disabled persons. Underlying this attitude is a blatant arrogance claiming knowledge of what is best for disabled persons, while subjugating their knowledges and believe there is little that can be learned from these persons. I differ strongly in this opinion, believing that mad and disabled persons can teach me much about humanity, about my own able-bodiedness and privilege therein, about my teaching pedagogies, and knowledge-power relations embedded in processes of disablement.

I proposed a course entitled "Critical Disability Studies in Education", unbeknownst to me the course title was changed and the course calendar version offered "Disabilities in Education". Students enrolled quickly came to realize that they were not going to receive instruction on how to identity, treat, behaviourally manage, and educate students with various impairments. I did not go over how to construct Individual Education Plans (IEPs), curriculum accommodations, or how to identify characteristics of disabled students through pathologizing labelling biomedical psy-informed psycho-educational assessment practices. I set the tone quickly that this course offered counter-knowledge about disability, drawing on a social model and first-person lived experiences (Linton, Mello, & O'Neill, 1995) of self-identifying disabled persons and mad persons as opposed to medical models of disability. Weekly topics included, unpacking dominant representations of disability; ableism, sanism, and privilege in education; dis/ability and technology; enabling art and agency; Mad perspectives; access and socio-spatial barriers; critical pedagogy and universal design in education. Students reacted, some resisted, some were unhinged, and many embraced new ideas rejecting or troubling medical and individualizing models of disability.

In creating CDS-Mad Studies informed courses I had to attend to the local institutional politics enabling and constraining what could be said, thought, done. Enacting CDS-Mad pedagogies necessarily entailed negotiating institutional attitudes, governance structures, politics enabling and constraining the enactment of critical pedagogies and innovative radical course designs. Localised university discourses circulating on disability and mental health informed particular knowledges and ways of speaking about and understanding disability and the constitution of disabled and mad subjects. CDS-Mad pedagogies needed to attend to issues of representation, appreciating multiple voices, institutional power-knowledge webs, and broad interlocking systems of oppression. The course syllabus, weekly readings, guest speakers, multimedia, and online blended learning materials tied in first-person lived accounts of mad and disabled persons, challenging dominant narratives of ideal, normal able-bodied subjects.

Enacting CDS and Mad Studies Pedagogies

CDS and Mad Studies offer platforms for critique of ableist and sanist individualizing neoliberal educational discourses (LeFancois & Menzies, 2013). Both CDS and Mad Studies examine the socio-political-economic oppression, marginalization of Mad and disabled subjects in relation to ableist-sanist policies, attitudes, and regimes of practices. Both fields have situated onto-epistemological potential to inform increasingly critical, inclusive ways of thinking about human subjects including professional practices in fields such as education, social work, criminology, law, medicine by directly dealing with ethical relations of care for self and others in forging more equitable societies.

As I have noted elsewhere Castrodale (2014):

> Mad people's voices are often absent education. Pluralities of Mad people's perspectives need to be better represented in the field of education, to inform increasingly critical and inclusive curriculum, pedagogy, theory and praxis. Acknowledging the voices, agency and counter-knowledge of Mad people in discussions of mental health in education and related policies may transform educational possibilities. Mad teaching may be a site of academic and activist political engagement. Thus, teaching madness in ways that recognize the often subjugated knowledge of Mad people through highlighting lived experiences may develop sites of resistance to psychiatric power and oppression and a way to challenge understandings of 'mental illness' in education. (p.2-3)

A CDS-Mad informed pedagogy necessarily takes into account the needs of psychiatric survivors built into course design (Burstow, 2003). Mad pedagogies may resist the influence of Big Pharma (Castrodale, 2014) unchecked diagnostic inflation and the pathologization of normal (Frances, 2014) through the manufacturing of dis/ability and new disorders (Goodley, 2014). Such a pedagogy can critique existing psy-dominance of ways of knowing and being in the world and psy-discourses in constructions of the "crisis of student mental health" to offer insights into mental wellness initiatives (Landry and Church, in press). Mad pedagogy may draw on survivor perspectives to unpack mental health narratives (Landry and Church, in press).

Critical pedagogues have notably and predominantly ignored disabled and mad persons' perspectives with a few exceptions. (Re)considering the pedagogical possibilities of disability, Rice (2006) states that: "One goal of disability studies in teacher education is to disrupt frameworks of interpretation of difference imposed by psychology and adopted by special education" (p.263). In this way, CDS and Mad Studies may be positioned as a way to critique ableism and sanism and the dominance of psychiatric knowledge (Rose, 1979; 1998; 1999), which often constitute disabled and Mad subjects as lacking and deficient. Ableism represents "an assemblage of laws, policies, attitudes, words, and actions that privilege the able-bodied and disadvantage people with disabilities" (LeFrançois, Menzies, & Reaume, 2013, p. 334). Similarly, sanism describes "the systemic subjugation of people who have received mental health diagnoses or treatment" (LeFrançois, Menzies, & Reaume, 2013, p.339)

CDS and Mad Studies trouble education, revealing ableist-normalizing practices that problematize disability, and understand disabled persons as problem subjects (Goodley, 2014). These fields resist deemphasizing disability in favour of privileging the sameness of personhood, and understand disability as rooted in complex social oppression and practices of alienation (Goodley, 2014). CDS recommends that all persons, including educators, are parts that make up meanings and socio-cultural imaginings of disability (Titchkosky, 2011). Disability disrupts a conventional view of the "normal body," of what it means to educate and be educated, and of what it means to be human. Thus, the trouble of disability, when reconceived as the "disruption of teaching," can become the rich and fertile ground from which we can cultivate the desire to understand ourselves as those who live in the midst of others and to understand that we live with difference that makes a difference. (Michalko, 2008, p. 414).

Teaching and learning about disability represents a political project, one that requires questioning, dialogue, and critical analysis, which connects knowledges, values, power, and modes of social agency and collective community engagement. A Mad-CDS pedagogy spills and sloshes permeating boundaries of academy-society, building broad connected activist teaching-learning communities. To teach about disability begins with a view of the entire human condition, what it means to be human, and to pry at the boundaries of life itself. Such a pedagogy delves deeper than blood, bones, guts and goo, and posits that the essence of humanity is something greater than individual bodies' inner workings.

Mad pedagogies reclaim the term mad from its pejorative roots drawing on the voices, knowledges and perspectives of self-identifying mad persons (Castrodale, 2014) attending to complex mad subjectivities in relation to dominant discourses on mental health and well-being. Mad pedagogies may resist and counter expert 'psy' knowledges depicting mad persons as in need of fixing often through clinical-biomedical interventions. As Church and Landry eloquently state (in press)

> "University instructors are meant to be experts in their fields, whereas I cannot embrace this notion. The students in my class… come into the classroom full of knowledge and experience. I too am a student in another role, so I recognize myself both as a learner among learners and a teacher among teachers. Expertise then, is not about knowing the facts, but about knowing where you are".

Mad studies thus decentre authoritative psy-knowledges (Rose, 1999) and attend to ways mental health discourses

emerge become intelligible and are circulated in various social realms.

I assert that when designing CDS-Mad Studies courses it may be prudent to consider the following: clarity of purpose and clarity of theoretical lens; ableism and sanism; institutional knowledge-power relations; language and terminology; issues of positionality; teaching strategies and techniques relating to Universal design; issues of access (Titchkosky, 2011); ways to incorporate first person lived experiential accounts of disabled and Mad persons; diverse assessment techniques; course content and course design. Based on my unique experiences, I offer the following ten considerations as a tentative incomplete sketch of CDS-Mad pedagogies.

CDS-Mad Pedagogies:

1. Often reclaim disabling and Mad terminology from pejorative roots;

2. Seek to represent and appreciate complex disabled-Mad subjectivities and the subjugated voices of disabled and Mad persons, even those voices that are silent or considered to be unintelligible voices;

3. Counter, problematize, and nuance dominant psy-narratives on mental health;

4. Trouble, resist, and often reject the influence and interests of Big Pharma in education;

5. Seek to reveal epistemic, historic, and contemporary violence by psy-sciences in treatment and cure regimes;

6. Draw on disabled and mad experiences and perspectives to inform increasingly compassionate, empathetic, critical professional praxis in biomedical-clinical-rehabilitative fields, including education;

7. Recognize and speak against trauma, discrimination, racism, sexism, classism, heteronormativism, ableism, sanism, abuse, assault, rape, poverty as impacting individuals' wellbeing;

8. Resist a simple biological pathologizing narrative explanation of " mental illness is a chemical imbalance rooted in individuals";

9. Seek disability and Mad positive community building and peer support;

10. De-centres expertise to speak about mental health issues from psy-professionals to Mad subjects with lived experiences;

The above list is only partial, and in sketching Mad pedagogies I hope to enlist the help of other Mad persons, mad scholars, activists, community groups, consumers, survivors, and ex-patients whose knowledges are needed and yet still quite absent in education. In this way, better complex cartographies of Mad pedagogies need to be collectively drawn.

In attempting to sketch CDS-MAD pedagogies it may be prudent to develop pedagogical openness, reciprocity, mutual respect, flexibility, accessibility, and opportunities for knowledge sharing. Instructors should have clear purpose and connect use of purposeful theory and be explicit in use of language and terminology, to reflect complex subjectivities, power-relations, and intersectional identities. It is also essential to give adequate attention to issues of positionality, power and privilege; develop teaching strategies and techniques relating to critical pedagogies; draw on first person lived experiential accounts of disabled and mad persons; and employ a variety of assessment techniques.

Non-Conclusion: New Game Openings

CDS informed pedagogies seek to trouble the notion of the ideal, individual, entrepreneurial, white, young, able-bodied subject (Goodley, 2014). It smashes this subject image as ideal and exposes the historical-socio-cultural-political-economic influences and privileges, power-knowledge webs, and identity markers upholding ableism (Goodley, 2014). Similarly, Church and Landry (in press) note that universities need to focus less on biomedical labelling practices, which individualize and pathologize mad and disabled students. Instead universities need to adopt more accessible teaching practices meeting the needs of diverse learners rejecting the assumption that "all students are able-bodied unless proven otherwise" (Church and Landry, in press). Thus, resisting individualizing disability as a problem requires different ways of teaching, ways which appreciate the diverse dynamic learning needs of students interacting in academic classroom spaces physical and virtual-online.

A CDS-Mad pedagogy may entail developing a nuanced understanding of disability as a lived experience by drawing from the perspectives, words, art, every day storied lives of disabled persons. A Mad-CDS pedagogical approach necessarily demands radically different pedagogical practices, an overt rethinking of pedagogy. What might developing a naisant Mad-CDS pedagogy entail? How might pedagogies informed by Mad Studies and Critical Disability Studies counter prevailing dominant neoliberal educational knowledge-power regimes and sets of practices?

CDS and Mad Studies informed frameworks consider how knowledges on disability are valued in educational settings. These fields allow us to examine how knowledges on disability are generated, circulated, and utilized in educational practices. In other words, whose knowledges are used and how do particular knowledge(s) inform educational decision-making and classroom pedagogical practices. Thus, CDS and Mad Studies represent platforms from which one may examine how disability and mental health-related knowledge(s) are generated and circulated in educational realms. Disability and madness conceptually open new avenues to think about educational norms, values, truths, and practices. Theorizing madness-dis/ability represents a pedagogical site of learning and opportunity to consider the human condition, and repositions dis/ability as a way to conceptually unpack lived human experiences.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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Reclaiming a Learning Focus in Continuing Professional Education (CPE): A "State of the Field" Update of Emergent Thinking, Post-Houle

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ABSTRACT

Learning as a central focus in the discourse on professional development is well grounded in the educational and professional development literature. Yet, despite this consensus, and significant research on how professionals learn, most professional development and continuing professional education (CPE) practices continue to focus on delivering content rather than enhancing learning. This paper provides an update and overview of adult education's ongoing critique of and contributions to debates about the aims, structure and purposes of continuing professional development and CPE. The paper profiles a longstanding and continuing effort by educational scholars to reclaim this vital area of study and practice, in order to bring their learning focus as well as their critical questions to bear on it.

Background and Introduction

The area of emphasis of adult and continuing education that concerns professional groups and their learning and development beyond initial preparation, is typically referred to as continuing professional education (CPE) (Jeris, 2010). Some notion of *continuing education* has been with us since at least the Middle Ages, although prior to the 1960s, little systematic thought was given to the need for *continuing* professional education beyond the three to six years of a professional's initial education. Many leaders in the professions believed that the years of pre-service professional education, along with some refreshers, were sufficient for a lifetime of work (Queeney, 2000). By the 1970s, however, rapid social change, the explosion of research-based knowledge, and societal demands for greater professional accountability and consumer protection, gave rise to the professionalization of occupations, and the need to prepare people continually through CPE became evident (Cervero, 2000, 2001; Houle, 1980; Wilson & Cervero, 2006).

Fueled by the remarkable growth of professionalization in the1970s and 1980s, standardized bodies of accredited knowledge were developed within professions, and organized programs of continuing education began to be developed and delivered (Cervero, 2000; Houle, 1980). Since that time, steady raising of acceptable levels of performance has led to CPE becoming increasingly mandated and tied to credential renewal (licensure), certification, or practice, ensuring the professional's accountability and ability to keep up to date with the profession's knowledge base (Gravani, 2007; Houle, 1980; Tobias, 2003). Notwithstanding these developments, most professions today embrace the importance of lifelong professional education, and their members regularly participate in a diverse array of CPE offerings to increase their knowledge and competence in professional practice. These CPE offerings are made available by a pluralistic group of providers (i.e., workplaces, private organizations, professional associations/regulatory agencies and universities) (Cervero, 2000, 2001; Houle, 1980) who use a variety of terms to describe the concept of CPE (i.e., professional development (PD), continuing professional development (CPD) continuing professional learning (CPL) and staff development, etc.) who deliver CPE in different settings using a variety of modalities (see Cervero & Daley 2011).

CPE as a distinct area of interest within adult and continuing education emerged in the 1960s largely as a result of the work of Cyril Houle, who explored the learning and development needs of 17 different occupational groups, ranging from traditional to emergent professions, over 20 years. His work explored the needs of post-qualification professionals to keep up with new developments, gain mastery, understand the connection of their field to related disciplines, and grow as people as well as professionals. This work, culminating in his seminal text *Continuing Learning in the Professions* (1980) was groundbreaking, establishing a strong link between continuing education and lifelong learning (Jeris, 2010). Houle found that across these professional groups,

experiential knowledge (informal learning) acquired from practice, was often more useful than what was acquired through more formal forms of continuing education (Queeney, 2000). In light of this, he emphasized continuous and self-directed learning –a desire and obligation to continue to learn over the course of one's professional career – as a primary concern and focus of CPE. He viewed professionals as agentic individuals, capable of determining their own learning needs, and saw the educational systems and processes serving those needs as secondary (Jeris, 2010).

Since the work of Houle, there have been many new developments and insights, which have broadened and deepened thinking about CPE practice, and which constitute a "state of the field" update. In this paper, I profile some of these developments undertaken within adult and continuing education. To do this, I use an existing update—a special edition of *New Directions for Adult & Continuing Education* (NDACE), edited by Mott and Daley in 2000—as a starting point in looking forward. The Mott and Daley collection, widely recognized (at the time) as the most significant update on CPE post Houle, provides a solid base from which I then document some of the more recent understandings and debates. Beyond this introduction, therefore (beginning with the Mott and Daley collection), this paper reviews conceptual debates and developments from the field between 2000 and 2014. A final section briefly sums up current "state of the field" thinking about CPE.

CPE Developments Post-Houle (1980-2000)

Twenty years after the publication of Houle's classical text *Continuous Learning in the Professions*, scholars Mott and Daley (2000) lamented that while CPE had undergone significant changes, little progress has been made towards establishing it as a field of practice, noting that in many ways CPE was even more fragmented than in Houle's conceptualization and challenge to the 20th and 21st century:

> The task for this generation is to move ahead as creatively as possible, amid all the distractions and complexities of practice to aid professions…constantly to refine their sensitiveness, enlarge their concepts, add to their knowledge, and prefect their skills so that they can discharge their responsibilities within the context of their own personalities and the needs of society of which they are a collectively a part. (p. 316)

Indeed, in stark contrast to Houle's holistic vision, Cervero (2000) (in the same Mott and Daley edited collection) profiled that what had emerged was a rather universally narrower conceptualization and belief that the aim of CPE was to keep professional's up to date on the profession's knowledge base. Like Houle, he observed that the most commonly experienced forms of CPE provided episodic updates of technical and practice knowledge within professions. He cited an increasingly complex world, the race towards professionalization, and the growing use of CPE to regulate practice—as having shaped a deeply embedded view that

professional practice consisted of instrumental problem solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique (Schön, 1987). He questioned the underlying assumptions, arguing that this conceptualization of professional practice was insufficient, given that in the 'swampy lowlands' of professional practice, messy confusing problems often defy technical solutions (Schön, 1987). Cervero proposed a more expansive conceptualization, encompassing not only *technical* knowledge, but also *practical* knowledge—the accumulation of tacit knowledge (informal learning) from experience, which contributes to a professional's wisdom and ability to exercise discretionary judgment in practice. This was consistent with Houle's understanding of how professionals learn and develop knowledge through practice:

> Professionals learn through study, apprenticeship and experience, both by expanding their comprehension of formal disciplines and by finding new ways to use them to achieve specific ends, constantly moving forward and backward from theory to practice so that each enriches the other. (p. 1)

Like Houle, Cervero believed that to be truly effective in CPE a model of learning must be at the heart of educational practice, and he expanded understanding of the multiple forms of knowledge needed in professional practice. This prompted Daley (2000) (also in the Mott and Daley edited collection) to imagine that a valuable model of learning might extend to consider (beyond knowledge requirements) *how professionals learn* and make meaning of new knowledge (from CPE) in their distinctive practice contexts – those places where they provided care or delivered services.

What Daley (2000) and Mott (2000) discovered was that professionals made knowledge meaningful through constructivist learning – by establishing connections between the knowledge learned (through CPE), previous experiences, and the context in which they found themselves, as well as how they perceived that context. Daley extended this notion of constructivist thinking, emphasizing transformative learning as a way of explaining how professionals acquire new information and then potentially change their understanding of that information (construct new meaning frames) based on experience –so, consistent with Houle's understanding, learning *in* and *from* practice. She proposed that professionals develop from novice to expert, along a continuum, as they learn to "rely on past concrete experiences rather than on abstract principles, as they understand situations as integrated wholes rather than as discreet parts, and as they begin to act as involved performers rather than detached observers" (p. 39). As they developed into exemplary practitioners along this continuum, it seemed that critical reflection played an important developmental role, and that the development of reflective skills was an important learning dimension to be incorporated into both pre-service and continuing professional education efforts (Schön 1983, 1987; Wilson, 2001).

Daley acknowledged that basing one's CPE practice on a model of learning or a learning system would involve a significant change in mind-set for the majority of CPE providers,

who work from the assumption that professionals merely transfer information to their practice. In reality, she had discovered that transfer of learning and adoption of innovation were part of the knowledge construction process, and an integral part of a professionals learning (See Daley, 2001). As such, she advocated that shifting the role of CPE provider from developer of specific program content to facilitator of learning, and including methods that encourage the participants to link the content of the CPE program to their actual practice and work environment, would significantly enhance the meaning they could derive from CPE.

In the same publication Wilson (2000) observed that the large-scale organization and systemized delivery of professional services in the 1990s was creating an emphasis on 'system competency', such that systems, not individual practitioners, provided services. The result, he feared, was that professionals were "constantly producing and reproducing the institutional and social mechanism by which they were required to operate, leading to the increasing loss of professional autonomy, and corresponding organizational rather than client allegiance"(p. 78). The growing dominance of these expert systems, he argued, was superseding and undermining the traditional power and autonomy of the individual professional expert, such that they were experiencing "failure of professional knowing" (Schön, 1987), and were uncertain about how to use their expertise to serve client needs. To counteract this, he encouraged continuing professional educators (while continuing to provide knowledge and technique updates) to more deeply consider the fundamental nature of professional practice, and ways to support professionals in reclaiming their professional (discretionary) power and capacity for client advocacy.

New Conceptual Horizons (2000-2014)

These historical debates and developments across the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century remain of enduring interest to scholars and researchers in adult and continuing education. They are continuing their pursuit of a unifying picture of effective CPE by posing critical questions and probing for a deeper understanding of how professionals learn, and the kinds of knowing that characterize effective practice. For example, a special edition of *Adult Learning* on CPE (edited by Mott, 2001), using Mott and Daley's reframed vision, focused on the needs of professionals (as adult learners) in a variety of CPE contexts, revealing educational design considerations for practice development and improvement. The collection focused on using research to improve practice, online professional learning, mentoring and peer based learning, diversity and multicultural issues in CPE, motivation and participation in CPE, and ethics.

In the same year, Cervero (2001) turned his gaze to persistent issues that impeded progress in building an effective system of CPE across professions. His analysis revealed political and ethical struggles, and the need for clarification and consensus on at least three issues, which he framed using the following questions: *Continuing education for what?* (the struggle between updating professional's knowledge versus improving practice); *Who benefits from continuing education?* (the struggle between the learning agenda and the political and economic agendas of continuing educators), and *Who will provide continuing education?* (the struggle for turf versus collaborative relationships). More recently, Jeris and Conway (2003) added a fourth question: *What impact does the workplace as the site for CPE have on its planning, design, delivery, content and participation and outcomes?*(the struggle between continuing education learning agenda and the goal of performance improvement through increased productivity).

Cervero's critical questions have served as a useful critical lens for examining the broader discourses guiding the practice of CPE. For example, with these questions in mind, Tobias (2003) examined the underlying ideology and essentialist nature of existing models and discourses on PD, including discourses on professionalization. He found tensions and contradictory tendencies were inherent in all forms of initial and continuing professional development (and corresponding CPE) – for example, while the processes of professionalization had played a key role in raising the standards of technical competence of members (enabling them to achieve higher levels of excellence in their fields), the same processes and standardize performance guidelines often limited creativity. Moreover, while the drive to regulate practice ensured observable measurable professional skills, these skills were sometimes valued over more ephemeral qualities such as empathy. Tobias's work highlighted the limitations of a "one size fits all" approach, and the need to consider important political and economic questions – such as those posed by Cervero – in any debate about boundaries or the aims, structure and purposes of continuing professional development and CPE.

The integrated nature of the multiple providers in CPE, and the multiple goals of these providers was further probed by Dirkx and Austin (2002, 2005) as they searched to locate a common framework for professionals to understand their work, irrespective of context. Their conceptual model highlighted that the goals of professional development are met in four primary contexts: Human Resource Development (HRD), CPE, faculty development and staff development. The model depicted the aims of CPE to include technical, practical and emancipatory goals, and it provided for consideration of contexts, and aims from the point of view of the focus (organizational or individual). The intended advantages for CPE planners was to help them to identify and think about aims, purposes and practice boundaries:

The (conceptual) model helps us situate the aims of professional development experiences such as technical updates (new technical procedures to master or regulations to learn); practical approaches to conflict management, better communications or team-building, and more emancipatory learning experiences that increase self-knowledge or the ability to be more critically reflective within a particular practice arena (context) and focus (organizational or individual). (p. 4)

In a full special edition of *Advances in Developing Human Resources* (ADHR), entitled "Boundary Spanning," editors Daley and Jeris (2004) reconfigured and adapted this conceptual model to highlight CPE and HRD as the primary dimensions of professional development (with staff and faculty development secondary), in an effort to explore the boundaries that existed between the two fields, (which had developed, and were studied, independently of each other). Their premise was that each area of practice had "valuable theoretical bases, research traditions, and educational practices, and yet because of differences in language, focus, and purpose, often have not found ways to share information and enhance practice and research in each area" (p. 110). Given the increasing amount of CPE being conducted in workplaces, Jeris and Daley 2004 were interested in ways that both fields could share and learn from each other, in order to enhance the performance and value of CPE to organizations and individuals.

Indeed, the scholarly work in this special edition of ADHR revealed significant differences across HRD and CPE contexts. For example, Bierma and Eraut (2004), found that while the emphasis on learning was shared across both fields, different learning traditions had developed over time for these two groups. CPE has traditionally conceptualized the processes of learning and change largely from an individualistic or psychological perspective, and has emphasized primarily the updating of work-related knowledge and technique. The focus of change in CPE was reflected in new or different content transmitted through the process. Relying more on sociological and organizational theories of change, HRD stressed organizational culture and broader institutional factors that needed to be taken into account in any change initiative. The focus of change in HRD was on the process rather than the content of change (Dirkx, Gilley & Maycunich-Gilley, 2004), although learning was often given less priority than knowledge, with a focus on skills and competencies being more common than in CPE (Bierma & Eraut, 2004).

In examining philosophical approaches to diversity (in the same collection) Ross-Gordon and Brooks (2004) noted that for HRD, successfully managing a diverse workforce, related to organizational bottom lines and competitiveness, whereas within CPE the interest in diversity had typically been expressed in terms of concerns for social justice issues—perhaps reflecting the reality that CPE exists in profession-dominated organizations and HRD in other, often profit-oriented, organizations. Despite these fundamental differences, points of convergence across the two fields including a shared interest in workplace learning and performance, and a reliance on objective truths were noted. Shared areas of struggle included the traditions of updating, weak links to performance, the isolation of learning from the workplace, and insufficient attention of research to the concept of learning" (Jeris & Daley, 2004, p. 104). By 2004, it seems, Houle's ideas about professional learning still had little impact on CPE and HRD practices.

In continuing this comparative analysis Dirkx, Gilley and Maycunich-Gilley took a deeper look at change theory within CPE and HRD, and their underlying assumptions, concluding that both fields needed to be grounded in a more holistic understanding of work related learning and change, and how it could be facilitated. Like others, they challenged assumptions of lifelong learning that viewed professional development knowledge as objective, distinct from the practitioners who act on it, and not related to the particular socio-cultural context (Daley, 2001, 2002; Houle, 1980). Inspired by scholars exploring the spiritual nature of work and learning (e.g., English, Fenwick & Parsons, 2003; Palmer 1998, 2004; West, 2001), they offered a more expansive conceptualization of lifelong learning that proposed that the professional's identity was deeply intertwined with the processes of developing and sustaining knowledge in practice (Wenger, 1998; Wilson, 2001).

In Dirkx, Gilley and Maycunich-Gilley's view, professional development knowledge was influenced by the many subjective and richly felt (embodied) dimensions of practice, including the concrete, relationships, feelings, emotions and instincts that shape professionals. Like Daley (2001, 2002) and Fenwick (2000) before them, they argued that how people came to understand new information and techniques varied and acquired meaning and purpose, "when filtered through the experience and existing understandings that the practitioner brings to the tasks, as well as sociocultural context in which these tasks are performed" (p. 40). In this conceptualization, the 'self' was viewed as active in the co-construction of knowledge, and lifelong learning in professional practice was characterized by "an evolving awareness of the self in relationship with itself, with others and with the social and cultural context" (p. 40). In this sense the knowledge, developed and deployed for use in practice is always unique to the individual, and in that sense authentic, and this authentic activity provides a basis for thinking about conceptualizations of professional development, and how to support PL through CPE.

This notion of *authenticity* – used in education with respect to authentic tasks as genuine and embedded in real life – has been taken up by more recent scholars to more vividly convey this more holistic way of thinking about CPL and PL. For example, Webster-Wright (2009, 2010) advances a concept of "authentic professional learning" (APL) to emphasize (continuous) PL as a personal, complex and lived phenomenon, unique to individual as they navigate multiple transitions. Like Houle, she investigated PL from the

perspective of professionals themselves, in order to gain insights on their experience of PL, and how to support it. She discovered (See Webster-Wright, 2010) that professionals learn in situations that are important to them, and that these situations " usually are areas they care about enough to engage with effortlessly and with intentionality, yet as the same time, experience uncertainty and doubt" (p. v). She isolates *personal experience* and *intentionality* as the key premise for a professional's ongoing learning, placing pedagogical emphasis on PL as a self-directed activity, encompassing not only activity directed by others, but also what the individual wishes to achieve.

Webster-Wright's (2009, 2010) work provides a promising new vista, and potentially a step forward in bridging (professional) learning theory and CPE practice. As this paper reveals, a significant body of research examining the experience of PL has had little impact on CPE practices. Her work ties together learning and CPE; in combining these, her work provides a more holistic and comprehensive way of thinking about PL across professions. The historical problem in finding a way forward she locates in the mistaken assumption (by CPE stakeholders and professionals) that CPE and PL are the same thing, assuming that well designed CPE programs lead to PL and improvements in practice. In reality, Webster-Wright found that learning did not always occur from PD/CPE courses, for example, when the supervision of standards and performance were privileged over understanding in learning.

The "State of the Field": Old Frontiers and Future Vistas

In 1980, Houle challenged scholars and practitioners to listen to the experience of professionals as a basis for supporting their professional learning. A process of taking stock, reveals that much progress has been made on this agenda. In the subsequent 35 years, scholars such as Schon, Daley and Mott, Dirkx, Webster-Wright and others have engaged professionals, significantly deepening understanding, not only of the experience of PL and CPL, but also the nature of professional knowledge and how it is constructed and reconstructed through different types of learning transitions. Other scholars have focused on related questions about how engagement in everyday practice at work affords varying learning experiences, how conditions at the workplace can either support or hinder CPL, and particular approaches and strategies that can support PL and transformative learning at work (See Billett, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2008; Choy, 2009; Hansman, 2002). Still others have examined broader political and ethical issues, asking important critical questions about CPE trends over time, professional development discourses, and practices in CPE (i.e, Cervero, 2000, 2001; Gravani, 2007; Tobias, 2003; Wilson & Cervero, 2006).

These scholars have articulated a reformulated vision of CPE practice and an expanded understanding of the role of CPE providers in supporting PL and CPL. Apparent, however, is a noticeable disparity between these research findings and

CPE practice in most professions. Although the theory of and evidence for placing learning at the heart of CPE practice is well established, the practice of CPE remains stubbornly mired in update and competency approaches, and a coordinated system of continuing education, or arriving at any unifying picture of effective CPE across professions remains elusive, decades after Houle's work.

So one might ask how this body of work has served to support change in the direction envisioned by Houle. A closer look reveals the task of building a coordinated system of continuing education or arriving at any unifying picture of effective CPE across professions is a fundamentally longer-term and more complex process (Cervero & Daley, 2011) involving multiple stakeholders with distinctive, diverse, and competing professional, social, institutional and educational agendas. As these agendas are negotiated towards a more integrated approach to CPE in future, the opportunity exists for the work of these scholars to shape understandings and practices of CPE. As a way forward, the questions that framed the Mott and Daley (2000) inquiry can provide a helpful compass and critical questions that can guide these future negotiations:

> What business are we in? How do we create new systems that foster continuing professional education, knowledge construction and collaboration, and authentic situated evaluation within the constraints of the current marketplace? Is this just an academic discussion of continuing professional education or can we fundamentally shape the practice of continuous professional education? (p. 80).

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Transformative adult education research:
Exploring hermeneutic, co-operative and arts-based methodologies

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Abstract

This paper explores the benefits and challenges, a well as the transformative potential, of a methodological approach that combines co-operative inquiry, philosophical hermeneutic approaches to narrative and arts-informed methodologies. In developing a methodology for my research on embodied, nonviolent adult education, I aimed to orient my methods toward responsiveness to the context, rather than subsuming phenomena under fixed, imposed categories. In order to complement my theoretical approach to embodied nonviolence, my methods were not designed to develop theory by testing out particular themes within interactions, but rather, participants cultivate a range of experiences to open up the possibility for a transformational encounter. I explain what this kind of approach looks like in practice using examples from my ongoing project, and I explore both my successes and my setbacks in navigating the messy work of implementing a methodological framework in adult education research.

Introduction

My research on embodied, nonviolent education and activism combines co-operative inquiry, philosophical hermeneutic approaches to narrative and arts-informed methodologies. The combination of these methodologies has resulted in a rich and textured research process, but also has given rise to a number of complex and messy outcomes. In line with my theoretical orientation towards nonviolence, phenomenology and participatory processes, I aimed to adapt my methods to the context, rather than subsuming phenomena under fixed, imposed categories. In order to complement my theoretical approach to embodied non-violence, my methods were not designed to develop theory by testing out particular themes within interactions, but rather, the research was oriented toward responsiveness, and the participants were encouraged to cultivate a range of experiences to open up the possibility for a transformational encounter.

Drawing from feminist adult education theorists, I outline the importance of acknowledging different ways of knowing, and link this to métissage, an arts-informed approach focused on weaving together diverse stories, distinct ways of presenting experience, and sometimes contradictory ways of knowing (Etmanski, Weigler, & Wong Sneddon, 2011). I conclude my theoretical orientation section, with a brief outline of Freeman's (2007) philosophical hermeneutic approach to narrative, which is oriented towards co-created understanding and transformation through the hermeneutic encounter. I explain what this kind of approach looks like in practice using examples from my ongoing project.

My methodology blends together the hermeneutic approach to narrative with co-operative inquiry and arts-informed methods, and I describe how these approaches are grounded in my theoretical framework. I conducted focus groups and interviews with students learning NVC in two distinct environments. The first was a transformational clowning workshop, in which the students engaged in NVC through a number of informal practice groups. The second was the Nonviolent Leadership Retreat for Social Justice. Art-informed methods were used based on the particular interests and talents of the participants, and these arts-based methods fit with radical adult education approaches and radical phenomenological approaches. I explore both my successes and my setbacks in navigating the messy work of implementing a methodological framework in adult education research.

Métissage

Métissage is both a theory and a practice, and can refer to a political, literary, or research praxis (Chambers et al., 2008). Although the roots of the term métissage refer to mixing or weaving together of different types of cloth, it is important to note that in Canada's colonial and racist context, the term métis has been used in derogatory ways, but also that métissage "gives us the opportunity to celebrate the claiming and

reclaiming of mixed identities, hybrid and liminal spaces, and multiple, sometimes contradictory, ways of knowing and being, thinking and doing" (Etmanski et al., 2011). The theory encourages mixing binaries, resisting fixed categories and allowing for ambiguity and multiplicity. Simpkins (2012) argues that a phenomenologically oriented métissage can act as a curricular channel that "foster[s] empathy and understanding of self/other" (p. 4). Métissage attends to difference, while simultaneously generating something new; it "affirms, rather than polarizes difference" (Chambers et al., 2008, p. 142).

In a similar fashion, the different aspects of my study are influenced by diverse theoretical traditions, and I weave together concepts from radical adult education, feminist theories of embodiment affect and multiple ways of knowing, as well as philosophical hermeneutic approaches to narrative. These topics are each distinct; however, they overlap and intersect with one another, and together create the fabric of my theoretical framework.

Embodiment and Multiple Ways of Knowing

My study is also informed by feminist adult education theorists who focus on the relevance of affect embodiment, emotions, affect and multiple ways of knowing (Clark & Dirkx, 2008; Dirkx, 2001, 2006, 2008; Doerge, 1992; Fenwick, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Rompelman, 2002; Yorks & Kasl, 2002; Zambrana-Ortiz, 2011). Yorks and Kasl (2002) draw on the work of John Heron in order to describe how a felt encounter both occurs in the body and can be a shared relational event. Experiential knowing, which is located in emotion and feeling, is conceptualized as a unique way of knowing, "with its own canon of validity" (p. 184). Similarly, presentational knowing, which Yorks and Kasl (2002) describe as one's "intuitive grasp of the significance of imaginal patterns as expressed in graphic, plastic, moving, musical, and verbal art forms" (p. 182), also has its own cannon of validity. Presentational knowing provides articulation, in the sense of the state of being jointed, between the extra-linguistic experiential knowing and a rational understanding within discourse. Thus, the arts become significant in articulating different ways of knowing.

Arts-informed methodologies provide a number of benefits to research focused on embodied nonviolent education. Mc-Niff (2009) argues that just as systematic scientific inquiry has advantages that can be used by other disciplines, so does arts-informed research. Art enhances inquiry in that it encourages creative relationships with the variety of elements of the research. It offers the ability to know each element through different art forms, with each art form offering a unique interpretation and understanding of the experience, and it provides "responsiveness to the unexpected" (p. 39). Arts-informed researchers attempt to bring together the complimentary aspects of systematic and rigorous qualities of conventional methodologies, with the creative, imaginative aspects of arts-informed practices. Cole and Knowles (2009) note that the language of the academy falls short in

its ability to communicate the complexity and diversity of human experience, and that arts-informed research can expand the possibilities of scholarship when it comes to diverse ways of knowing, which "stand outside sanctioned intellectual frameworks" (p. 55), such as the embodied, aesthetic, personal or relational. In addition, arts-informed research can make dissemination of scholarship more accessible, since it offers diverse languages for diverse audiences, and it provides an avenue with which to offer generative, rather than propositional, knowledge, "made with sufficient ambiguity and humility to allow for multiple interpretations" (p. 67).

Philosophical Hermeneutic Approaches

Drawing on the work of Freeman (2007), I take up a *philosophical* hermeneutic perspective on narrative, which focuses on the new worlds of possibility that open in the encounter between reader and the text. Freeman (2007) employs the hermeneutic theories of Gadamer and Heidegger, as well as Ricoeur, and frames understanding as a co-created event that happens during the interaction of either the reader and the text, or the speaker and the listener. In relation to research methodologies, this theoretical stance means that she frames the interview as a performative space, in which the participants' responses are contextualized performances and the researchers interaction are a contextualized co-performance. This perspective allows the researcher to acknowledge how her presence may have impacted the participants' creation of the understanding event and to engage in the transformational process of co-created understanding through setting up the conditions for a hermeneutic encounter.

Methodology

My research methodology is influenced by co-operative inquiry, which draws on participatory frameworks (Heron & Reason, 1997; Heron, 1996; Reason, 1999), philosophical hermeneutic approaches to narrative (Freeman, 2007), and arts-informed methodologies, particularly poetic inquiry (Brady, 2009; Cahnmann-Taylor, 2009; Prendergast, 2006, 2009, 2012) and métissage (Chambers et al., 2008; Donald, 2011; Etmanski et al., 2011; Simpkins, 2012). While I draw on these methodologies, my research is oriented toward responsiveness to the context, rather than subsuming phenomena under fixed, imposed categories. Drawing on Freeman (2007), my methods are not designed to develop theory by testing out particular themes within interactions, but rather, participants cultivate a range of experiences to open up the possibility for a transformational encounter. I use elements of Heron (1996) and Reason's (1999) co-operative inquiry, which align with the radical adult education emphasis on critiquing and addressing hierarchical power relations, in this case between the researcher and the participant. In addition, my methodology is premised on the idea that there are an infinite number of possible unrealized interpretations, and researchers must welcome relational

meanings, fluidity and ambiguity (Schürmann, 1987, 1992), instability and undecidability (Derrida, 1992). Thus, each performative encounter involving interpretations has the potential to open meaning making possibilities and allow transformation to occur (Freeman, 2007). Findings in this research are temporary and conditional, in part because the recognition that the methodology and its methods are interpretive, necessarily open to revision and reinterpretation, and also because this research is oriented towards transformation.

My research uses a co-operative, arts-informed approach in order to develop a participatory, experiential and relational methodological framework, in which co-researchers are engaged in embodied processes of emancipatory and transformative praxis. The emphasis on the embodied, situated, relational and contextual nature of socially just knowledge construction corresponds to the theoretical lenses I use, particularly from a feminist adult education perspective on embodiment and affect. I use poetic inquiry as a starting place, since poetry uses language as art, and can bring together the aesthetic aspects found in clowning and the linguistic elements in NVC. In addition, poetry fits with radical adult education approaches and Schürmann's (1987) radical phenomenological approach, as it has the potential to disrupt and unsettle hegemonic discourses and open up new spaces. Other emergent art forms were used based on the particular group of researcher-participants. These arts-based methods present the possibility of stepping outside the imposition of fixed, rational norms and practices, into an open field. I use métissage as a theoretical construct and research praxis, bringing together the narrative accounts and artistic expressions of different participants into a script, for performance and publication. I maintain individual strands within the script, attending to their irreducible difference, and at the same time creating a new text and performance from the interwoven strands, "one that illuminates the braided, polysemic, and relational character of our lives, experience and memories, as well as the interconnections among the personal and public realm" (Chambers et al., 2008, p. 142).

Methods and Design

My research involves two stages. I have completed stage one, and I will complete stage two to in the summer and fall of 2015. The second stage of my research will involve 10 to 15 prominent educators and activists whose work relates to embodied nonviolence, and who may have insight how practices of embodiment and nonviolence relate to personal and social change. Because I have not started stage two at the time of writing this paper, I will focus on stage one.

In stage one I was a participant in trainings and conducted research at two different sites. The first site was a two-month intensive clowning course in which a number of the clowning students also attended a NVC practice group. I chose this group of learners because of the unique opportunity to look at adult education focused on embodiment and on nonviolence, and because both the clowning course and

NVC education share the dual goals of personal transformation and social change. The second site was a week-long training on NVC and social justice. I recruited students at these two sites to participate in focus groups that used co-operative inquire and arts-informed practices to explore their perceptions and their experience of embodied nonviolent education. I chose this group of learners because of the use of NVC combined with an orientation towards social justice.

At the first site, I intended on conducting four 120-minute participatory focus groups with the clowning and NVC students, which I audio recorded. But, because of conflicting schedules and at the students' request, we did two 120-minute participatory focus groups, and then an interview with each of the students involved. We used elements of Heron (1996) and Reason's (1999) participatory framework of co-operative inquiry, which involved a cyclical four-phase model of action and reflection. In co-operative inquiry, ideally the group would democratically chose the framework, direction and methods; however, for the purpose of my dissertation I initially presented my research questions to the group, but did so with an openness to radical reinterpretation.

In the first focus group I asked the students, for phase one in the co-operative, cyclical process, to collaborate in creating a set of questions, a set of practices/actions to assist them in inquiring into those questions, and a set of procedures for gathering and documenting their self-reflections. Phase two then occurred outside the focus group, with students taking the first actions and reflecting on them, while in phase three, co-researchers deepen into their experience and become fully involved and immersed and were engaged in creative analytic practices. Each individual was asked to then take the same actions, but to use unique modes of artistic expression, depending on their interest, skill or immediate experience. In phase four everyone comes back together for the next focus group in which reflections and any new creative pieces are presented to the group and discussed; the purpose, direction, and questions are reinterpreted; and new actions and procedures were chosen in light of our experiences and expressions in order to start a the next four-phase cycle. This process aims to co-construct a rich, textured expressions of the topic.

Also, I followed Reason's (1999) recommendation concerning making an agreement in the beginning that allow any co-researcher to use, write about and share their experience in whatever way they want, providing the other members of the group have reviewed and approved the text or presentation proposal. This allowed for flexibility in exploring nonviolent education, while engaged in a radically democratic, experiential process that attempts to embody emancipatory and transformative praxis. Yet, the traditional co-operative cycle does not explicitly draw out the embodied, emotional and empathic aspects of lived experience, and thus I incorporated elements from poetic inquiry and other arts-informed practices. In the first focus group, I asked a few introductory questions and attempted to get a sense of what

was most important to the students, and to see if there were questions that they wished to explore. In both focus groups, I will allotted time for the students to create responses to questions of their choice using an art form, such as poetry, creative writing, drawings, or improvised performances. I photographed, with the students' explicit consent, artwork that they created, and I video recorded the performances that they choose to do. At the second site, due to time constraints, I conducted one open-ended interview with each of the students involved. These interviews were video recoded, and some will be part of the métissage video.

Messiness

The research process was messy and took a number of unexpected turns. The first, as mentioned above was the shift in the number of focus groups and the addition of interviews as replacements. In addition, the four phases did not go as planned. Students participated enthusiastically in the initial focus group, collaborated on creating questions to explore, but then when it came to phase two and three, which were to happen outside the focus group on their own time, most students did not take actions or reflect on the questions that they had created. When we came together for the second focus group, we adjusted our commitments and expectations to fit with the student's desired level of participation. We created space within the focus group to answer questions through art-based practices such as poetry, music composition, performance and drawing. In the fourth and final focus group meeting, we were supposed to discuss transformations and openings that emerged throughout the process as well as participant-researchers input on key stories to include in a métissage script. Since we only did two focus groups, we addressed these transformations and openings individually in the final interviews.

The stories and artwork from focus groups, as well as the narratives expressed in the individual interviews reveal the complexity and messiness of transformational learning, and the research mirrored this complexity. Throughout the interviews and focus groups, participants shared their experiences of using NVC to communicate about issues of racism, classism, sexism, and trans-phobia, and most highlight the ambiguity and paradoxical nature of their own experience engaging in these topics. Students explored their own complicity in systems of oppression, and described their attempts to navigate spaces in ways that line up with their own values.

Conclusion

I am hesitant to outline the implications for practice and theory, and intend to wait until after stage two to create the métissage script. This métissage will weave together our unique experiences, drawing from our creative art pieces, our poetic expressions and narrative accounts, and the transcripts of our focus group meetings as well as transcripts from the interviews in the next stage of my research. In stage two of my research, I will recruit educators and activists for

two 90-minute interviews each. In the first interview, I will get to know the individual, and inquire into their experiences with embodiment and nonviolence. Before the second interview I select artwork, passages of transcripts or video performances from stage one. I will choose these clips and artwork based on what material I think will expose each educator or activist with a range of experiences that seem different from their own, "so as to elicit reflective commentary and further engagement with the topic" (Freeman, 2007, p. 931), but also based on my interpretation grounded in my theoretical framework. During the second interview, I will present the chosen artwork, poetry, audio or video performances from previous participants. Freeman (2007) argues that this kind of interpretive interviewing strategy has transformational potential in that it create the opportunity for a hermeneutic encounter. This approach is a complex, messy and interpretive process. Like Freeman (2007), I will not attempt to bracket my own fore-conceptions or prejudices, which include my cultural context, prior history, everyday embodied experiences, nor will I bracket those of the people I interview. Rather, I will acknowledge how my own and what I know of the interviewees' fore-conceptions, and the experience of the encounter with the text, speech, video or artwork play a role in the creation of the understanding event. I will write reflexive memos throughout the analysis process, noting how the data relates to my theoretical framework, as well as poetic reflections on the embodied experience of my own encounter with the material.

In my analysis, I will begin by looking for moments where there was dissonance, where someone's the imagination was sparked, or where there was confusion. I will write my impressions in memos, and note elements of different stories or expressions that intersect. I will also look for affective elements in the topic, as they open "the methodological possibility of poetic transcription, representation and/or interpretation" (Prendergast, 2009, p. xxiii). I will maintain an orientation of openness towards the data, allowing the unexpected to emerge. I will use my memos to guide my choices of which pieces of the data to weave together into a métissage script. I will undertake the creation of the métissage as an artistic endeavour that is responsive to the emergence of the unexpected.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Coming to Understand Respect: Experiences of a White Settler Woman Doing Research in an Indigenous Space

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on my PhD research, which focuses on family literacy programs and policy in Saskatchewan, Canada. Reflecting on my experiences as a white settler woman observing a traditional aboriginal parenting program as part of my research, I explore ongoing shifts in my thinking about my research. Particular attention is paid to the notions of Indigenous/colonized space and respect and how awareness of these concepts might work to create family literacy research and programs that contribute to the empowerment of diverse families. Ethical questions and the concept of "ethical relationality" (Donald, 2009) are also discussed.

Introduction

This paper draws on data collected as part of my PhD research which explores family literacy programs as sites of regulation and empowerment (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Smythe & Isserlis, 2002). Family literacy programs support the literacy development of more than one generation of a family. Many adult literacy workers see family literacy as an approach to programming that engages and empowers adult learners in their role as parents (Sanders & Shively, 2007). However, some researchers suggest that family literacy programs perpetuate deficit views of family and may work to 'colonize' 'nonmainstream' families by teaching dominant literacy practices (Reyes & Torres, 2007). This tension is complicated by the fact that while family literacy programs in Canada are often facilitated by white middle class women, they are commonly targeted towards so-called 'at-risk' populations particularly First Nations and new immigrant families.

My research is rooted in feminist approaches to ethnography and genealogy (Pillow, 2003; Tamboukou & Ball, 2003). Data was collected through interviews, observation and document analysis in both family literacy training workshops and community-based family literacy programs in

Saskatchewan, Canada. Using a genealogical approach to analysis, I focus on the "how" rather than the "why" and on the "regimes of truth" at work in family literacy policy and practice (Tamboukou, 2003). My analysis addresses the ways in which words and practices "enable different kinds of actions within institutions" (Ahmed, 2007) focusing particularly on appearances of strengths-focused and deficit-based language.

The data which informs this paper was collected mostly during my observations of a traditional aboriginal parenting program in an urban setting in Saskatchewan. My observations in this program occurred late in my data collection, at a point when all other observations and most interviews had been completed. My experiences in this program have led me to an ongoing reframing of my thinking about family literacy policy and practice in Saskatchewan and Canada. In this paper, I begin to reflect on some of the reasons for this shift. In particular I discuss: 1) the implications for me, a white settler women, of doing research in an Indigenous/colonized space, 2) the ways in which my experiences in this program have informed my developing understanding of respect in family literacy program, policy and research and 3) ethical considerations of doing research as a white settler woman research with Indigenous participants and applying this knowledge to the field of family literacy.

Indigenous/Colonized Spaces

I did not intend to do research in an Indigenous space nor did I intend to observe a traditional aboriginal parenting program. I had arranged to observe an aboriginal version of a popular family literacy program in a community-based agency that I had been working with as part of my research. But when I contacted the facilitator to confirm the details, she told me that they had decided not to offer the program that year. Then, almost as an afterthought, she told me that they were planning to offer a new program focused on

traditional aboriginal parenting. It would be offered in partnership with another agency in an inner city, predominately aboriginal neighbourhood. She told me that the program was not a family literacy program, but that there were some family literacy components and she invited me to attend as a participant and observer if I was interested. It seemed like a good opportunity, perhaps my only opportunity to observe a program with an explicitly aboriginal focus, so I decided to accept her generous offer. I had no idea then that the experience would change my thinking about my research more broadly.

My interest in observing an aboriginal-focused family literacy program had been growing since I first began my research. This interest was rooted in two observations I had made during my literature review and early data collection and analysis. First, although family literacy practitioners are mostly white middle class women (like myself) and programs primarily serve First Nations and immigrant families, this relationship is rarely talked about in the field. In my interviews with practitioners to that point, they rarely had referred to the cultural or racial backgrounds of participants and they never talked about their own positionalities. Some used language such as "risks", "needs" and "prevention" to talk about families. Such language, embedded in deficit thinking (Auerbach, 1995), hid the fact that the 'targeted' families they talked about were most often aboriginal families.

Second, during my observations of another program offered by the same organization that coordinated the aboriginal parenting program, I had noted a tension that I felt was rooted in the conflict between the empowerment-based First Nations focused philosophy of the organization and the school-based understanding of literacy promoted by the family literacy curriculum they were using. I was interested to see if using a curriculum designed specifically for First Nations families would resolve or lessen some of these tensions.

So I was interested in the ways in which a conscious focus on aboriginal pedagogy and philosophy in curricula might counter dominant deficit narratives in the field. But the curriculum was not the only significant difference between this program and other programs I had observed and was familiar with. Unlike these programs, the aboriginal traditional parenting program took place in an almost completely indigenous space. This was embodied in the fact that during the program, I was the only white person in the room. The two facilitators, the elder who shared teachings in two of the sessions, and of the participants were all either First Nations or Metis. Additionally, the pedagogy and processes were shaped by aboriginal traditions. For example, each session began with a smudge and prayer and the program concluded with a traditional feast. Also significantly, aboriginal culture and history were a significant part of the content as topics focused on traditional aboriginal child raising practices.

The space seemed to be a particularly comfortable and supportive one for the participants. It was a safe space in which, because certain experiences were shared, they did not need

to be explained. It was also a space in which whiteness and colonialism were talked about in ways that I have never encountered in a family literacy program. Although it was normally my experience that whiteness and colonialism are invisible presences in family literacy work in Saskatchewan, here they were openly discussed. The ways in which colonization disrupted and continues to disrupt traditional parenting practices were necessarily part of the conversation. The creation of the program as an Indigenous space allowed the colonized nature of the space to be made visible. This was perhaps most true for me, a white person who had rarely, if ever, been in a such a space before; but it was also evident in some of the comments from the participants. For example, when discussing the impact of residential schools on aboriginal parenting, a mother made a connection between her own parents' struggles and their experiences as residential school survivors. This was something she had not thought about from this perspective before.

Respect

Before I began observing in the aboriginal parenting program, I had been thinking about respect. I had noticed that respect was something that practitioners sometimes talked about as being important in working with families and I wondered if a more conscious engagement with respect might contribute to the creation of more empowering family literacy programs. In many ways however, respect seemed to be a somewhat empty notion – it did not seem well defined in theory or practice.

In the aboriginal parenting program respect seemed to have a more robust presence. I locate this partly in the fact that the program is based in a worldview characterized by an awareness of the sacred. This was evident in practice as each week the session began with a smudge and a prayer. Sometimes the hybrid nature of indigenous subjectivity was evident in these moments, such as when a facilitator began the first session by reciting the Lord's prayer, "as (she) was taught," followed by smudging. Other weeks the prayer was more general, addressed to the creator. Regardless, prayer was presented as a key component to the learning process, important to absorbing and remembering what you learn.

This view was also evident in the content of the curriculum. The view of the individual was grounded in a holistic approach represented by the four quadrants of the medicine wheel: mind, emotions, body, and spirit. The importance of balancing all four aspects in one's life as a parent was discussed in an early session and the manual stated that the community's values would be brought back "by raising a child spiritually, emotionally, mentally and physically." The spirit seemed to be given particular attention in light of the sacredness of life in the worldview; as the elder in the program noted, the teachings of the spirit are the most important for children. She also stated that First Nations people "call everything scared…because they are sacred."

The emphasis on the spirit was intimately related to the way I saw respect being enacted in the program. Each person

was considered scared and the image of the medicine wheel underscored the understanding of life as a sacred journey (road, path and walk). Furthermore, describing life as a journey, particularly a journey that can be imagined as going in a circle (ending where it began) suggested an equality among people. Children, parents and elders were all described as being somewhere along the road: none have reached the end and each still have learning to do – as the elder explained there are "teachings at every spoke." Furthermore, each person's journey is unique and so although we may learn from one another, (and we are all teaching and have a responsibility to teach those coming up behind us) we cannot judge another as we have not experienced their journey.

From within this worldview and the understanding of respect that it encourages, notions of strengths and deficit become irrelevant. Everyone has bumps in their road; however these are not constructed as deficits but are instead part of the learning journey of life. Others cannot 'intervene' to 'prevent' such bumps, but they can sometimes share their own gifts in order to support and protect individuals who are having these experiences. The elder also contrasted the medicine wheel or circle with the hierarchical or pyramidal structure of Canadian institutions, including schools. This observation was partly used to show ways in which deficits are located in these systems, rather than in individuals. It also lead me to think about what kinds of programs, rooted in this kind of deep respect of the other's sacredness, might be supportive to family members and what kinds of programs and approaches to family literacy might be experienced as a further impositions of the oppressive pyramidal hierarchies.

Ongoing ethical questions

As suggested earlier, I didn't think that I set out to do research in an Indigenous space or in a colonized space. In retrospect, I see this as a blindness rooted in my white privilege. After all, I live and do my research on treaty four land, the traditional land of the Assiniboine, Cree and Saulteaux people. How could I have ever thought of the space of my research as anything other than Indigenous or anything other than colonized? The fact that I did not think about this earlier in my process leaves me with some ethical questions about how to do better in the future. According to Tupper "to have an ethically engaged disposition is to be always mindful of how individual behaviours and choices support or undermine reconciliation with First Nations peoples"(2012, p. 153). In hoping to move towards being more ethically engaged, I am interested in how my fledgling understandings of both Indigenous/colonized spaces and respect might inform my future behaviours and choices.

I see a connection to both the ideas discussed in this paper in Dwayne Donald's notion of "ethical relationality":

> Ethical relationality is an ecological understanding of human relationality that does not deny difference, but rather seeks to more deeply un-

derstand how our different histories and experiences position us in relation to each other. This form of relationality is ethical because it does not overlook or invisiblize the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a particular person understands and experiences living in the world. It puts these considerations at the forefront of engagements across frontiers of difference (Donald, 2009, p. 6).

Often in family literacy discourse "the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts" of practitioners and participants are indeed made invisible. However in the Indigenous traditional parenting program the "different histories and experiences" of the practitioners, participants and of myself, the researcher, were not invisible. The acknowledgement of the program as both an Indigenous and colonized space brought our differences and relationality forward. Embedded in a deep respect for the other, this acknowledgment of histories and experiences supported participants in their journey as parents.

The recognition of the space as Indigenous and colonized also supported me as a researcher. For example, it informed my choice to introduce myself at the first session as a white settler. Although I might have done this anyway, and have done so in other contexts, this was the first time in a family literacy program that this introduction seemed not only appropriate but also necessary. Identifying myself in this way and explaining that I was there to listen – to respectfully learn from the participants and facilitators journeys – seemed to help in developing an ethical relationality. I feel strongly, however, that this was an effective and ethical approach to observation in the program because it was supported by the context of the program itself: by the way an Indigenous space was created while acknowledging the colonized context and by the way respect was promoted and enacted through the program philosophy.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

Alph@-lab: expérimenter la valorisation des savoirs des personnes en démarche d'alphabétisation populaire / Alph@-lab : experimenting valorization of adults' knowledge in critical literacy

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ABSTRACT

Au Québec, l'éducation populaire telle que conceptualisée par le pédagogue brésilien Paolo Freire (1970) a eu une influence directe sur le mouvement communautaire autonome et a par la suite donné naissance à l'alphabétisation populaire. Cette forme d'éducation aux adultes a aujourd'hui des difficultés à se faire reconnaître comme une éducation légitime. Dans un tel contexte, il est d'autant plus nécessaire d'étudier comment l'alphabétisation populaire peut constituer un terreau fertile pour l'émergence de pratiques pédagogiques émancipatrices. À travers la création d'un laboratoire de partage des savoirs, cette recherche-action propose un renversement du rôle d'apprenant vers celui d'enseignant, afin de mettre de l'avant les savoirs des personnes en démarche d'alphabétisation. Pendant six mois, des ateliers d'alphabétisation populaire se sont transformés en laboratoire pédagogique, alph@-lab, afin d'y explorer le potentiel émancipateur d'une pédagogie par et pour les apprenants et de documenter les spécificités des approches pédagogiques émergentes des personnes vivant avec des difficultés de lecture et d'écriture.

Mot-clé : L'éducation des adultes; éducation populaire; alphabétisation populaire; pédagogie freirienne; pédagogie émancipatrice.

Cet article a pour but de présenter les grandes lignes d'un projet de recherche-action visant à valoriser les savoirs d'une population marginalisée. Ce projet de recherche s'intègre à une démarche d'alphabétisation populaire inspirée de la pédagogie d'émancipation telle que théorisée par Paulo Freire (1970). Une animatrice en alphabétisation et son groupe d'apprenants adultes ont accepté de consacrer un atelier d'alphabétisation par semaine à une expérimentation pédagogique dans laquelle les apprenants deviendraient ceux qui enseignent. Par le rôle pédagogique que s'approprient les apprenants, nous tentons de valoriser d'autres savoirs que ceux liés à la scolarisation et par

la même occasion observer l'émergence d'un savoir pédagogique chez les participants.

Pendant six mois, les participants ont partagé ce qu'ils savaient, dans quoi ils se sentaient compétents et des expériences de vie dont ils étaient fiers. Au cours de cette étude, nous avons tous pu en apprendre plus sur comment réparer un trou avec du plâtre, comment faire des grillades portugaises, comment faire une manucure, comment économiser de l'argent, comment restaurer un système informatique, comment remplir un formulaire d'aide sociale, quelle musique était populaire dans les années 60, comment être une aidante naturelle, etc. En tout, 17 savoirs ont été partagés tous aussi variés que les membres du groupe, de différentes époques, provenant de Haïti, de Colombie, du Québec en passant par l'Algérie. Le partage des savoirs, des savoirs-faire et des savoirs-être qui ont constitué le contenu des ateliers d'alphabétisation populaire, nous a permis d'observer et de réfléchir collectivement sur les pratiques pédagogiques des personnes faibles lectrice.

Littératie, outil d'inclusion ou d'exclusion?

Être considéré comme analphabète au 21e siècle est un stigmate qui mène inévitablement à l'exclusion dans différentes sphères de la société dont le travail, les loisirs et la participation citoyenne. La lecture et l'écriture en tant que technologies de communication occupent une place de plus en plus grande et avec l'avènement du web, des courriels et des textos, les savoirs lire et écrire deviennent des incontournables pour communiquer avec le monde qui nous entoure. Néanmoins, avec les derniers chiffres du programme de l'évaluation internationale des compétences adultes (PEICA, 2013) menée par l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économique (OCDE) qui avancent qu'un Québécois sur cinq âgé entre 16 et 65 ans éprouve des difficultés majeures en lecture et en écriture, nous ne pouvons nier l'existence d'une culture en dehors de celle des lettrées. Une culture invisible, parce que non écrite et certainement

pas valorisée. La question de l'analphabétisme est trop souvent traitée en terme de déficit éducationnel, culturel ou humain, ou comme un frein au développement économique et social. Le manque d'éducation est tenu responsable de l'analphabétisme qui est perçu comme une plaie qui ne peut être guérie que par plus d'éducation. Pourtant, jamais n'est mentionné qu'il est très difficile, voir dans certains cas, impossible pour un adulte qui a vécu la majeure partie de sa vie en dehors du monde écrit d'apprendre à lire et écrire. Et lorsque cela est possible, peut-on dire que ces adultes atteignent la maîtrise nécessaire exigée par notre société? La question n'est pas étudiée. Probablement parce que d'y répondre nous amènerait sur une pente glissante où nous devrions remettre en question le rôle salvateur de la littératie perçue comme la panacée à tous les problèmes sociaux à l'étendue de la planète. D'émettre la possibilité que la littératie ne soit pas garante de l'éradication des inégalités et de la pauvreté nous amène à étudier l'analphabétisme sous un regard autre que celui du déficit éducationnel.

Avec les exigences des compétences en littératie qui se diversifient et se multiplient, les situations où les personnes se sentent impuissantes se multiplient. Malgré la présence de plusieurs ressources éducationnelles en éducation de base tant en éducation formelle que non-formelle, force est de constater qu'elles ne suffisent plus. Les exigences de compétences de base semblent accroître sans que des ressources adaptées soient déployées. Bien au contraire, les mesures d'austérité des dernières années ont un effet négatif sur les différents programmes en formation de base. Les formes d'éducation non-formelles qui sont déjà en situation précaire telle que l'alphabétisation populaire se voit particulièrement mise en danger.

L'alphabétisation populaire

L'alphabétisation populaire a autrefois été reconnue au Québec comme un contexte éducatif porteur d'innovations pédagogiques (Rapport Jean, 1982). Cette forme d'éducation fait preuve d'innovation tant dans sa pédagogie que dans l'action politique qu'elle y allie afin de contrer les inégalités sociales. À contre-courant, l'alphabétisation populaire innove en ce qu'elle a toujours gardé son autonomie en refusant de répondre à quelque curriculum que ce soit et aux exigences d'une société qui met de plus en plus de contraintes sur les personnes analphabètes en multipliant les situations d'exclusion. Cette autonomie est nécessaire à cette forme de pédagogie afin d'avoir les coudées franches pour prioriser les besoins de ses apprenants en vue de leur émancipation. Une émancipation qui ne peut passer par la simple réponse aux exigences de compétences en littératie, ce faisant cette forme d'éducation serait bancaire (Freire, 1970). Une telle posture de la part de l'alphabétisation populaire est désormais plus que pertinente parce que les conditions d'apprentissage en formation de base sont d'un côté mises en péril par un sous-financement de l'éducation des adultes et de l'autre, par les exigences de plus en plus grandes qu'englobe une formation de base. L'alphabétisation populaire remet en questions les structures qui excluent ceux qui

prennent part à sa démarche en reconnaissant la légitimité d'une culture marginalisée qu'est celle des non-lettrés et des non branchés. C'est dans un tel contexte éducatif, qu'il m'a été possible de cocréer avec un groupe de quinze apprenants adultes et une animatrice en alphabétisation l'alph@-lab : laboratoire de partage des savoirs.

Valoriser les savoirs de ceux qui ne savent pas

L'alph@-lab ne traite pas de l'analphabétisme comme la principale problématique dans la vie des faibles lecteurs. Le partage des savoirs met de côté pour le temps d'une expérimentation une stigmatisation que portent en eux les faibles lecteurs en leur donnant l'occasion de reconnaître leurs savoirs, leurs talents et leurs cultures. L'espace que crée l'alph@-lab donne de la valeur aux expériences de vie partagées en leur accordant une place légitime au sein du groupe. Par la création de cet espace, nous sortons l'apprenant de son rôle de personne qui doit développer les compétences manquantes en le plaçant dans le rôle de celui ou celle qui a des compétences à partager avec les autres. Nous tentons de donner ou de redonner confiance aux apprenants en faisant ressortir leurs forces par le biais d'une pratique pédagogique par et pour les apprenants dans le but que ces personnes reprennent du pouvoir sur leur vie. En effet, les apprenants des démarches d'alphabétisation populaire sont exclus du marché du travail et vivent de l'aide sociale, ce qui signifie qu'ils vivent dans des situations économiques précaires ce qui est aussi un facteur de marginalisation. Les personnes assistées sociales sont victimes de beaucoup de préjugés et de mépris de la part de la population. Des préjugés et un mépris qui sont perçus comme généralisés à cause de leur médiatisation par les médias de masse (Dahl, 2010). Il s'agit donc d'une stigmatisation qui est multiple : être analphabète, pauvre et être assisté social, qui n'a rien pour contribuer à l'estime de soi.

De Freire à Rancière

Le cadre théorique d'un tel projet de recherche est avant tout freirien. D'abord parce que la démarche de recherche se déroule dans un environnement qui pratique déjà une pédagogie fortement inspirée par Freire. Ensuite, parce que le projet cherche à susciter la prise de pouvoir des participants sur leur vie. De plus, la méthodologie de recherche-action est cohérente avec l'approche freirienne parce qu'elle nous permet d'instaurer un climat pédagogique qui répond avant tout aux besoins des participants. En effet, la recherche-action n'est pas figée dans des questions de recherche provenant du chercheur, elle a plutôt comme point de départ des orientations de recherche créées en collaboration avec le milieu et qui sont susceptibles d'être modifiées en cours de route selon les découvertes et les besoins des participants. La recherche-action encourage également l'utilisation d'outils participatifs (Bourassa, Bélair et Chevalier, 2007) visant à susciter le dialogue ou encore qui permet une collecte de données autrement que par les mots, ce qui est bien utile dans la recherche effectuée auprès de population marginalisée où l'expression

orale n'est pas nécessairement une force (Dahl, 2012, Gee, 1996).

Si les liens conceptuels entre recherche-action et pédagogie freirienne sont déjà fortement documentés (Hautecoeur, 1991; Desmarais, Boyer et Dupont, 2005; Bourassa, et al., 2007), il n'en va pas de soi pour l'amalgame entre la pédagogie proposée par Jacques Rancière (2004) dans le Maître ignorant et la pédagogie des opprimés de Paolo Freire (1970). Pourtant, l'émancipation est un concept central pour les deux auteurs. Tous deux envisagent l'émancipation comme un état humain qui doit être atteint, retrouvé ou préservé. Il existe des similarités dans les liens que les deux penseurs font entre la pédagogie et l'émancipation : tous deux dénoncent une forme de pédagogie dominante qui nourrit un état de servilité qui empêche l'émancipation. La « parole du maître explicateur » chez Rancière est comparable avec l'éducation bancaire critiquée par Freire. Les deux penseurs dénoncent également les relations de pouvoir qui existent entre le maître et l'élève. Aussi, ils placent le potentiel des apprenants au centre des apprentissages, et ce, chacun à leur manière : on le retrouve chez Rancière dans le concept de « l'égalité des intelligences » et chez Freire dans une éducation qui a comme point de départ l'expérience vécue et la culture de l'apprenant. Là où Rancière se distingue de Freire, est qu'il se débarrasse complètement du maître explicateur tandis que Freire le transforme en facilitateur qui doit se faire véhicule de la conscientisation. Cette particularité de Rancière est en fait ce qui a été expérimenté à quelques différences près dans ce projet de recherche. La facilitatrice avec son savoir de lecture et d'écriture a laissé la place aux apprenants dans la prise en charge du contenu d'apprentissage et de la conception pédagogique pour donner naissance à d'autres savoirs pédagogiques.

Praxis pédagogique

L'étude s'est penché sur différents enjeux, dont l'impact d'une telle expérimentation sur les pratiques d'alphabétisation populaire, l'impact sur l'émancipation des apprenants, les pratiques pédagogiques des faibles lecteurs, ainsi que le rapport entre les cultures lettrées et non lettrés dans la pratique pédagogique. L'analyse et l'interprétation des données sont toujours en cours. Les résultats qui sont présentés ici traitent des représentations pédagogiques des participants qui sont issues d'une combinaison de données qui recoupent ce que les participants à cette étude se représentent, tant dans leurs réflexions que dans leurs pratiques, comme étant une bonne pédagogie. Ces représentations sont le fruit de 31 critères pédagogiques élaborés par les participants au cours du projet et servent à constituer une praxis pédagogique qui allie l'action et la réflexion pédagogiques. Pour le moment, nous pouvons observer que la praxis pédagogique des participants diffère d'une représentation pédagogique standard basée sur la parole explicatrice.

L'action de faire versus donner des explications

Les participants ont une praxis pédagogique centrée sur une action authentique où le « faire » (l'action) occupe une plus grande place que le « dire » (donner des explications). Leur praxis est d'abord centrée sur la démonstration de leur savoir en temps réel. Par exemple, enseigner comment faire les ongles ne peut se faire que par la démonstration en direct de la manucure. Les explications théoriques devant introduire l'action sont absentes. Les explications données ne se rapportent qu'à l'action qui se déroule ou encore à des conseils de sécurité ou d'achats qui sont données dans l'optique de permettre aux apprenants à leur tour de mettre en action le savoir partagé. Le matériel pédagogique est aussi caractéristique d'un savoir inséparable de son action. Ce qu'on pourrait qualifier de matériel pédagogique servant à la pratique des apprenants est de deux ordres : le matériel nécessaire à la démonstration du savoir et l'archivage vidéo du partage de savoir pour soutenir la pratique du savoir. À la demande d'un participant, les vidéos d'abord filmés pour la collecte de données, ont été remis aux apprenants à titre d'aide-mémoire.

Résolution de problèmes

Les savoirs tels que la plomberie, le plâtre et le maquillage sont partagés dans une approche de résolution de problèmes. L'enseignement est dynamique, adaptable aux conditions de démonstration et orienté vers les questions des participants. De façon naturelle, ceux qui partagent ces savoirs exposent différentes mises en situation auxquelles ils proposent différentes solutions. Parfois, ces mises en situation émergent à travers les questions des apprenants. Dans ces cas, celle ou celui qui enseignait a toujours bien su répondre aux questions posées par les participants, et ce, même si cela signifiait la perturbation d'un ordre pédagogique préétabli.

Répondre à un besoin

Les questions passées en revue dans le savoir « remplir un formulaire d'aide sociale » font ressortir une incompréhension de la part des participants en ce qui concerne le statut de l'éducation non-formelle de l'éducation populaire. Étonnamment, les participants ne semblent pas réaliser qu'ils sont dans un contexte éducatif particulier. Dans leurs réflexions pédagogiques, les concepts relatifs à l'éducation populaire ne sont jamais abordés. Par contre, l'influence du contexte d'apprentissage dans lequel les participants évoluent est observable dans leurs pratiques pédagogiques. Entre autres en ce qui concerne la valeur qu'ils accordent au critère « répondre à un besoin ». Un apprentissage qui « répond à un besoin » fait partie de la liste des critères pédagogiques des participants et est cohérent avec une démarche d'éducation populaire. Nous pouvons constater l'importance que les participants accordent à ce critère par le choix de leurs savoirs. Les savoirs « changer un lavabo » et « restaurer un système informatique » ont été partagés parce qu'ils répondaient aux besoins concrets et immédiats de deux participantes. En ce qui concerne les autres savoirs, ils ont tous été présentés

comme répondant à un besoin pour les membres du groupe, comme bien se nourrir, économiser de l'argent, réparer soi-même ses choses, se sentir belle, se détendre, etc.

Conclusion

La praxis pédagogique des participants d'alph@-lab est d'abord ancrée dans l'action, elle passe par la résolution de problèmes et se veut orientée vers les besoins des apprenants. En réunissant les caractéristiques d'une telle praxis, nous tentons de dépeindre un savoir pédagogique qui a émergé au cours de l'expérimentation. Les 17 savoirs partagés et le savoir pédagogique qui ont été développés constituent une fierté pour les quinze participants. Ce projet de recherche-action a été l'occasion pour chacun et chacune de faire reconnaître ses forces, mais surtout de sentir qu'il contribuait au savoir des autres. L'émancipation humaine passe aussi par la reconnaissance de la contribution de chacun. Être celui qui enseigne, c'est aussi être celui qui aide, qui accompagne, ce rôle a définitivement eu un impact sur l'estime des participants tant entre eux que par rapport à eux-mêmes.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION/
L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Literacy autoethnographies and teaching literacy practice theory

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ABSTRACT

Literacy autobiographies or autoethnographies provide a potent pedagogical resource for teaching a practice conception of literacy in university courses. But the realization of this resource requires that written biography be read in a deliberate dialogue with that practice conception – requires perhaps a division of labour between autoethnographic writing and reading.

This paper explores some conjunctions between literacy autoethnography and teaching literacy practice theory (PT) which I have worked with through about fifteen years of teaching university courses about adult literacy. For most of those years, it seemed less like exploring conjunctions than like stumbling through, continually trying to fix whatever hadn't worked so well in the last class. But this review develops a late-stage articulation of a continually evolving effort both to theorize literacy and to develop a teaching practice. The paper begins with a discussion of conceptions of literacy and PT's place among them; turns to notions of autoethnography; and then reviews relations between them in classroom practice.

In the conventional idea, literacy is ordinary, usually rudimentary, skills to recognize and produce written words, abilities that everyone should just have. Current policy-related definitions and tests (IALS-PIAAC) focus on individual abilities, on a continuum of complexity, that are resources for a diverse "information society." All these conventional ideas conceive of literacy as an attribute of individuals, self-contained, separate from "contexts" or "applications," but nevertheless with "impacts" or "consequences" for both individuals and society. These ideas lock together those two features that make them "hegemonic." Generally accepted commonsense, they recur in both everyday and policy talk (can we say people are literate if they …; if you're literate, you can …). They also are both buttresses for dominant institutions and conceptual practices for organizing those

institutions' work (used to organize systematic instruction, determine eligibility, assess labour force resources). Such conventional ideas walk in the classroom door with students, as a ready-to-hand, simply obvious way of thinking, and are reinforced in much academic literature.

Practice theory is alternate to these conventional ideas. Originated about 1980, especially by Scribner and Cole, Heath, and Street, PT has been extended by many others, notably Gee, Barton and Hamilton, and (for a recent overview) Prinsloo & Baynham (2013). It is in part a polemic against conventional ideas of literacy as an "autonomous" entity with "impacts" on individuals and society. Those conventional ideas are not going away, and not about to be supplanted in their institutional uses. But PT points out that since they define literacy abstractly and only then set out to observe, insofar as we're stuck in them we can't discover, in actual occurrences, anything that we didn't already know before looking. They make it impossible to be surprised.

PT, on the contrary, orients and theorizes ethnographic research that aims at making discoveries from close observation. While conventional ideas obdurately ask how literate people are, PT asks, quite differently, how people are literate. The abstraction of literacy as one thing dissolves in the recognition of a multiplicity of doings, of literacies. Literacy is attended to not as abilities inside people's heads, but as what they actually do with texts. Beginning in what people do leads to an alternate conception of literacy: the ensemble of ways that people find their ways around in or orient to texts, and find their ways around in the world by using texts.

PT researchers commonly use three key ideas – that literacy occurs in particular events, that it takes the form of particular practices, and that practices relate to larger social organization. There are variations and quarrels about these core ideas. My courses elaborate a distinctive version of PT (Darville, 2014) that emphasizes continual attention to how things are done, to "where the action is" (cf. Dourish, 2001),

and a continual effort to explicate individual and coordinated activity in those doings, rather than to subsume them under theoretical categories. I briefly sketch that distinctive version here, elaborating particular understandings of the key ideas of literacy event, literacy practice, and larger social organization (here called literate social relations)[1].

The idea of the *literacy event* asserts that literacy actually happens. Literacy doesn't exist nowhere. It is situated; it occurs on specific occasions, at specific times and places, involving some specific text(s) used for some specific action. With the idea of the literacy event, "read" and "write" are not used as intransitive verbs. The event idea implies that any claim about literacy ought to begin in particular occurrences, or at least be potentially groundable there. Observation is freed from the constraint of looking only at one person at a time, since people often work together or against one another in events. And observation goes beyond reading and writing *per se*, since people often allude to, depend upon, or aim at texts not physically present (all's well that ends well; by the book; for the record).

The idea of *literacy practices* directs attention to recurrent doings. When we work with or use texts, we don't start from scratch every time. We draw on regular ways of using written language that are available in our repertoires of know-how. We draw these into and adapt them for specific events we are working our ways through. Of there are generalities and patterns in literacy – but these are, in the first instance, not researchers' definitions or generalizations, not theoretical constructs, but people drawing on ways of written language to get activities done.

It's helpful to think of literacy practices at two levels. (a) Many everyday literate activities and tasks, in personal, familial and institutional milieus, include use of or reference to texts. These activities often have commonsense or vernacular names, which only sometimes include a word like "read" or "text" – bedtime story, bill-paying, escaping, ordering online, reciting a prayer, text-messaging, studying for an exam, applying, reporting, following instructions. At one level, the notion of literacy practices points to these everyday activities and to investigating how they're done, how people take different parts in them and use ideas to explain, evaluate or coordinate their doing. (b) At a different level, the idea of literacy practices reframes scribal activities. These are conventionally framed as defined abilities to deal with the alphabetic code, find meaning or locate information in written words, and so on. The PT alternative sets aside pre-given definitions, to observe actual courses of reading and writing activity as they occur. Just as everyday literate activities are multiple, likewise textual practices are multiple. People continually shape generally available ways of working through texts to fit particular exigencies. Thus the detailed things we do in reading are shaped by and for

the next actions we are oriented to[2] (following the muffins recipe; remembering the formula for the exam; answering the letter-writing friend). So everyday activities are not just "context" for textual practices that are distinct from and prior to them. Textual practices are working constituents of everyday literate activities, aggregated into them, shaped by them and shaping them.

The idea of *literate social relations* affirms that events and practices are not self-subsistent, but are "moments" in forms of social organization "beyond the local" (Brandt and Clinton, 2002), extended across space and time. This idea recognizes that when people do literacy, they not only engage in already ongoing practices, but also weave themselves into social relations of communication and coordination that are only partly of their own making[3]. The idea works as an instruction to be mindful of, sometimes even to go looking for, those social relations.

The ideas of literate practices and literate social relations have pay-offs for literacy teaching. They support attention to everyday text-enabled practices important in students' present or imagined future lives that provide the driving energy for learning. And they recognize that literate competence involves knowing how to take written words as parts a world known otherwise, how to put them into relation with local phenomena and events and/or with communicative connections and coordinations of dispersed activity.[4] (People's troubles with literacy are often not with textual practices *per se*, but rather with literate relations – with what others elsewhere meant by or were obscuring with words being read here, or how others elsewhere will use words being written here).

To recap, even more briefly: In this PT – which is not theory in the usual sense but a theorized way of looking (cf. Campbell and Gregor, 2002) – literacy is not a mere potential to do things. It happens. In specific events people engage in and draw on literate practices, regular ways of using written language. Literate practices are at one level textual practices, and at another level everyday activities in work, community, and family that use or orient to texts. Though literate practices – always inventively and sometimes with resistance – people weave themselves into literate relations of communication and coordination that extend beyond the local. Of course we must be "able," but literacy is not reducible to abilities lurking inside us. Abilities are parts of the ensemble of practices and relations. Literacy is not so much in our heads as our heads are in it.

In PT-oriented courses, I have often assigned a literacy auto-ethnography (LAE) task, often called literacy autobiography (LAB), and will at first use that term here, on the way to

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1   This is a version inflected by institutional ethnography's attention to text-reader conversations and text-mediated social organization. But laying out all the implicit scholarly debts (and debates) here would require a different and much longer paper.

2   This relates to Bakhtin's insight that understanding is only the first moment of response.

3   Saying that literacy practices weave us into social relations is not the same as saying that literacy relates to "power structures" or "the global," and treating those as if they exist differently than mere practices and must be grasped as objects of theory. It's practices all the way down.

4   As Freire put it, world-reading precedes and intertwines with word-reading.

addressing some ambiguities in the biography-ethnography relationship.

The idea of autoethnography is among currents in social thought that move away from theories or master narratives presented as universal truths, and recognize social life as consisting irremediably of diverse experiences and activities, often felt with individual intensity.

Autoethnography is usually described as social scientific genre or method – the "term of choice" for forms of research that attend to social life as it is lived through, and thematize the writer's experience. In one canonical statement, "Autoethnography … displays multiple layers of consciousness. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze … focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then … [on] a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations" (Ellis, 2008). The genre exhibits, even plays up, a tension between description/art and science/analysis – wanting "to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)," but also "to disrupt the binary of science and art" (Ellis et al., 2011). So in this conception autoethnography both expresses and interprets, expresses the author's life-experience and analyzes that as part of culture or society.

In another sense, autoethnography is not a research discipline but a social practice that naturally occurs when hierarchical social relations are discursively engaged. Pratt (2002) uses the term for "a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them." So "if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct in response to or in dialogue with those texts." In autoethnography, the "idioms of the … conqueror" are "merged … with indigenous idioms to create self-representations." People talk back, engaging with and responding to how others have represented them.

The impulse to use autobiography or autoethnography pedagogically is common among teachers of post-secondary courses in literacy, writing, and teacher education – manifest in on-line course syllabi and a longstanding published literature. My own initial aim was, I think, pretty ordinary. An early handout said, "The aim of literacy autobiography is to begin discoveries about how we have learned literacy, how literacy works in our lives, how we work at it and work with it…. [H]ow it is for us is a powerful entrée into how it is." There was also second aim – discussed with students only after the task was done – that deepening awareness of personal experiences of literacy (struggles, pride, self-doubt, boosts or squelches) might conduce to fellow-feeling with others, especially those called adult literacy students.

A third aim only became conscious after years of experience. It was that LAB's could clear the way clear for PT. Here's the problem: The none-too-simple ideas of PT are particularly difficult when students walk into the classroom already captured by the conventional idea that literacy is merely individual abilities and knowledge; and then further read conventional models and tests. In that captured mentality, people looking at someone doing something with a text don't see the doing itself, but see through it to an underlying ability or deficit. The hegemonic conception, that is, produces sticky resistance to the PT way of looking. Students sometimes regress to it after hearing, reading, or even after speaking and writing in the PT idiom. I hoped that LAB's would enable escape from that mentality, by focusing on experiences of the doing itself. Indeed any good ethnography is counter-hegemonic (Blommaert and Dong, 2010), bypassing governing abstraction to explicate how people interpret and act in their everyday worlds, including the ways that they encounter governing abstractions that penetrate into everyday worlds. In this vein, LAB's aspiring to being LAE's should loosen the sticky resistance to PT created by hegemonic thinking about literacy as individual skill.

To guide students LAB's, I provided samples of work previously done, and blended ideas about PT and LAE both orally and in a handout (altered annually). Here are some points that were consistently emphasized:

- Literacy autoethnography is thematic – it's not about everything (although literacy often turns out to involve quite a lot). Its focus is one individual's experiences of reading, writing and otherwise using or being oriented to texts, and learning to do all that – across the life-span, or in some particular situation.

- • Go "into the field" by going into your own memories (which often cascade from one to another), talking with others, or looking texts still close to hand.

- "Hug the particulars" of vignettes: do close observation rather than generalization. Ideas from the course (practices, relations and so on) are pointers to help you look closely, not categorical boxes.

- Note people and resources that helped, as crucibles for learning or getting things done, and those that hindered.

- Notice how helpful/hurtful people and resources often come institutionally – teachers part of school and policies, books parts of publishing, and so on.

- Remember that although we have relatively easy access to our own experiences, they are in a sense not ours alone, just our pieces of practices in which we take part and relations with which we engage.

- You needn't write anything that might incriminate or embarrass you (about downloading pirated books, plagiarizing, addiction to Harlequins, or whatever). And although there may be discomforts (and insights) to tell, don't strain to find traumas (or epiphanies).

- You may feel either relieved or pained that with no hypothesis to prove or categories to flesh out with examples, and by respecting experience rather disdaining

"mere anecdote," you're violating academic conventions. Here, that's fine; tamer writing can come later.

- You may end up with both senses of autoethnography. Recognizing individual experiences as constituents of an ensemble of literate practices and relations. Or, with debts to acknowledge or scores to settle, offering rejoinders to how your literacy (or your people's) has been portrayed by others.

Students' memories did cascade, and one's often activated others. Initial anxieties (what exactly do I do, what will others think) were eased by reading previous samples, discussion of work-in-progress, and perhaps the reiterated principle that individuals' experiences, however strongly felt, are just their encounters with practices we all take part in. Relief at freedom from the usual academic constraints was common; a few found it unnerving. After finishing, most described the task as interesting, enjoyable, sometimes revelatory (amazed at how much I remembered once I got started; never realized life is so saturated with literacy).

Students wrote with striking candour about literacy in their lives. For me, reading batches of LAB's produced an unspeakable gratitude, as if some grace had allowed me deeply into lives in a way that exceeded my merit. I wrote back to everyone, offering remarks which were mostly personally framed – appreciating a point, wondering how some event turned out, expressing thanks. That practice, I realize, was partly impelled by a sense of obligation, as if personal response was a debt owed to honesty.

At a different level, and partly as a result of reading dozens of students' accounts, I was becoming better able to "see" literate practices and relations (even if not fully able to articulate what I was seeing). But I was also troubled by two interlaced features of LAB's and their upshots. (a) Students often focused largely on school experiences – as if they heard "recall your uses and learning of literacy" as "recall how you learned to read and write in school." What about the rest, I often responded – rental leases, the textual ropes on a new job, fan fiction, protest petitions, game documentation? (b) It seemed that LAB's as a practice did reduce the sticky grip of conventional ideas, by bringing to attention the highly various ways that people experience, say, list-making, or reading-for-pleasure, even standardized reading instruction; and inevitably upending the usual vantage point of observation, by starting in people's encounters with (rather than their appearance through) curriculum and evaluation. But if LAB's created openings for PT, nevertheless they rarely showed much explicit ethnographic analysis or conscious rejoinder to powerful voices. Anyone's experience of literacy is indeed an entrée into how literacy works, but LAB's didn't go far through the ethnographic door.

Gradually (over years) I arrived at two pedagogical moves that responded to these experienced troubles. Each involved reading LAB's differently, more analytically or ethnographically, and then offering that reading back to students. That different reading focused not less on individuals' literate conduct and experience, but more on the practices and relations enacted in that conduct and experience[5].

The first move was to feed back to one class some of what I had learned about practices and relations from earlier LAB's, as guidance for recollecting vignettes (you may observe …). Just two barely-sketched examples: The oft-pointed-to practices (Murray, Freire, Ong) of using literacy to gain distance on experience or to make thought tangible often show up in people's telling of writing journals, or letters-not-meant-to-be-sent, that objectify confusion or agitation with the aim of clarifying or getting rid of it. Using local practices to weave into extended literate social relations is sometimes striking when people take up mass-produced texts within local "entertainments" (studying documentation for board or computer games; fan fiction; girlfriends chatting over teen magazines).

One particular bit of guidance suggested that "you may notice" a predilection to write about schooling, and to recall episodes which framed your own literacy as an individual ability, ranked higher or lower (published in the grade three poetry anthology; teacher-recognized as "talented" or "smart;" aced the exam). This predilection is "natural," since school literacy has filled up much of the length and width of life-so-far for many university students.

A second pedagogical move went beyond a way of guiding LAB's to a way of responding to LAB's I had just read. On an intuitive impulse one year, I offered a new kind of response, compiling selections from LAB's followed by "remarks" centred not on individual life experience or its expression but on the workings of literacy that become visible within it. This response offers ethnography back to biography. It required wrenching myself away from the practice that had organized my earlier courses of LAB-reading activity – orienting largely to the individual writer as the text's source[6], and aiming at making personally responsive comments.

In an ethnographic response, the singularity of experience is still seen, but its personal character is decentred. A shift is made, not to objectifying experiences in theoretical categories, but to recognizing how events drawn into practices are also used in other events, and how events are woven together with others. To adequately show instances of ethnographic response would require pages. But consider two sketches: (a) LAB's often tell of reading "for escape" or as "a world of my own." Escapes, experienced privately, rely on and make visible very ordinary "magic carpet" fiction-reading practices – doing reading in your bodily location that transports your consciousness out of that bodily location, and suspending not just "disbelief" but the expectation that you can "read through" a text to an actual world that it somehow matches up to. (b) Routine school experiences – being at a "grade" or

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5   The shift to "ethnographic reading" resembles the distinction, in institutional ethnographic research methods (Smith, 2005), between one kind of dialogue that occurs when researchers talk with interviewees to learn from their knowledge and experience, and a different dialogue occurs when researchers read interview transcripts to elucidate the extended social organization present in what interviewees say.

6   It's Foucault's "author function," I belatedly realize.

a "level," working through the textbook, preparing for the exam, trembling or joy at reading-aloud – are organized by the idea of literacy as ranked individual ability; indeed in those experiences everyone in school embodies that idea[7].

At least for the purposes of classes aimed at PT and its knowing-how-to-make-discoveries about literacy, I came to recognize that I could respond, to writing in an autobiographical vein[8], in a more ethnographic vein. Responding not to the individual *per se*, but seeing in individual experience some part of the ensemble of practices and relations which that experience drew on and contributed to enacting.

A bit more grandly, there is here a variant sense of autoethnography. Against the usual conception of research that both relates the author's life-experience and interprets that experience analytically, the process I've describes suggests, at least for classrooms, a possible division of autoethnographic labour – not merely individual research and text, but a dialogical research practice, with stages of autobiographical writing and ethnographic reading dispersed among different participants at different times[9].

This could be extended in the classroom (into students' reading their own or others LAB's ethnographically). Beyond the classroom it also suggests a kind of literacy research practice (continually learning from people's experiences what makes up the ensemble of literate practices and relations). It also suggests one direction for a politics of academic literacy research. Progressive researchers often work to articulate a progressive theory of literacy, or to create a progressive policy discourse (which would indeed be a boon). But another direction is to begin in people's particular experiences, where the action is – and ask what practices and relations carry trouble, and work to develop practices that enlarge people's capacities to make sense of their world or assert themselves in it.

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7   I never said it this way to classes, but the stickiness of hegemonic ideas is not just about ideas in people's heads, but about ideas embodied in lived-through experience.

8   The story of my teaching has a faint blush of autoethnography – tale of a slow learner – but that it's my story is less important than whether it has use for you.

9   Others have been concerned with the move from experiential to analytical in autoethnography (e.g. Taber, 2010). I address that concern with the particular aim of enriching and teaching PT; and add the division of labour idea.

PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Looking at Lifelong Learning Through the Lens of Anachronism

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I argue that the current use of the term "lifelong learning" bears the risk of anachronism. Simply put, anachronism means placing an event or a concept into the wrong time. Drawing on Gadamer's hermeneutics and concept of tradition, I trace the historical development of the "tradition" of lifelong learning in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which emerged out of adult education in the early 1960s. I argue that UNESCO's humanistic approach to lifelong learning, which has been anchored in the Faure report *(1972) and the* Delors report *(1996), has very little to do with the neoliberal interpretation of lifelong learning which has shaped our current understanding of the concept. In the last section of the paper, I offer a reflection on why the meaning of lifelong learning has changed so radically between the 1960s and today.*

Introduction

When I came to UBC as a PhD student in 2011 after having worked for many years for the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, I thought I knew a lot about lifelong learning. In my first term at UBC I took a course on the "Foundations of Adult Education". One of the first papers I read for this course was Shahrzad Mojab's (2006) chapter "Adult education without borders" which contained the sentence "Lifelong learning is the educational response to the new market order" (p. 353). I was very confused about this statement as it did not correspond in any way to the idea of "lifelong learning" I had developed during my time at UNESCO.

In the course of my studies at UBC I quickly came to understand what Mojab meant. I learnt about neoliberalism and the influence of the market order on education. When I carried out research on Canadian adult education policies, I encountered the neoliberal discourse of "lifelong learning" as oriented towards transferring the responsibility of acquiring skills for the job market on the individual (Elfert

& Rubenson, 2013). But in the context of my research for my doctoral dissertation on education as a human right I went back to the UNESCO perspective. I studied the emergence of lifelong education in UNESCO in the 1960s, and I examined many of the key documents coming out of UNESCO, such as the report Learning to be, otherwise known as the *Faure report*, published in 1972 (Faure et al., 1972).[1] Reading the *Faure report* was like entering a different universe. Only about 40 years old, this document was not accessible to me from my current standpoint situated in the neoliberal context. I could relate to some of its concepts from my previous UNESCO-shaped view of lifelong learning, such as the concept of the "learning society". But there were other terms which seemed totally outdated, such as "the complete man" or "solidarity". I realized that the "master concept" of lifelong education (p. 182) put forward by the *Faure report*, had very little to do with the neoliberal "version" of lifelong learning.

My engagement with Gadamer (1975/2013) greatly helped me tackle the challenge. I realized that the "horizon" in which I approached the *Faure report* was shaped by my somewhat anachronistic "fore-understandings". Gadamer's philosophy is concerned with how human beings situate themselves historically and how they approach the study of the past. In Gadamer's view, "the true locus of hermeneutics" lies in the "in-between" between the historical distance and the familiarity of tradition (p. 306). The concept of tradition is central to Gadamer's thought. In order to understand the past, the historian must relate to tradition, to what she knows. In the German original, Gadamer sometimes uses the word "tradition", which has the same meaning as the English word, and sometimes the word "Überlieferung". "Überlieferung" means "something that is being handed down (or passed on) from the past". Because of our ability to use traditions

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1   The report was launched by the International Commission on the Development of Education, chaired by the French politician and former Minister of Education Edgar Faure.

as a reference point, our prejudices qualify us for the hermeneutic endeavour. This is why every era will interpret a text, a concept or an event in its own way. The gap between the historian and the past is not a "yawning abyss, but it is filled with the continuity of custom and tradition" (p. 308). There is a productivity that lies in this continuity. For Gadamer, tradition constantly changes as does the meaning it has for us. The historian engages in a dialogue with the past, in which the "past and present are constantly mediated" (p. 302). Understanding involves bringing my horizon and the horizon of the past together: "Understanding is always the fusion of these horizons…" (p. 317). The "hermeneutic situation" in which I find myself vis-à-vis the *Faure report* is the situation in which I am trying to understand the past with the "fore-understandings" that constitute my "horizon". I endeavor to find the "right horizon of inquiry" (p. 313) towards the past, which has a lot to do with "finding the right questions to ask" (p. 312). According to Gadamer, "the hermeneutical task becomes of itself a questioning of things" (p. 281).

When I understand lifelong learning as a tradition in UNESCO, I don't mean tradition in the sense of a "permanent precondition" (p. 305), a given transhistorical notion which endures throughout time. I mean tradition in the Gadamerian sense, as something we participate in and that we determine, something we are constantly in dialogue with, something that we reinterpret in light of the changing times.

Coming back to my confusion about the *Faure report*, there were two things at play: First, I came to understand that there are several interpretations of lifelong learning. In this paper, I will focus on the UNESCO "tradition" of lifelong learning and the way it has been used since its emergence; and the neoliberal interpretation of lifelong learning, which is a distortion of the UNESCO view[2]. Second, there is the risk of anachronism when employing the concept of lifelong learning. Anachronism is a concept used in historiography. Simply put, anachronism means placing an event or a concept into the wrong time, which is considered one of the major sins a historian can commit. Historians distinguish between several forms of anachronism, such as discursive anachronism, for example when we use contemporary language to refer to a period in the past; or contextual anachronism, which is to a certain extent unavoidable because we always study the past from the position of the social, political and cultural context in which we are situated (Condren, 1997, pp. 51-58). Researchers, practitioners or policy-makers tend to have limited knowledge of lifelong learning because of their lack of a historical perspective. There is a history that leads up to everything that happens in this world. Without knowledge of the history, we tend to see only the event or the current phenomenon, which is only the outcome or the snapshot of a longer development. This is maybe the main lesson I learnt during my PhD program.

My dissertation involved to some extent conducting a genealogy of the concepts of adult education and lifelong learning as employed in UNESCO. When I use the term genealogy here, I mean the historical study of concepts "whose purpose is to produce critical effects in the present" (Ransom, 1997, p. 79). I particularly focused on the *Faure report* and its successor, the report *Learning: The treasure within*, otherwise known as the *Delors report* (Delors et al, 1996), which are considered key documents in terms of establishing UNESCO's humanistic view of lifelong learning (Elfert, 2015).

In the next section I will give a brief overview of the development of adult education and lifelong learning within UNESCO. I will focus on "lifelong learning" and consider "adult education" only in as far as it led up to the emergence of lifelong learning.

A Brief Genealogy of Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in UNESCO

Adult education was one of UNESCO's priorities since the inception of the organization in 1945. When in 1949 UNESCO held its First International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA I) in Elsinore, Denmark, UNESCO's Director-General Jaime Torres Bodet opened the conference declaring that adult education was "one of the most important questions of our day and one likely to have the most far-reaching consequences" (UNESCO, 1949a, p. 1). In his speech, he invoked how the Fascist regimes had exploited the workers' leisure time for propaganda and manipulation. In contrast to this past, he stated his conviction that "to educate is to liberate" (p. 2). At the time, adult educators commonly referred to themselves as a "brotherhood of man" (Jessup, 1953, pp. 20; 65; 68-69). Another term often used in relation to adult education in the founding years of UNESCO was "solidarity" (UNESCO, 1949b, p. 8). According to Brunkhorst (2005), the concepts of "solidarity" and "brotherhood" are strongly related. The Christian message that all men are brothers "finds its secular political form in the freedom-equality-fraternity triad" (p. 3). Brunkhorst places the origins of the concept of "solidarity" in the French revolution: "Solidarity is a thoroughly modern concept. It is just as tightly bound up with the juridical concept of equality as with the political concept of democracy" (p. 1). While during the French revolution fraternity was the dominant term used, solidarity replaced it after 1848 in the context of the workers' movement. In his speech at Elsinore Bodet cited Hamlet's "to be or not to be" several times, and he addressed the challenges of human life, such as "freedom" and the "loneliness" of the adult. Another speaker, Hartvig Frisch, the Danish Minister of Education, referred to Kierkegaard, an indication of the influence of existentialism on the concepts of adult and lifelong education (Wain, 1987, pp. 118-134).

At Elsinore, the role of adult education was stressed in terms of international understanding, brotherhood and peace, individual development and social justice. The conference endorsed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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2   It is important to note that there are other variations of lifelong learning that emerged in parallel to its use in UNESCO, such as the OECD's and the Council of Europe's concept of "recurrent education" and the European Union's use of lifelong learning, which will be left out in this paper.

(UNESCO, 1949b, p. 30). Adult education was defined as "more than anything a spiritual condition, a thirst for knowledge, a desire for mental and social freedom, an urge to participate in cultural development" (UNESCO, 1949a, p. 1). In the final report of the conference, the aims of adult education were defined as followed:

- gaps between the so-called masses and the so-called cultured people may be closed;

- to foster the true spirit of democracy and the true spirit of humanity;

- to awaken and stimulate in youth an awareness of life itself. (UNESCO, 1949b, p. 8/9)

Roby Kidd (1974) emphasized that adult education was the "chief advocate" (p. 1) of lifelong education: "The strongest and most clear-sighted proponents of education permanente are the adult educationists" (p. 33). The concept was already present at CONFINTEA II in Montreal in 1960 (p. 20), and it emerged in UNESCO reports in 1962. In UNESCO lifelong education was articulated for the first time as an educational program in the report of the third session of the International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education (UNESCO, 1966, February 23; see also Kidd, 1974, p. 20; Wain, 1987, p. 68, note 2).

Lifelong education emerged at a time of economic growth and optimism, an era referred to as "the golden age" (Hobsbawm, 1996), but also at the time of the greatest post-war upheavals. A "world educational crisis" (Coombs, 1968) was proclaimed, given the inadequacy of the education systems to respond to the dramatic increase of mass education in Western countries and the social transformations in the newly independent countries of the South. For Paul Lengrand (1986), one of the pioneers of lifelong education in UNESCO, lifelong education marked the "first time [when] an element of freedom has been introduced into the educational universe" (p. 9), in that it signified for him the end of what Paulo Freire called the "banking" model of education. Lifelong education emerged as a call for a new social contract that not only involved states but "everyone everywhere" (Moyn, 2013) or what Hobsbawm (1996) called "the triumph of the individual over society" (p. 334). This is well reflected in the *Faure report*, which put an emphasis on the development of the individual. Lifelong education was at the heart of "learning societies", in which the focus was no longer on schooling, educational institutions and provision, but on the lifelong learning process of every individual that would enable the formation of the "complete man" who is an "agent of development and change", "promoter of democracy", "citizen of the world" and "author of his own fulfillment" (Faure et al., 1972, p. 158). The report called upon education to contribute to "free reflection" (p. 150) and "political consciousness" (p. 151), so that human beings "understand the structures of the world they have to live in" (p. 151) and 'where necessary [show] a personal commitment in the struggle to reform them" (p. 151).

The Faure report had a political-philosophical character, in that it tied educational ideas to the overall development of society, to equality and to democracy as a social and political system and to what the report called "international co-operation" or "solidarity" with developing countries. It criticized the "linear expansion" and "quantitative methods" (p. 173) of the traditional education system, in particular the school system, and it declared that "the old idea that schooling is the only valid education and that the time for learning is limited to traditional school age . . . is fundamentally unjust" (Faure et al., 1972, p. 44).

The successor of the *Faure report*, the *Delors report*[3], emerged from a very different context than its predecessor. The early 1990s were marked by economic crisis, the end of the Cold War and the rise of neoliberalism as the global economic paradigm. Delors pointed to "three current crises" that marked the world in which the Commission was situated: "the economic crisis, the crisis of the ideology of progress and a certain form of moral crisis" (UNESCO, 1992, p. 2). The question put before the Commission was, "What kind of education is needed for what kind of society in the future?" (UNESCO, 1994, p. 39). The Commission consciously chose a humanistic approach to respond to this question, as a counter perspective to the "market-oriented view of education" (International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, 1995, p. 1).

The *Delors report* followed the *Faure report* in confirming the role of UNESCO as the advocate of a humanist and utopian vision of education. The principle of "learning to be", which is the last of the "four pillars of education" presented by the Delors report, constitutes the common thread with the Faure report. But the Delors report put the emphasis on "learning to live together". This concept was regarded as the most important among the "four pillars of education"[4] and the guiding principle of the report (Delors et al., 1996, p. 22). Delors refers to this concept as "a necessary utopia":

> Developing an understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values and, on this basis, creating a new spirit which…would induce people to implement common projects or to manage the inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peaceful way. (Delors et al., 1996, p. 22)

While the *Faure report* used the concept of "lifelong education", the *Delors report* introduced "learning throughout life". The main difference in the meaning of these two concepts can only be understood in the French language versions. It is critical to note that the *Faure report* was originally written in French and the *Delors report* in English and French in parallel. In the English version of the *Faure report*, "lifelong education" is the translation of "éducation permanente",

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3   The report was the outcome of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, chaired by Jacques Delors.
4   The "four pillars of education" are one of the key messages of the Delors report. They consist of: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, learning to live with others; and learning to be (Delors et al.,1996, pp. 85-98).

which was the term used by UNESCO's Paul Lengrand and others in the early days of the concept. As to the *Delors report*, the French equivalent of "learning throughout life" is "éducation tout au long de la vie". Hence the main shift between the two reports was not so much between "education" and "learning" (as in French the term remains "éducation"[5]), but in the use of "tout au long de la vie" in French. It denotes an "educational continuum, coextensive with life and widened to take in the whole of society" (Delors et al., 1996, p. 100). Carneiro (2011) refers to "learning throughout life" as "both a way of organizing education and a philosophy of education" (p. 5).

The humanism of the Delors Commission was a reaction to neoliberalism. In his reflection on the "changes taking place in the modern world", Delors dwelled on the economic changes of "supply-side economy, based on tax-cuts and financial deregulation" introduced in the early 1980s (UNESCO, 1993, Annex I, p. 1). These developments which led to economic growth but also to the "financial bubble" and market crash in 1987, had a strong impact on education "since the point was reached when money, having become all-powerful, changed cultural and moral attitudes" (p. 1). While emphasizing the Commission's interest to talk to the other international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank about "how they deal with education as capital" (Henderson, 1993), Delors was driven by his desire to "rehabilitate" education as a value in itself in accordance with "the ideals at the foundation of Unesco and the whole UN system" (Henderson, 1993).

Lifelong Learning and the Market Agenda

As shown in the previous section, in the postwar years, the role of adult education was seen primarily in terms of advancing international understanding, peace, democratization and equality. Lifelong education, which emerged out of adult education in the 1960s, was a profoundly political idea, which was linked to a social justice agenda. There is a strong relation between lifelong learning and a political and utopian call for a more just society (Elfert, 2015). The *Delors report* followed the UNESCO tradition of a utopian vision of a "better world to live in" (Delors et al., 1996, p. 19). To come back to Gadamer, the authors of the *Faure report* and the *Delors report* entered in a dialogue with this tradition, and the motivation for affirming it was very different. While the humanism of the Faure report reflected the spirit of its time, the *Delors report* chose the humanistic stance out of resistance against the marketization of education under neoliberalism.

Here I come back to my point of anachronism. It escapes many readers that neither the Faure report nor the *Delors report* actually used the term "lifelong learning"; the Faure report used "lifelong education", and the *Delors report* used "learning throughout life". However, most scholarly articles or policy reports who mention the reports refer to them as seminal texts about "lifelong learning". Also the "four pillars of learning" – which can be considered the main legacy of the *Delors report* – are de facto the "four pillars of education". As Biesta (2006) argues: "The fact that we now so easily use the phrase 'lifelong learning' already suggests something about the individualisation of the field…Whereas 'education' is a relational concept, 'learning' denotes something that one can do alone and by oneself" (p. 175).

When using the evasive term "lifelong learning", which "means many things to many people" (p. 173) we should be more aware of these contextual or discursive anachronisms. Not only are we talking about different contexts, but also about different actors and organizations that shaped the meaning of lifelong learning. As Rubenson (2006) argued, the economistic interpretation of the OECD that touted lifelong learning as the panacea for economic development prevailed over the humanistic interpretation proclaimed by UNESCO. By using lifelong learning as the umbrella term to denote all of these different variations we demonstrate a lack of historical consciousness.

But why did the meaning of lifelong learning change so radically between the 1960s and today? Biesta (2006) answers this question by pointing out that "lifelong learning has ceased to be a right and has instead become the individual's duty" (p. 177). He is concerned about "the emptying of public space" and the loss of democracy that the individualisation of lifelong learning entails (p. 178). Drawing on Gramsci's concept of "trasformismo" (1971, p. 58, cited in Overbeek, 2010, p. 698), I would like to offer an interpretation that supports Biesta's point. Gramsci used the concept of "trasformismo" to illuminate the process of contingence between the left and the right spectrum of political parties, dissolving the difference between them. In this process radical ideas become "encapsulated" and "emaciated" (Overbeek, 2010, p. 698). I argue that the concept of lifelong learning was in its beginnings a radical idea with a strong political dimension, which has been de-politicized and "transformed" to fit into the ideology of the market place. I wonder – in fifty years from now, which version of lifelong learning will seem more anachronistic? The humanistic or the economistic one?

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5   In French there is no real equivalent to "learning" as "apprentissage" has a connotation of training/apprenticeship. However, between the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA V, held in 1997) and the Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA VI, held in 2009) "apprentissage tout au long de la vie" replaced "éducation tout au long de la vie" as the French equivalent of "lifelong learning". Therefore, it is important to note that the *Delors report* still used "éducation" in the French version.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Critical Consciousness and Reproductive Praxis in Youth Participatory Action Research

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I will argue that scholars conceptualizing in youth participatory action research projects demonstrate reproductive praxis in their goal to foster and promote critical consciousness. I will demonstrate this by: examining how critical consciousness is reduced to a set of observable traits and behaviours among individual youth in YPAR collectives; and by illustrating how the experiences of using critical consciousness are separated from material conditions, and collective action, to dismantle systems of oppression. Thus, critical consciousness serves as an asset*, and as an* intervention*, for marginalized youth to develop as "critical" young adults who seek reform-based social change, and whom ultimately are taught to reproduce capitalist modes of relations.*

Introduction

Participatory action research (PAR) is regarded as an activity that rejects the traditional and hegemonic structures of academic research. Along with challenging assumptions about knowledge production in research, PAR is recognized as "walking a long road together" with social movement organizing for transformation (Lykes and Mallona, 2008, p. 109). Taking up the PAR tradition requires some serious considerations for academic research partners. First, a preliminary goal that PAR researchers bring into collaborations is the intent to use PAR as a strategy for empowering work. But as Troyna (1994) reminds us, "blind empowerment" can result in research that totalizes and essentializes the structural conditions that shape social relations and differential powers (p.12). The findings that emerge from PAR projects can capture the idealism of social change desired by its participants, but might falter in the use of these findings towards a longer-range, systemic plan for social change. Dialectics of reform or revolution are another major concern for those involved in the planning, participating and theorizing of PAR (Brookfield and Holst, 2010, p. 185). That is, PAR can differ according to those that organize to better

one's social position, by seeking reform-based outcomes, and PAR that seeks to add to the existing social and material relations in order to overcome and replace them. In the process of doing PAR, it is important to consider how social relations are taken up, and abstracted. Finally, what are PAR collectives, and the work that emerges from their projects, "critical" about? The social sciences embody two types of critiques: immanent critiques that deconstruct social formations, and *critique-als*, which look at the social and historical relations that these formations emerge from (p. 162). For PAR, the distinction carries serious implications in its use as a tool for genuine social change against relations that reify systems of oppression, or research that co-opts PAR for neoliberal-based agendas (Jordan, 2009).

The urgency of the concerns presented above carry into PAR projects completed with youth and young adults. Established as youth participatory action research (YPAR), this area of scholarship has witnessed increasing use by allies of youth: educators, community partners, and researchers. YPAR involves collaborating with youth, particularly those who are marginalized, to address social justice issues that affect their personal lives and surrounding communities (Cammarota, 2012, p. 2329). I am especially interested in the tradition of YPAR that is influenced by the fields of critical youth studies, social justice, and youth resistance. To summarize briefly: YPAR is understood as an appropriate activity for scholars within critical youth studies, because it allows for more equity, and allows youth to participate in taking up the subject of social justice with researchers (Cerecer, Cahill, and Bradley, 2013), thus asserting that more participation through PAR brings more criticality to the questions asked, and the actions taken. It is seen as an opportunity for youth resistance to serve as the "youth critique", being inherently "transformative because it unleashes new methods, new theoretical frameworks, [and] new ways of seeing" (Guishard and Tuck, 2013, p.187). And in honing in on particular groups like racialized youth, YPAR scholars emerge from

disciplines like critical race theory and social justice-based youth development. With these influences, YPAR scholars assert that while, "youth grow up in profoundly uneven contexts", they embody, "critical wisdom, desire, and tactics of subversion in their oppression" (Fine, 2009, p.3).

For scholars theorizing about YPAR, these qualities demonstrate YPAR's praxis, with critical consciousness as an emerged or achieved outcome of youths' "critical" thinking and agency. This separation of praxis from critical consciousness, where the former stands as a process, and the latter, an outcome of that process, is in contrast to how radical Marxists like Paula Allman understood critical consciousness as praxis itself. "Our consciousness is actively produced within our experience of our social, material and natural existence", and is *critical* in its rejection of ideological thoughts that center critiques on the results of relations rather than the relations themselves (Allman, 1999, pp. 37-39). In its separation then, what kind of consciousness are researchers in YPAR advancing? And towards what kind of social change praxis for YPAR? I will argue that scholars conceptualizing in youth participatory action research projects demonstrate reproductive praxis in their goal to foster and promote critical consciousness. I will demonstrate this by: examining how critical consciousness is reduced to a set of observable traits and behaviours among individual youth in YPAR; and by illustrating how the experiences of using critical consciousness are separated from material conditions, and collective action, to dismantle systems of oppression. Thus, critical consciousness is seen as an *asset*, and as an *intervention*, for marginalized youth to develop as "critical" young adults who seek reformist-based social change, and whom ultimately reproduce capitalist modes of relations.

Critical Consciousness As *An Asset*

In the activity of PAR, critical consciousness is often highlighted as an important part of the process, especially in PAR that serves as a project for social transformation and liberation. In taking up the subject in critical youth participatory action research, scholars come to separate critical consciousness from praxis, relegating it is an asset: one that can be developed and achieved by the individual who is marginalized, and as an asset removed from the social and material conditions where youth experiences lie, such as those of racialization.

As an asset, critical consciousness serves the purpose of giving racialized youth an understanding or perspective that they did not have before. What do youth come to see exactly? This has little to do with understanding the social relations that make their lives and communities, but instead with the results of these relations: how racialized youth are oppressed, and how this oppression affects their lives. Thus, there are specific characteristics that can distinguish between those who have and do not have critical consciousness. Cammarota (2012) defines critical consciousness as emerging through the linkage between "critical thought"

and "agency" (p. 2329). Critical thought, in his conception, means the ability to relate learning to one's sociocultural identity, to advance one's community through one's own individual gains, and to understand that oppression is not exclusively an individual problem, but is also a widespread "social" problem (Ibid). Thus, to be critically conscious entails being able to articulate one's individual or community-based surroundings, and act upon them. The political nature of those actions, and their likelihood to actually change youths' conditions, are of lesser concern.

Similarly, Cahill's YPAR collective also reflect on critical consciousness as something achieved after being able to *see* something in particular. Critical consciousness, in their definition, involves "critical reflection" and "transformations" on the contradictions of one's life; in their case, the contradiction is the resistance and reinforcement of stereotypes as young women of colour experiencing gentrification (Cahill, 2008, pp. 111-112). Critical consciousness is achieved by naming and discussing "personal and shared experiences", which participants describe as "therapeutic". While the participants, as racialized young women, identify as being critically conscious through their work together in YPAR- having "different eyes/open eyes"- their actions are limited to defining and relating one's narrative, or story of oppression, to contradiction, without exploring how this contradiction, in its material and social forms of gentrification and disinvestment in their lives, came to be. Critical consciousness, in its conceptualization by YPAR scholars, is an asset necessary for building the identities and strengths of individual youth, rather than building changed social and material conditions.

Identity serves as a platform for attaining critical consciousness in several YPAR projects. While identity is understood as one's social position (including, but not limited to, one's racialization), its use in achieving criticality is concerning. Identities come to lack historicization, as understanding how one's political identity came to exist is absent, in favour for highlighting how this identity can be further empowered, and offer richer criticality in one's development of consciousness. For example, in Torre and Fine's (2008) YPAR project, consciousness assumingly emerges out of PAR's use to educate critically: by enabling youth to connect their "personal struggles" with historic struggles for justice; and to convert individual experiences of pain and oppression into "structural analyses and demands for justice" (pp.34-36). Building the individual narrative or understanding of one's identity is seen as a consciousness-raising activity that elicits the possibilities for social change. But in YPAR, the individual's link to actual material changes is largely unaddressed. Even when YPAR scholars make reference to historical and material conditions that make up one's identity and consciousness formation, it is usually in favour of demonstrating their uniqueness in developing assets.

Finally, young people come to see themselves as becoming more literate in academic theories and activities. For example, in Morrell's work, YPAR is credited with having youth develop the academic language and comprehension needed

to "function within the academy", observed as a crucial asset for racialized youth in particular, given their absence in spaces of higher education (Morrell, 2008, p. 162). In Sanchez's (2009-2010) photovoice YPAR with three Chicana young women, youth comment on having the "academic and theoretical language" to change people's perceptions of them as transnational youth (p.64). In both cases, the irony that academia brings its own set of power relations that oppress marginalized communities escapes YPAR enthusiasts.

The examples provided demonstrate how critical consciousness becomes designated as an asset that is developed or cultivated within the individual youth, rather than a more concrete understanding of conscientization as praxis for social and material changes. However, as an asset, what purpose does critical consciousness serve?

The Purpose of Critical Consciousness As *An Asset*
For many adult allies of racialized youth, the agenda of highlighting assets among individuals and their communities is intentional. As Guishard and Tuck argue, the value of youth participatory action research lies in its use in rejecting deficit-based approaches in research. YPAR, as a form of youth resistance research, requires an ethical responsibility to avoid deficit analyses of young people and their abilities (Guishard and Tuck, 2013, p. 189). At the same, through the endeavour to build youth assets like critical consciousness, the implied notion is that they require a catalyst for action, through YPAR, and that youths' existing knowledge funds are not critical yet. In theorizing about YPAR, critical consciousness, as an asset, is linked with the purposes of mobility, access to material and social power, and with political and/or academic engagement.

One of the most highlighted gains of doing YPAR, noted by academic partners and the youth participants, is the increased mobility within institutions and social networks in the process of developing, attaining and using critical consciousness. YPAR researchers come to understand this mobility as essential for leveraging power within public institutions like schools or government. During their journeys of becoming more "critical", some of the key people that youth meet are those in positions of power, like policymakers and school administrators. For example, in one YPAR project, connecting Latino youth to community members and school board partners, is understood as helping to guide youths' research and build their networking skills (Guerrero, Gaztambide-Fernandez, Rosas and Guerrero, 2013, p.113). At the end of the YPAR project (conducted in the form of a high school credit course), youth are not only able to put this networking into practice, but do so among, "students, teachers, parents, university and school board representatives… [where they] demonstrate their leadership and…engage in conversations about the future of the project with important stakeholders" (Guerrero et al., 2013, p. 114). Without the criticality of their work or participation through YPAR, these connections to people or spaces of institutional power are understood as less likely to occur.

Cammarota and Romero (2011) re-iterate this argument, by linking the presentation of youth research to key stakeholders as a form of critical praxis in YPAR, which simultaneously develops a network, or set of "constituents", to achieve social "progress" (p.496). While I shall return to the implications of this later on, it is important to highlight the contradiction of increasing one's mobility among networks positioned with more social and material power, given that this power forms the same unequal conditions that YPAR is suggested as responding towards.

The idea that critical consciousness, as a marker of achievement, brings more social and (at times) material power is a celebratory outcome in the work of scholars theorizing about YPAR. Ranging from *more* access to stakeholders, to *more* knowledge or *more* critical spaces, the promises of criticality offer the idea that *more* power equates to *more* social change, without theorizing about the totality of power, or its uses towards collective action for social change. For example, returning to Sanchez's photovoice YPAR, social capital is explicitly mentioned as an important outcome for the youth participants. She comments that while YPAR's, "primary purpose is to produce social change", it is also understood to enhance the social capital of youth, for example, in their attractiveness for scholarship and college selection committees, or for academic audiences interested in their work at research conferences (Sanchez, 2009-2010, pp. 64-65). Once again, building one's social network, through assets, translates to increased social mobility, and is a priority among YPAR scholars. Of lesser concern are the limits of these social and material resources in enacting any kind of social change, beyond working within existing institutional settings that perpetuate the conditions of oppression originally deemed as problematic.

The creation of alternate, "in-between" (Ayala, 2009), or "third spaces" serve as the sites where critical consciousness is cultivated from, leading to the assumption that more of these spaces is also a good outcome. For example, Tuck et al. (2008) describe their YPAR collective as a third space carved out in response to the binaries in youths' lives, "such as work/home, teaching/learning, talking/listening…reproduction/resistance, success/failure, and reality/hope" (p.69). As a third space, YPAR serves as an educational critique, and as an "intervention" by those who occupy this space as educational "exiles" (Ibid). Similarly, in Guishard's (2009) PAR project with youth co-researchers and a community based organization, critical consciousness occurs in "moments", in a "free space", where the "fertile soil" of organizing activities, "build on experiential knowledge, catalyze agency, personal empowerment, [and] group and political consciousness" (p.100). The implication here is that spaces for criticality satisfy the needs and desires of youth participants in YPAR, given the absence of these opportunities in existing material spaces. But as *sites* and *stories*, where critical consciousness displays its uses and greatest strengths as an asset, this postmodern theorizing is limited to contexts of practice, rather than the totality of social change needed in structures of education (Silver, 2011, p. 194). This becomes

evident when these spaces of criticality ultimately lead to engaging racialized youth with the same institutions they are marginalized from.

The purposes of critical consciousness can be broadened to more engagement and participation by racialized youth. While the stories of these various YPAR projects actively demonstrate *more* engagement and participation, the kind of power or social change pursued by these engagements are of lesser concern, because *more* participation is seen as inherently transformative. For some scholars theorizing through YPAR, more engagement means the promotion of healthy behaviours as youth come to identify links between the oppressions they experience, and their "maladaptive behaviours" (Romero et al., 2008, p. 138). Engaging racialized youth does not come without challenge for some, as "personally and intellectually marginalized youth", need to, "buy in and [invest] in the participatory process" (Rodríguez and Brown, 2009, p. 29). Thus, partial or full engagement by these youth in the YPAR process, through critical consciousness, is central to establishing its validity as a tool for social change. While the lack of engagement with YPAR is widely ignored in the literature, the suggestion that more participation embodies an advantage for youth also suggests what they stand to lose, or continue to be, without critical consciousness as an asset.

Re-asserting that the value of critical consciousness lies with the gains of engagement and participation, young people come to increase their involvement within the institutional and communal spaces that are linked to their oppression. Irizarry's ethnographic findings on Latino youth in a YPAR-based course concludes on this note. YPAR is understood to elicit more "freedom" in school, where "heightened consciousness" enables both a critique of the school setting, and increased navigation within the school, "to achieve personal and professional goals" (Irizarry, 2011, p.7). Returning to Cahill's (2008) YPAR project, emerging critical consciousness encourages, "a pedagogy of citizenship"; their civic actions include compiling proposals for the input of young women of colour in future neighbourhood development (p. 116). As previously highlighted, critical consciousness, as an asset is understood to build youth perspective, identities, and capacities, especially in response to the forms of systemic oppression that marginalize these youth. Simultaneously, its value, as an asset, emerges in its use to engage youth with state-based and social institutions that reify these oppressions. Much of the YPAR literature is left with the impression that more mobility, more alternative spaces, and more social capital are celebratory outcomes of critical consciousness. But what kind of adults (and agents) for social change are presented here? What kinds of praxes do YPAR scholars lend themselves towards?

Critical Consciousness As *Intervention*

Reproductive praxis is inherent in the goals for social change theorized by YPAR scholars. The treatment of critical consciousness as an asset that is developed, fostered or cultivated exists in present neoliberal conditions where youths' pathways are tied to their potential value within capitalism. Building the "entrepreneurial self" serves as an *intervention* into the lives of those deemed "at-risk" of not meeting this potential (Kelly, 2006). By highlighting the "behaviours and dispositions" that situate youth as "at-risk", the discourse of youth "at-risk" also defines the behavioural, social and psychological terms of the "adult self", who functions as an entrepreneur in today's socioeconomic context (Kelly, 2006, p. 26). "The truth of youth at-risk is thus grounded in a narrative of youth as becoming, as being a space of transition from childhood to adulthood, as a space that potentially, jeopardises the emergence of an entrepreneurial subject" (Ibid). In the area of critical YPAR literature, social oppression and social inequality are understood as requiring a response that involves "critical" social change. This response, through the acquisition of critical consciousness, asks of youth (and their allies) to consider the new attitudes, activities, or new knowledges (or by harnessing existing knowledge in new ways) to open one's eyes as racialized youth to existing oppressions. As an intervention, not only does it attempt to minimize the burden of oppression in youths' lives, but it also seeks to keep opportunities available for youth to engage as citizens and successful adults. These successes cannot be separated from their occurrence in capitalist relations. Also, YPAR assumes that through the multiplicity of individual responses, or by collective association, these successes have the potential to culminate towards widespread structural changes for society. The deployment of critical consciousness serves as an intervention to minimize the impact that social and material inequality will have on individual youth and their communities.

Youth participants from YPAR projects are taught to resist their social and material conditions, without exploring how these oppressions (like racism) are tied to the particular relations of capitalism today. In doing so, youth are trained to cope with these conditions, or to develop knowledge of a critique incapable of changing the system (Allman, 2010, p.150). This becomes more apparent in the emphasis of opportunities, and the absence of specifically defined goals for social change within the critical YPAR literature. For some researchers, radical theorizing about social change in YPAR is deemed as illusionary, obstructing one from observing the accomplishments of youth as they engage with changing community spaces, institutions and stakeholders' priorities (Gaztambide-Fernandez, excerpt in Tuck and Yang, 2013, p. 130). Engagement with these partners does not redistribute the material power that all participants hold within or outside of these spaces of engagement, nor does it remove the need for capital by youth to enact social change. Others argue that YPAR involves highlighting the desires of marginalized youth through "complex personhood", even if these desires contradict with one's attainment of critical consciousness (Tuck, 2009, p.420). Once again, critical consciousness is treated as an asset in its separation from praxis, thus permitting actions to be un-contradictory when the attainment of criticality coincides with the attainment of social and material capital that improves one's wellbeing.

These actions remain unlinked to the effects on collectively organizing youth for social change.

Such contradictions are also a consequence of what Bannerji describes as the disassociation of race, gender, and class. Social movements, "ignore the task of fashioning a fully socially informed politics", resulting in the reification of race and ethnic identities, "in acts of basic despair and desperation" (Bannerji, 2011, p. 55). This understanding sheds more insight on how critical YPAR and the contradictions between consciousness and reproductive praxis, emerge in the literature. Guishard (2009) argues that critical consciousness emerges in "moments"; In her fieldwork with youth co-researchers, their reactions to doing YPAR conclude that, "Kids should be taught about critical consciousness…[but] sometimes kids may just want to be kids, have fun, and not be so critical all the time" (p. 96). The issue at hand is not whether youth should be denied joy in place for criticality. It is in the way that critical consciousness is treated as something achieved, then actively turned on or off, depending on if the "moment" is right. Having learned of, "the extent of academic opportunity and resource disparities in education and the multiplicity of forces that were designed to ensure their failure" (Ibid), being critical all the time is understood as a permanent reality. Racist oppression and educational inequalities are treated as transhistorical formations rather than historically specific ones, with a reproductive praxis that ignores the historical specificity of capitalism that these relations occur within (Allman, 1999, p. 51). Furthermore, in separating an analysis of race and class while reflecting on social change, YPAR scholars are able to highlight the gains of youth in challenging their racialization, without the dismantling of class-based oppressions inherent in these experiences as well. Thus, racialized youth can be described as "empowered" through critical consciousness in YPAR, but still remain vulnerable to, for example, a "depressed opportunity structure as young adults", after the YPAR project is over (Irizarry, 2011, p.8).

As Allman argued (2010), reproductive praxis that depicts modes of existence as transhistorical allow for ideological discourses that fragment internally related opposites (p. 156). In the critical YPAR literature, ideological thought presents itself within conceptions of critical consciousness, racialization and the activity of PAR for social change. In prioritizing the improvement of individual youth lives, treating critical consciousness as an asset and YPAR as the process to facilitate these goals, as opposed to specific, collective tactics for the elimination of these social and material conditions, critical YPAR can be linked with reformist-based changes. Youth are taught to embody entrepreneurial adults who cope with oppression, separate their analysis of racialized oppression from the historical specificity of capitalism, and avoid a radical, relation-based understanding of action for genuine social transformation.

Conclusion

Critical consciousness is separated from the praxis of youth participatory action research, and deployed as an asset and intervention for marginalized youth. In the process, scholars using YPAR are illustrating reproductive praxis, in the type of social change that their youth partners are taught to pursue as young adults. The implications are not only urgent for youth and adults in seeking radical social change from the existing relations rooted in capitalism today, but also for academic adult partners in PAR collaborations. Scholars who continue to theorize about the uses and potential of YPAR need to consider what purposes are served in building a tradition (see Bannerji, 2005), the "constructed content" of YPAR, and critical consciousness. Also, the issue of building assets of both youth participants, and the engaged adults in relation to them (for example, see Colley, 2011), including critical researchers, is an important consideration for future reflections on the praxis of YPAR.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Creator, Writer, Broadcaster: Jean Hunter Morrison and the CAAE

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses Jean Isobel Hunter Morrison (1915-1973), a leading thinker and writer for the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) in its formative years (1940-1950). The author draws on archival records and interviews with her family, to profile her contributions to Farm Radio Forum (1941-1965), Citizens' Forum (1942-1965), Food for Thought*, Camp Laquemac adult education school, and other CAAE initiatives.*

Jean Isobel Hunter Morrison (1915-1973) was a leading thinker and writer for the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) in its formative years (1940-1950), yet her name and her contributors to adult education are basically unacknowledged. Like many of her female colleagues, her memory has been overshadowed by the male heroes, including her husband Neil McKimmie Morrison (1914-2002), who is remembered as a founder of the CAAE's signature programs Farm Radio Forum (1941-1965) and Citizens' Forum (1942-1965).

This paper uses archival and interview data to bring to life Jean Morrison's name, memory and intellectual influence on our field. Jean's papers were placed in Library and Archives Canada (LAC) by her husband, Neil; they contain an extended CV, detailing her work in the 1940s and 1950s when she was writing CAAE publications, doing radio broadcasts, and freelance writing, and then in the 1960s, more intensive writing and broadcasting for the CBC (e.g., Morrison & Rampen, 1968), before she took her final post as head of the research division of the Canada Council, now known as Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Interviews with her three children, Greg, Kathryn and Eric, inform the discussion.

The CAAE and its Programs

The CAAE was formed in 1935, not long after the Newfoundland Adult Education Association, was established in 1929 and the American Association for Adult Education, founded in 1926 (English, 2014b). The CAAE leaders, especially the first director Ned Corbett (1887-1964), who led the organization from 1936-1951, saw potential in a national association for organizing educational efforts and promoting literacy, and even more for increasing participatory democracy and unifying Canada. These early leaders, presidents Corbett (1957) and Roby Kidd (1915-1982), along with regional leaders like Jimmy Tompkins (1870-1953), were the big thinkers of adult education, the public face of the organization and of adult education (Faris, 1975). Under their charismatic leadership, and though strategic partnerships with the CBC (formed 1936), the CAAE became part of a pan-Canadian effort to promote adult education and community development. Using radio programs such as National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum the CAAE promoted major national discussions, including a focus on citizenship and immigration (Romanow, 2005).

The CAAE sponsored study clubs to accompany their radio programs, as well as published journals and pamphlets, hired local and regional coordinators to organize their clubs and forums, and writers and researchers to produce the materials. Theirs was an ambitious vision that required many hands and feet, and considerable intellectual direction, which they acquired from Isabel Creighton Wilson (1904-1983) (Butterwick & Fisher, 2015); and Ruth McKenzie (1904-1994); as research directors of Citizens' Forum (forerunner of Cross Country Checkup) and Farm Radio Forum (focused on farm families) respectively. In addition to setting the tone and determining the content of the forums, Isabel and Ruth engaged colleagues such as Jean Morrison in creating print and audio materials. As most of the Forum publications bore the name of the corporate author (the CAAE), it is sometimes difficult to know who actually wrote

each bulletin, but the overlap in topics of interest to Jean as well as notes in her files help to identify her as author of a number of their publications. Alongside these radio initiatives, the CAAE published the *Food for Thought* journal, to which Jean Morrison also contributed.

Jean, Citizens' Forum, and Radio

Jean Hunter Morrison was among the many women who contributed greatly to the use of radio and broadcasting with the CAAE in the 1940s and 1950s, and she was to become an integral part of their writing, editing and study circle movements as a way of supporting adult education.

Jean's Early Life and Education

Jean was born to a prosperous Anglophone family in Huntingdon, Quebec, the daughter of Frank and Mary (known as Mamie, born 1884), in 1915. Frank Hunter owned the local lumber and grist mill, and Jean's uncle owned the general store. Mamie was a strong, determined woman who set a pace for her girls. A self-taught woman, in her later years she played an active role in her own financial affairs and rode an Oldsmobile into her 80s (Interview with Morrison children, 2014).

Jean graduated from Huntington Academy as a distinguished student, among the top in Quebec, so it was not surprising she went on to further distinguish herself at McGill University, receiving a B.A. in 1936 and then an M.A. degree in Sociology in 1939. The eminent historian Harold Innis, serving as an external examiner, rated her master's thesis on Quebec magna cum laude

At McGill, Jean was active in the social committee for the Graduate Student Association society and in the Sociological Society. It was at McGill that Jean came alive; whereas she had been a bookish and introverted teen, at University she came to see herself in a new way. In 1950, she remembers:

> One other thread I should mention: in college, I found a different conception of myself. As an adolescent I had been a good student, always leading my class, fat, not very good at sports, not very attractive to boys, introspective, daydreaming, and generally convinced of my inadequacy. In college, I gradually was drawn into student activities, found myself giving leadership, gaining a certain amount of prestige in intellectual radical circles, and, of course, found a mate! (Personal papers of Greg Morrison, 2014)

Her only sister Eleanor (born 1917) also attended McGill. She appeared to have been very extroverted, serving as captain of the women's hockey team, member of the student council, secretary of the Sociological Society, and president of the women's union. Jean was also heavily involved, alongside her future husband Saskatchewan native Neil Morrison, in the Student Christian Movement (SCM) at McGill. The SCM was influenced by the progressive Social Gospel to work for change within Christianity. It was somewhat of

a record that in 1935 Jean became the first woman president of the McGill chapter of this organization. Indeed, she later worked for the SCM as secretary from 1939-1943 at the University of Toronto. Through the SCM, she learned about leading discussions, coordinating people, and basics of organizing conferences, all skills that came in handy in her future work and writing for the CAAE (CAAE, N.D.c; Morrison, 1956).

Jean had great intellectual acumen; she graduated from McGill in sociology when it was an emergent field. From 1935-1937, she was a graduate student. Following graduation, Professor Everett Hughes invited her to go to University of Chicago, the preeminent school of Sociology, to do her PhD with him, but she decided against this. Instead of further study, Jean married Neil Morrison in 1940. By this time, he was ensconced in a CBC position as director of audience research and Supervisor of Talks and Current Affairs. They built a family and life that was rich with intellectual conversation, with a wide circle of friends, especially from the CBC, and a house full of books and literature.

Jean and the CAAE

The years in which Jean was most active in the Association were from 1948-1959 when she was parenting her young children and also doing freelance broadcasting and writing. From 1944-1948 she edited the CAAE's *Food for Thought* journal and was editor of one of the 11 books they published in the *Learning for Living* series, underwritten by the Ford Fund for Adult Education (Morrison, 1953). She set a pace that was hard to follow in seeking out writing, broadcasting and research opportunities. Writing in 1950, she reflected that

> Escaping from my mother's domination, I became, perhaps not obsessed, but at least strongly determined to have a career of my own, to exercise to the full my newly discovered abilities. My husband also had acquired strong feelings about the equality of women. So our marriage was to be a partnership, with both of us working out a relationship of freedom, independence, mutual respect which we felt was the only possible basis for genuine love. (personal papers of Greg Morrison, 2014)

In addition to raising three children in a time when many married women were at home, Jean set out to develop a career.

Food for Thought

At *Food for Thought*, she succeeded S. Wilcox as editor, and when her term was over in 1948, she remained on the editorial board for almost a decade later. Her contemporaries on the board included Harriett Rouillard (English, 2014a) and Clare Clark, both of whom were very significant writers and contributors to adult education. That magazine and journal writing was women's work was clear from the fact that the *Food for Thought* board was heavily populated by women

but the CAAE executive and full board were comprised mainly of men. As editor, she was charged with writing editorials and also articles on topics such as the importance of group discussion and the need to do local research. It seems that she and the Forum researcher directors, Isabel Wilson (Butterwick & Fisher, 2015) and Ruth McKenzie (English, 2014b), worked together in planning the Journal contents, as Jean is quick to acknowledge their cooperation in the *Food for Thought.*

Citizens' Forum

Handwritten notes on her files at LAC show that Jean was the author of at least six study club booklets for the Citizens Forum. She wrote lengthy booklets on topics such as *Are the People getting the news* (CAAE, 1949a); *Comics—are they a laughing matter?* (1949b); *Should there be religious education in our public school system?* (1949c); *More leisure or more money: What are you working for?* (CAAE, 1957) ; *Are good times bad for youth?* (CAAE, n.d.a). With philosopher George Grant she penned *The Right to be Healthy* (CAAE, n.d.b.). These booklets highlight her interests in controversial social and political issues, interests that she pursues in later writing.

Ford Fund Series

Jean contributed to the series of 11 books funded by the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education, on the YM/YWCA program of *So-Ed in Canada* (Morrison, 1953). The title is drawn from a Y program begun in Vancouver, of social education for young people (aged 20-35). One of the only programs developed for this age group, she described social education as based on lectures and discussions, then activities, as well as socials and dances. *So-Ed* is essentially a report of Y-programming in the city, and it is comprehensive and perhaps questioning in its assessment of the worth of this program. In Jean's words, "The content of the *So-Ed* program was never ahead of the times, but it seems to have reflected new trends as they appear." Her interest in youth was carried through in her Citizens Forum writing and her later writing for radio and TV.

Alex Sim and the CAAE

The Morrisons moved in circles of family and influence. Jean's sister Eleanor married R. Alex Sim, a rural sociologist, prominent in the CAAE, and a colleague of Jean's in adult education. Sim is often acknowledged as a founder of Farm Radio Forum, and discussed extensively in Faris' (1975) *The Passionate Educators*. He was the first head of adult education at MacDonald College Rural Extension service (McGill University, Montreal), and in a strategic location to nurture adult education. Sim defined national Farm Radio Forum, according to historian Ruth Sandwell (2012), not only in helping to establish it but also in providing UNESCO with a major report on the Forum in 1954. He also had a major influence on CAAE projects, including a residential adult education training camp, Camp Laquemac in Quebec (run by Macdonald College, government of Quebec and Laval University, hence the name Laquemac) and headed by Alex

(Morin & Potter, 1953). For five summers, Jean was a staff member at Laquemac, one of the greatest adult education schools of the 20th century, and a bilingual one at that. This school was an adult education "normal school."

Alex and Neil Morrison helped establish Farm Radio Forum and they brought the CBC and the CAAE together on many projects. Jean, Neil and Alex shared intellectual interests in sociology from their McGill studies, and they were able to accomplish a great deal because of their shared interest and commitment to social change. These connections were huge in a world where being educated was not enough to get a job. She was connected with CBC staff and CAAE leaders, not only through her family links and her years at McGill, but also through her husband's colleagues at the CBC, and through her own contributions to the CAAE forums, *Food for Thought*, CBC and the Canada Council. As always, these networks encouraged the cultivation of similar interests and commitments, but one wonders if they also worked to keep women in helping roles and men in the lead.

Jean, the Writer

A survey of her publications shows that Jean Morrison drew on her rich education in sociology and wrote about issues that were germane to her life at home with children, even offering a series on family life as the subject of an NFB program (e.g., CAAE, N. Da; 1949b). Her children, Greg, Kathryn, and Eric remember that when she was writing about excessive packaging she was experimenting on consumer goods in their home. At home, she was studying washing soap and other consumer products, supplying herself with material for her scripts; they remember Jean (they called her by her first name) as disciplined and ready to write at a minute's notice, if she had to meet a deadline. For many years, the family had a subscription to *Consumer Report* to allow Jean to study some of the issues she was writing about.

One of the themes in Jean's writing is a determined resistance to organized religion, especially religion in schools (CAAE, 1949c). This resistance came from her and her husband's rejection of organized religion, as a response to their own families of origin. Neil's family had designs on his becoming a minister and missionary, and Jean's family had rigid moral codes that were influenced by Methodism. Both Jean and Neil worked intentionally to make their family their own and to avoid organized religion.

So, it is not surprising that one of the topics that Jean picked up in her Citizens' Forum booklets was against religion in schools (CAAE, 1949c). Of course, she was from Quebec, which was having its own battles with religion at that time, and she was surrounded by an intellectual group of colleagues, including the CBC colleagues, so this position was not all that unusual. Yet, she had a distinguished history of association with the Student Christian Movement at McGill, and she later worked for them. Perhaps the questioning and somewhat radical stance of the SCM would have provided the impetus for a rejection of conservative Christianity.

Whatever the case, she was adamantly against religion in school.

After her CAAE days, Jean wrote and broadcast for the CBC. As well, she contributed articles to current publications and pursued a writing career. Her last job was as head of the Canada Council Research division (now SSHRC).

Discussion

Jean stands out among other women in the CAAE—Isabel Wilson, Clare Clark, Ruth McKenzie, Harriett Rouillard—as having had to juggle an active writing life (as a contributor and an editor) with a home and children. The other women were either divorced or single, and none had children. Her career was stopped only with her death, which came from cancer when she was in her prime as a creator and a visionary.

"I always felt, after a life doing a diversity of things she ended up in a terrific job," is how her son Greg described her leadership role at the Canada Council. Her daughter Kathryn saw her as the one who made things work: she smoothed over controversy, calmed the waters of conflict and in general had a great working style. Someone who mourned her when she died at 58 said that she had "a remarkable combination of an extremely high level of competence and a similarly high level of human relationships ability." Jean clearly was able to negotiate a great deal at home and at work, and she was motivated to do well at both. Writing about her own background and motivation in 1950 Jean reflected,

> I often wonder why it is that I had no feeling that I could acquire sufficient prestige by plunging entirely into domestic life. Whatever recognition I achieved by selling an article to a popular magazine, of doing a first-class pamphlet, was very important to me. I'm not sure whose recognition I was seeking – perhaps it was primarily my husband's. But I do know that my colleagues in various jobs have always been men. In fact, I can think of nothing more dismaying than moving only in a world of women. Somehow, I had to prove that I could hold my own professionally with men.(personal papers of Greg Morrison)

There is every indication that the 35-year old Jean who penned those words could more than hold her own as the years progressed. She was an intellectually engaged and spirited woman who set quite a pace for her family and for the adult education world. It is hard to think of adult education surviving as a movement or a field without women like Jean.

Like her female colleagues, Ruth McKenzie and Isabel Wilson, she was a gifted writer, organizer and thinker. Articles such as this one make it possible to think about how women were part of the fabric of those early years. Both men and women were contributors to the CAAE, and Jean was first among them.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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Peer- to- Peer Learning and Engagement: Study Results and Practice Refinement Discussion

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ABSTRACT

This study reviewed the effectiveness of peer-to-peer learning activities in courses that had traditionally been taught predominantly by lecturing. Although lectures can be engaging, this style of instruction often results in surface learning experiences (Nunn, 1996). The purpose of this paper is to share our study of the learner's perspective on this interactive learning technique. We used these discoveries to improve our professional practices and add to the body of research on this topic.

Initial results revealed students were pushed to dig deeply into course material. One participant describes their experience: "When I didn't understand something, I needed to do more research. I needed to look in another book or something like that." Our results show that although students don't always enjoy the learning activities, peer-to-peer learning promotes student engagement and deeper learning. This feedback further refines how peer-to-peer learning is administered in future course offerings.

Keywords: Peer learning, student engagement, deep learning, instructional strategies

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to discover the learner's perspective on peer-to-peer learning strategies with the intention of utilizing the data to improve professional practice and contribute to the collaboration of research related to this topic. The researchers and authors of this paper are two college instructors at Bow Valley College (BVC) who were concerned that the low level of student engagement observed within the classroom would lead to sub-optimal learning.

Gerstman, Salehi, and Lobo (2012) suggested that when thinking about transferring learning from a teacher-centred to a student-centred approach it is useful to consider the cognitive theories of constructivism suggested by

Dewey (1938) and Piaget (1932) and also the social constructivist theory devised by Vygotsky (1962). We believe that peer-to-peer learning utilizes these theories because it transfers the responsibility of learning and generating "Aha Moments" from the instructors to the students.

Further research on interactive learning techniques, including the impact of student-assisted teaching, is needed for the purpose of increasing engagement and deeper learning (Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010). In this paper we share our experiences of researching and implementing peer-to-peer learning activities in college courses that traditionally used lecture styled instruction.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in the theories of critical pedagogy, constructivism, and social constructivism. Critical pedagogy is an evolving concept. We believe that critical pedagogy is a progressive educational philosophy that empowers students to take ownership of their learning. As a result, application of this approach and associated principles, such as constructivism and social constructivism, results in learning engagement and deeper learning.

John Dewey, a founder of critical pedagogy and constructivism, believed that education was a critical component of everyday living (Dewey, 1935). From his perspective people could learn to effectively contribute to society through real and guided experiences within their communities (Dewey, 1938). Dewey believed that effective education understood and implemented experiential learning. He viewed experiences as foundations for learning. Dewey (1938) pointed out that the strict authoritarian approach to traditional education was concerned with delivering preordained knowledge, and not focused on how people actually learn. From this lens, learning can be viewed as an organic process of building experiences on top of experiences. A person could learn to deal effectively with their changing environment

by developing and redeveloping their habits accordingly (Dewey, 1938).

Jean Piaget formed the cognitive theory of constructivism (1932) and emphasized that learning is a progressive reorganization of mental processes as a result of biological maturation and environmental experience. Similarly to Dewey, Piaget believed that experiences, particularly social experiences, were a critical part of the learning process. As the mind developed, experiences helped individuals construct an understanding of the world around them (Piaget, 1932).

Lev Vygotsky developed the theory of social development (1962), which viewed social interaction as the driver of cognitive development. Vygotsky (1962) believed that learning is the end product of socialization. He focused on connections between people, their sociocultural context, and their shared experiences. Vygotsky looked at the relationship between two key players in the learning process: The More Knowledgeable Other (MKO), and The Learner. The MKO had greater understanding of a situation and is able to enhance The Learner's ability. Vygotsky (1978) believed strongly that these relationships within the community played a central role in the process of learning.

Conceptual Framework

This study focused on creating deep learning experiences by developing learning communities and using interactive learning techniques. Learning partnerships were formed within the classroom so that knowledge could be collectively constructed and reconstructed through shared experiences. We called this peer-to-peer learning activities. Rather than focus on the ways the subject had traditionally been taught, we focused on creating environments that encouraged shared learning experiences. "Vygotsky (1978) firmly believed that peer collaboration and various forms of peer-assisted teaching have the opportunity to positively enhance student learning" (as cited in Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010, p. 50). Peer-to-peer learning activities encouraged individuals to share what they have learned with other learners in the course. This way, the information was transferred from student-to-student rather than from instructor-to-student. The students became responsible for constructing new knowledge based on their learning experiences and also for sharing that knowledge with their peers.

Peer-to-peer learning activities have been described in the literature as a viable alternative to lecture-based instruction (Prince & Felder, 2006; Nunn, 1996; Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010; Weimer, 2010). "Although lectures can be engaging, they are mostly associated with passivity and an excessive amount of teacher talking" (Weimer, 2010). As indicated in Nunn's (1996) observational study of participation in college classrooms, on average less than 6% of class time involves student interaction. That is three minutes of student talking for every 50 minutes of class. Research has shown that a more engaging and interactive learning environment promotes deeper learning (Prince & Felder, 2006; Nunn, 1996; Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010;

Weimer, 2010). We believed that moving the onus for generating new knowledge from the teacher to the student would create an engaging environment that would encourage students to dive deeply into their learning experience.

Literature review

Learning engagement is important to adult educators. Active engagement results in enriched learning experiences and directly relates to deep learning (Chickering & Gamson, 1987; Nunn, 1996; Pike, Kuh and McCormick, 2011; Prince & Felder, 2006; Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010; Weimer, 2010). This forms the basis of critical thought and critical pedagogy.

Critical Pedagogy has been defined by Macedo (2006) as "a state of becoming, a way of being in the world and with the world – a never ending process that involves struggle and pain, but also hope and joy shaped and maintained by humanizing pedagogy" (p.394). From this perspective, learning is an interactive and transformative experience that involves the learner engaging in their experiences. Learning can be thought of as a continuous cycle of adjusting what we currently know each time we encounter a new and unknown situation (Jarvis, 2006). Learning results in a "continually changing (and more experienced) person" (Jarvis, 2007, p.1).

Dewey (1938), Piaget (1932) and Vygotsky (1962) all agree that social experiences are key aspects to this development. If the expectation is to learn while enrolled in an educational institution, then the learner should be actively participating in adding new ideas to their current bank of knowledge. According to Jarvis (2007), learning is not an adjective to describe a society or a facility, it is a verb.

One of the key themes of critical pedagogy is constructivism - knowledge built on previous experiences. Much of the pedagogy in classrooms today is not constructivism, it is the practice of what Freire (1970) described as banking education. In this practice, the teacher assumes that the student has no knowledge of the current topic and no ability to discover the information on their own. The educator acts as a content expert and attempts to transmit their wisdom to the student by using lecture style instructional methods (Freire, 1970).

Dewey (1938) and Freire (1970) both believed that the educator's role is not to impose their ideas on others, but to select the influences that will assist a learner in constructing their own epistemologies. Dewey (1938) alleged that the purpose of education is developing individuals towards achieving the highest level of their potentialities. Therefore, it is the role of the educators to learn to innovatively guide each learner.

Purpose and Research Questions

Research confirms that an interactive learning environment promotes learner engagement and deeper learning (Chickering & Gamson, 1987; Nunn, 1996; Pike, Kuh and

McCormick, 2011; Prince & Felder, 2006; Velez, Simonsen, Cano & Connors, 2010; Weimer, 2010). This research was conducted at Bow Valley College's Chiu School of Business. In this institution, the subject of accounting has traditionally used lecture style instructional methods. In the study, *Discussions in the College Classroom: Triangular Observational and Survey Results*, Nunn (1996) found that although lecturing can be stimulating, it is most often associated with disengagement and surface learning.

> Learning is not a spectator sport. Students do not learn much just by sitting in classes listening to teachers, memorizing pre-packaged assignments, and spitting out answers. They must talk about what they are learning, write about it, relate it to past experiences, apply it to their daily lives. They must make what they learn part of themselves (Chickering & Gamson, 1987, p.4).

We wanted to learn how to effectively implement interactive learning techniques with the goal of increasing engagement and promoting deeper learning. These techniques were labeled peer-to-peer learning activities and they focused on peers teaching peers. We believed that moving the onus for generating new knowledge from the teacher to the student would create an engaging environment by encouraging students to dive deeply into their learning experience.

The purpose of this study was to discover effective ways to implement an interactive learning environment specifically through peer-to-peer learning activities. This involved gathering feedback from the students participating in the learning activities. The questions we were seeking to answer in the research were: Did peer-to-peer learning activities promote deep learning of the course content? Did the peer-to-peer learning activities successfully enhance engagement with the learning material? Were the instructors successful at creating an engaging learning environment? What were some techniques the instructor could have used to create a more engaging learning environment? The information collected was and will be used to improve our practice when teaching similar courses in subsequent semesters.

Research Methods

A peer-to-peer learning activity was collaboratively developed by the two researchers and used in four sections of various accounting courses in the winter 2014 semester and one section in the spring of 2014 semester. This research will be continued in subsequent semesters. The number of students in each section ranged from 15 to 30. In the winter 2014 semester, the learning activity was similar over the four sections but there were variation in how the instructor administered the activity. Data was collected during the last two weeks of the semester (survey) and within two weeks of the end of classes (focus groups). After the results were received and analysed, they were considered and the learning activity was refined. The refined activity was used in the spring 2014 semester. The activity was further refined and used in Winter 2015 semester.

The surveys and focus groups were used to elicit the learner's perspective of the peer-to-peer learning activities. The survey questions were designed for learners to rate their level of engagement, level of learning (deep or surface), and level of motivation. Focus group questions asked learners to expand on the survey questions so that additional information could be collected on how the implementation of peer-to-peer learning activities impacted engagement. The focus group questions also solicited feedback on how implementation of peer-to-peer learning activities and creation of engaging learning environments could improve.

The surveys were anonymous and voluntary. Survey questions asked the participants to use a scale and/or short answers to answer questions. Participants could withdraw from the survey at any time prior to passing the form to the administrator. The survey was administered by an administrative assistant who was unrelated to the course. To maintain ethical standards, the administrator did not release the survey results to the researchers until after the semester was complete and all final grades for the semester were determined. During the survey, participants were advised that they could volunteer for a focus group that would be held one to two weeks after the end of the semester.

The focus groups met two weeks after the semester had been completed. Focus groups consisted of a facilitator and two participants. The facilitator was unrelated to the research project and used the questions that were provided by the researchers. Focus group participants could withdraw at any time during the focus group.

Discoveries

The data from the surveys and focus groups were compiled and analysed by theme. Our findings are as follows.

Level of Engagement and Deep Learning

The data collected in the survey indicated that 71% of the students participating in the course were engaged in the materials, 69% felt they had a clear understanding of their learning task, but only 51% agreed with the statement: *The peer-to-peer learning activities helped me learn the material.* Further analysis of the survey open-ended questions and focus group discussion revealed that it was preparing for, rather than participating in, the peer-to-peer learning activity that created high level of engagement with the course materials. One student wrote, "When I created my group project, I learned the entire chapter: front to back." Another reported, "This approach allowed the group presenting to have a deeper understanding of the material that they were covering." One participant indicated a heightened level of engagement in the following statement:

> When I was preparing to facilitate the class on the chapter review I felt it imposed more responsibility on me as far as understanding the materials myself… I made sure I understood how things worked and that I understood it clearly

so that when I was presenting it I am saying the right stuff. So I am not confusing my classmates.

Enjoyable Learning Activity

We have found that there is a correlation between learning engagement and interactive learning activities. The students participating in this study indicated the benefits of this method of learning. However, when asked if, in the future, they would like to take another course taught with a similar approach, 41% agreed, 17% were neutral and 42% preferred to not participate in another peer-to-peer learning activity.

This suggests that many learners did not enjoy the approach. Two of the comments from the open ended questions that support this was, "The students who did not understand the course content and tried to teach it were wasting our time." and "Students can't be teachers. I would not take this course again." Other learners mentioned they did not like the approach because when students "teach" a concept it can become confusing.

Supportive learning environment

The interactive community created during the learning activities contributed to the high levels of learner engagement. Participants in the study indicated that the interaction between students, "helped students work with and get to know one another." This was supported by 77% of students who felt that the learning environment was a comfortable place for learning. Additional comments that revealed that the learning environment was supportive were: "The instructor and group members were easily approachable"; "peers who are facilitating were willing to help"; "the class worked as a team and helped each other after class".

Impactful experience for future course development

The point of this study was to improve practice for implementing interactive learning activities. The survey and focus group results from the winter 2014 semester were analysed, refined and course changes were implemented during spring 2014 semester.

During the first implementation of peer-to-peer learning activities, the environment was only supported by a subgroup of regularly attending participants. We found a significant number of students routinely skipped class. The participants that regularly attended enjoyed the activities and created a fun learning environment.

From the first set of data collected, many students questioned the legitimacy of the content that was presented by the students. One participant wrote, "Peer facilitation should not be used on topics that people are uncertain about because it may cause people to become confused." Some students claimed it was a waste of time. We decided to change the amount of responsibility that we placed on students to present materials that were new to them. The original activity included a 30 minute review of the assigned chapter and a 30 minute student facilitated learning activity. For the second set of data collection, in spring 2014 semester, the 30 minute review was removed.

When comparing these two semesters, the spring 2014 semester indicated that there was a higher level of engagement and greater course enjoyment. Results increased by 21% when asked the question: I felt the peer- to-peer facilitated project used during this course effectively helped me learn the course material". Observation from the spring semester showed a more supportive learning environment. Class attendance improved. During the second study, a reflective journal that was kept by the researcher revealed the following comment: "The group camaraderie was such that students ensured they were present for other group's activities, so attendance was good throughout."

Learning engagement and deep learning experiences will only exist in environments where students are present. If students do not think that the learning experience is valuable, they will not attend class. Therefore, we had to change the structure of the way we delivered the learning activities.

Summary

The initial results of this study support the notion that peer-to-peer learning activities result in engagement in the course materials and deep learning. Some unexpected and important themes that emerged from the data were in skill development in both public speaking and interpersonal relations. Finally, we feel that reflecting on the implementation of peer-to-peer learning activities has improved our professional practice. We will continue to use these results to hone our own practise and add to the professional body of research on this topic.

Engagement and deep learning

The most obvious theme that emerged from this study is that participating in peer-to-peer learning activities creates learning engagement and deep learning experiences. As indicated by many of the students who shared their experience, when students taught course objectives to their peers they felt the need to be prepared. This meant that they researched the topic more thoroughly than they would have if they were attending a lecture. Students would ensure that they had a complete understanding of the course objectives they were assigned in order to provide a good learning experience for their peers. We found that this was a key factor that caused peer-to-peer learning activity to be an engaging activity.

Although students felt that this activity helped them engage in the material, only 52% of all students surveyed would want to participate in a course that used peer-to-peer learning activity again. Our observation of the survey and focus group remarks leads us to believe that the activity was difficult, and therefore, the students didn't want to do it again. Critical pedagogy involves leaners engaging in critical thinking. According to van Gelder (2005) the first rule of critical thinking is that critical thinking is difficult. In the future we may want to explore the question: As educators, do we sacrifice learning opportunities to cater our classes towards being an enjoyable experience? The study results

provide a dilemma which, as college instructors, we need to investigate.

Public speaking and interpersonal skills

When students were asked to expand on what they perceived to be valuable about the peer-to-peer learning activity, two additional themes emerged: building confidence in public speaking and building communities. Many of the students indicated that the approach taken in this class increased their confidence in public speaking. Factors that may have contributed to this theme were the support of a team, the guidance of the instructor and the pressure of presenting in front of peers.

The survey results indicated that 77% of the students felt the learning environment was a comfortable space for learning. Velez, Simonsen, Cano, and Connors (2010) indicated that when students are given an interactive environment, they are able to build strong working relationships. We felt that we experienced the same phenomena in our study. Having a comfortable learning environment and approachable peers may have increased students willingness to practice and hone their skills in public speaking. This is summed up nicely by these two participants when they stated: "Students were supportive, classmates were supportive" and "the instructor and group members were easily approachable."

Peer-to-peer learning activities gave students the opportunity to learn from each other in two ways. First, the teams worked together to create their learning activities. Second, the students participated in learning activities that were that were prepared by their peers. Velez, Simonsen, Cano, and Connors (2010) claimed that peer facilitators present information in a unique manner which increases student communication and cooperation. In addition, Pike, Kuh and McCormick (2011) indicated that building strong communities in colleges helps to increase student engagement. We found that, when given the opportunity to work in an interactive environment, the students formed supportive communities. One participant indicated that the peer-to-peer learning activities "allowed the whole class to be involved."

Improvements to our professional practice

Weimer (2010) claimed "teachers must work to create classroom climates that are conducive to learning – climates where the need to know motivates action in the same way a change in temperature motivates people to take off or put on clothing" (p.86). As we work towards creating engaging environments, many of our observations have impacted our professional practice: supportive communities, instructor involvement and student capabilities.

Areas for Future Research

Peer-to –peer learning activities had obvious benefits and drawbacks. As reflective practitioners we take both into consideration when developing future classes. As we continue this study, the feedback received through the survey questions and focus groups will be used to further refine our practice of implementing peer-to-peer learning activities.

In the immediate future, we will be looking at creating environments that encourage learners to reap the benefit of these interactive environments while also enjoying participating in the experience.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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The politicization of difference

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ABSTRACT

The lived experiences of transnational non-binary sexual identities (TNBSI) offer a significant contribution to adult learning. This paper begins by introducing TNBSI and contrasting western and non-western perspectives on sexuality. Next it explains the related cultural contexts and different language interpretations around sexual identity. In looking at these language interpretations borderland theory is used to explain sexual fluidity. The paper then looks at the issue of sexual fluidity and the related power struggles due to politicization, and how TNBSI experiences can inform knowledge development for a rejuvenated adult learning pedagogy that focuses on human survival. The plural and complex ontology of human sexualities resident with TNBSI cuts across a number of interdisciplinary areas in an increasingly borderless world. The field of adult learning has historically preserved a status quo in its education precepts, but is now positioned for a paradigm shift from the knowledge gained out of the TNBSI reality.

Introduction

This paper is a literature review that examines transnational non-binary sexual identities (TNBSI) and what the knowledge behind their lived experiences offers to the field of adult learning. Migration experiences are often rooted in an attempt to escape one type of oppression or another in individuals' respective birth countries. Migration has been frequently used as an attempt to escape economic, political, religious, social, cultural or identity oppression. This desire for escape and attainment of freedom, along with the tensions of strong cultural connections to birth countries, are often the basis for transnational movements and resultant transnational cultures.

As a transnational myself, who is well aware of the desire to 'escape one type of identity oppression or another,' it is unclear whether the aforementioned desired freedom, or escape, is truly attained by most transnationals after assimilation into destination countries. Transnationals are constantly faced with learning, knowing and understanding themselves and their resultant growth potential in destination countries (Handley et al., 2007). Transnationals are also constantly faced with an internal struggle due to the inherent duality of belonging to two places with competing values. Most TNBSI individuals manage this duality well in their ability to code switch and adjust to different norms and expectations of their lives. As such, TNBSI individuals exist in a nexus around knowledge, culture, language and power amidst society's lack of awareness with regards to the existence of an unlimited ontology of multiple sexual identities (Grace, 2013) within our communities. I have observed traits of tenacity, adaptability, and resilience among TNBSI persons like myself, who are able to navigate their different identity constructs while simultaneously adjusting into the dominant culture.

The TNBSI reality is all about human 'difference' and the underlying tensions of self-acceptance arising from 'heteronormative' expectations. TNBSI reality speaks to individuals as fluid sexualities, who reside, shift and change within the 'borders' of the binary/non-binary construct based on life circumstances, feelings of confidence and individual acceptance. The politics of ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation 'difference' are commonly portrayed throughout all areas of life in Canada. However, what has not gotten much portrayal is the recognition of 'fluid' sexual identities that exist by virtue of the diasporic communities and the different understandings and interpretations of sexuality.

In terms of sexual identities, the commonly accepted binary of the heterosexual and the homosexual has not been a true representation of society. The TNBSI phenomenon has some semblance to western understandings of homosexuality and bisexuality, but TNBSI in and of itself is a completely different reality. To be clear, this paper's discussion is not about bisexuality, but instead about sexual fluidity and the capability that is inherent with TNBSI to ebb and flow within the borders of the binary/non-binary construct. This

paper will make references to TNBSI individuals as 'queer' persons, by virtue of the fact that 'queerness' is currently the most neutral referencing that exists for a discussion of the TNBSI phenomenon.

Western/Non-Western Perspectives

Western society as a whole has always operated in a traditionally binary thought construct (Elizabeth, 2013). According to Hemmings (2007) the "literature routinely regards opposite gender sexual contact as 'heterosexuality' and same gender contact as 'homosexuality,' as if the same phenomena were being observed in all societies" in the same way (p. 6). It is important to note that terms like 'lesbian' or 'gay' are interpreted differently depending on geographical and cultural contexts (Hemmings, 2007). Western academic scholarship often rely on these binary terms, concepts, and identities with little or no interrogation or appreciation for non-western perspectives (Hemmings, 2007). It is this lack of appreciation for non-western perspectives that "is not only restricted to the politics of identity naming, but also to the epistemologies and tropes that" unfortunately only shows the perspectives and privilege of the "western sexual identity, such as voice," visibility and the politics behind homophobia (Hemmings, 2007, p. 6).

Transnational Sexuality Studies (TSS) emphasizes the dangers of "assuming that contemporary western identity categories are universally applicable, and, importantly, raises questions about the teleological assumptions" that are embedded in understanding any type of same-sex behaviour as a cross-cultural truth of individuals eventually becoming or being 'gay' as it is understood in the western construct. Hemmings (2007) suggests that the terms 'gay' and 'queer' as a same sex identity marker should not be universally imposed as it is not consistent as a universal understanding of said western uses of these terms. The term 'queer' very often loses its specificity in transnational work and comes to mean whatever the author needs it to mean based on the given context (Hemmings, 2007). The idea of wanting all types of same sex activities to be categorized under the term 'queer' is typical of the systemic oppression that is inherent with western white male imperialism which is just "another instance of white male desire to be everywhere, talk about everything, and be everything" (Hemmings, 2007, p. 9).

Cultural Contexts

African cultures are no more homogeneous in sexual practices than those found elsewhere in the world (Oliver, 2012). Same-sex relationships have been documented among different peoples in Uganda among the Banyoro, the Iteso and the Baganda peoples, where social approval of same-sex intimacies has varied enormously across time and space (Oliver, 2012). Oliver (2012) explains that it is impossible to assign any single meaning to same-sex intimacies because "they have assumed numerous social meanings in the African context ranging from sin to the most noble form of love, as well as a means to establish hierarchy or exercise political

resistance through history" (p. 17). Sylvia Tamale (2009), further supports Oliver's (2012) aforementioned perspective, where in her public address at Makerere University, she provided several examples of sexual identity diversity within African cultures and points to the fact that there is no such thing as a 'traditional' African family.

Siddiqui (2011) shows us how in predominantly Muslim Bangladeshi culture, the "meanings and use of categories such as gay (effeminate males, who feel like women inside and are sexually attracted to men) and MSM (men who have sex with men)" are two completely different things that are not identifiable in the same way as has been done in western cultures (p. 3). In Bangladesh, men have more latitude and freedom to act on their sexual preferences "as long as social and familial obligations are met through marriage, and all acts are hidden from public view" and as such persons who are 'straight' and others who are not, is by no means self-evident (Siddiqui, 2011, p. 4). In Bangladesh an individual's sexual desires and social desires can go in different directions where sexual identities are not only fluid and overlapping but they are contextual and contingent (Siddiqui, 2011).

In Indian culture, some argue that the category of 'MSM' is an assertion of racial/cultural/ social difference (Siddiqui, 2011). It interesting to note that in the South Asian territory, the term 'gay' means that this is someone who participates in both sexual roles (Siddiqui, 2011). Both roles of being active as well as passive (passive meaning - being penetrated, and active meaning - the penetrator), where this understanding of being 'gay' is clearly a completely different interpretation of the word as it is known in western contexts (Siddiqui, 2011). According to Siddiqui (2011), in Bangladesh one cannot assume that "an equation between sexual conduct and sexual identity" means the same thing in North American contexts, because "along with [sexual] fluidity, many men exhibit indeterminacy in relation to [their] sexual identities (p. 9).

Language

The term 'gay' is a limited North American descriptor which does not speak to the array of differences occupying the same sex activity spectrum (Grace & Wells, 2009). The 'gay' terminology is one that has been avoided in the black American community by non-obvious males who engage in same sex activity on the 'down low.' The 'down low' activity in this context means engaging in same sex activity in secret, where said black American males are indistinguishable in their main stream society, and are often men with female companions and children. The alternative term 'queer' has been used in North American contexts where the intent of its use was to focus on the fluidity of sexual and gender differences, but "it refuses even some partial closure of identities necessary to lay a basis for" a broad understanding and appreciation of the varied spectrum within same gender or same sex activities (Grace & Wells, 2009, p. 5).

Academic literature has often used 'queer' to represent anyone engaging in any type of same sex activity, regardless of their level of fluidity. In spite of this, the inaccuracy of its use has been further complicated by the 'transgender/transsexual' community, where the various permutations and combinations of related attractions and sexual interaction makes it challenging to use the term 'queer' because of the different types of sexual engagement occurring between transitioned males, females, and individuals with intersexed body functionality. Is it reasonable to call a transitioned male engaging sexually with a transitioned female a 'queer' or 'gay' person? Is it also reasonable to call an intersex (born with box sex organs or a hermaphrodite) individual, who engages with any other individual sexually as someone who is 'queer' or 'gay'? These are questions which have become part of the discourse that is slowly emerging in regards to non-heteronormative sexuality.

Power, Borderland & Borderland Spectrum

An increased use of the pedagogies of queer studies can broaden the landscape of knowledge beyond what has been historically seen in adult learning contexts. According to Grace & Hill, (2001) queer studies examines "context, disposition, relationship, and language that shape heteronormative culture and the queer counterculture that variously contests and resists it" (p. 4). Any resistance of the queer counterculture as against the heteronormative culture points to the power struggle that typically exists due to politicization arising from difference. It has been commonplace in heteronormative culture to blame the sexual 'other' for their problems of helplessness and hopelessness in their lives (Grace, 2013). Instead of blaming the sexual 'other' in this way, it would be more productive to switch to building knowledge and developing learning from the sexual 'other' and their experiences (Grace, 2013). In so doing, this 'switch' could create an alternative adult learning pedagogical approach that builds on human differences found within our society (Grace, 2013).

In our society, human difference has not been a commonplace acceptance. As a result of said difference the coping skills, tenacity, endurance and ability to excel at life skills is heightened within the TNBSI existence. Life and learning skill development for said individuals are heightened because TNBSI possess survival skills that far supersede those of the 'normal/heterosexual' or even 'extreme/homosexual' individuals. Due to the politicization of difference, TNBSI persons are not only forced to blend effectively into mainstream, but must also learn to exist effectively within this context of polarization. The uniqueness of the TNBSI person and what can be learned from their coping skills "can inform transformative adult educational practices that involve communicative learning processes and critical analyses concerned with being, self-preservation, expectation, becoming, resistance, affiliation, and holistic living" (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 4).

According to Callis' (2014) research study undertaken in Lexington, Kentucky, the sexual binary of heterosexual and homosexual is becoming less hegemonic, however the binary perspective is still a powerful system of sexual categorization. Callis (2014) applies borderland theory in looking at sexualities that exist within the borders of heterosexuality and homosexuality. According to Callis (2014), because of the "continued hold the sexual binary has on constructions of sexuality," non-binary identities are best understood as existing within a sexual borderland, a region of space between heterosexuality and homosexuality (p. 3). This sexual borderland is viewed by Callis (2014) as forming separately from the binary system, where:

> For those people inhabiting this borderland, it is a place of sexual and gender fluidity, a space where identities can change, multiply, and/or dissolve. For heterosexual and homosexual-identified people living on either side of the border, the borderland serves multiple purposes. It can become a boundary not to be crossed, or a pathway to a new identity. Because the borderlands are emerging from within the current binary system of sexuality, they interface with individuals of all sexual identities (p. 3).

The spectrum of sexual identities within the binary/non-binary construct are seldom publicly discussed due to the fear of politicization that comes with open disclosure.

The different layers of other sexual identities emerging beyond the western conventions of heterosexuality, homosexuality and bisexuality are numerous. Some of these other sexual identities include, but are not limited to: demisexuality, lithsexuality, pomosexuality, pansexuality, skoliosexuality, ambisexuality, sapiosexuality, ethnosexuality, heteroflexibility, homoflexibility, asexuality and polysexuality.

Definitions for the aforementioned sexual identities existing within the 'borderland' of the binary/non-binary construct, fall outside the scope of this paper. However, there has been an absence of academic research with regards to these emergent sexual identities, and in particular as they relate to TNBSI persons. This absence is even further noted, where even "liberal lifelong educators who link lifelong learning to issues of social learning and social justice tend to be silent on" non-normative sexual identity phenomena and issues (Grace, 2013, p. 181). Educator silence on these issues speaks to the hegemony of heteronormativity in adult learning (lifelong learning) discourses and practices (Grace, 2013).

Knowledge & Adult Learning

The paradigms arising from TNBSI are informative to any adult learning pedagogy that deals with human existence, human survival, human self-love, human self-acceptance, and human identity constructions. In our communities, "adult educators can strategize and develop policies, programs, courses, and activities that problematize anti-queer

perspectives, initiatives, symbols, and language in a hetero-sexualizing culture-power nexus" and in so doing start a wave of constructive change for current and future generations (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 4). The "nature of the homosexual/heterosexual binary," along with political and academic discussions on these matters, have historically functioned erroneously in leaving "certain queer persons out and to contour larger sociocultural sites like mainstream adult education as exclusionary environments for queer persons" (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 4).

An inclusion of all 'queer' understandings along with a sensitivity and an awareness of the TNBSI phenomenon will help adult educators to "contour larger sociocultural sites" for learning that will tap into the coping skills that appear to be inherent to TBNSI (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 4). The acquisition of knowledge about any and all aspects of 'queer studies' enables adult "learners to challenge heterosexualizing discourses and heteronormative ways of being, doing, becoming, and belonging" and in so doing "situate queer performance as an alternative pedagogy that often forms new directions for personal development as it cuts across themes of postmodernity such as diversity, identity, and self-definition (p. 5).

Knowledge is not easily defined and its understanding and misunderstanding is freely present throughout all the different layers of adult learning (Grace & Hill, 2001). At a fundamental level knowledge involves making sense of information, lived experiences, and by an extrapolation of this then "queer knowledge" and TNBSI knowledge, can easily be classified as a composite of the multiple ways that individuals construct meaning of their lives as participants in a 'non-normative' community (Grace & Hill, 2001). Queer knowledge constitutes "sites of learning" and by its mere existence provides an opportunity to "build inclusionary pedagogy by challenging hierarchies, suspending classifications, and resisting dichotomization in regard to modes of intelligibility (ways of understanding the world)" (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 4). Adult education (adult learning), is ready for an alternative pedagogy that "transgresses adult educational space" and rejuvenates the landscape of learning from a different context than what we have always known it to be within the historical 'normative' understanding (Grace & Hill, 2001, p. 2).

Grace & Hill (2001) suggest that queer knowledge can be used to effect change by "deploying queer knowledges as political activities for social transformation" (p. 2). In order for there to be a change in thinking it is important for adult educators to nurture learning spaces that "problematize social and cultural formations, including heteronormative adult education, that have historically relegated queer persons to a sociocultural hinterland" where said individuals have had to "struggle with issues of being, self-preservation, expectation, becoming, resistance, and belonging" (p. 2). Where it has somehow gotten twisted, is that history has "heterosexualiz[ed] culture and discourse" and public pedagogy has been full of "heterosexism and homophobia" and

negation against the integrity of identities that fall outside the 'normative' context. (p. 2).

Plural Ontology & Transnational Sexuality Studies

An examination and understanding of TNBSI provides knowledge acquisition that can enhance human capacity (Grace, 2013) as a key paradigm for adult learning. An investigation of TNBSI falls naturally under the umbrella of TSS. The interdisciplinary field of TSS is complex and according to Hemmings (2007), cuts "across sexuality studies, gender studies, postcolonial theory, queer theory, anthropology, critical race studies, literary studies, development studies, globalization theory and reproductive health studies, among others, and, in fact, might be said to constitute one way of bringing these disciplinary or interdisciplinary concerns together" (p.4). According to Grewal & Kaplan (2001), goods "and people come to circulate in new ways, so too identities emerge and come into specific relations of circulation and expansion" (p. 2). As we examine the "globalized framework of encounter and exchange, sexual identities are similar to other kinds of identities in that they are imbued with power relations" (p. 2). These power relations are connected to the inequality that exists due to globalization, where in a global world of borderless existences, it is important to examine the specificities and continuities of sexual identities (Grewal & Kaplan, 2001).

TSS reflects a borderless world that examines flows of bodies across space not limited to geography and national borders (Mizzi, 2008). TSS highlights the absence of non-western perspectives of the non-binary sexuality construct where Judeo-Christian culture as a contrasting perspective "exercises hetero-normativity as a means to obtain social control" with very little tolerance for anything beyond the binary view (Mizzi, 2008, p. 2). According to Hemmings (2007), we can assume that any level of inquiry in TSS comprises encounters between non-binary subjects "who misrecognize and mistranslate one another continually, and that sexual meanings will change as subjects negotiate and experience them in their daily lives" (p. 16).

Connclusion

A glimpse of western and non-western perspectives of human sexuality has provided context for this paper's journey of clarifying the TNBSI reality. TNBSI activities along with culture and context "are key elements of successful educational endeavours" where "learning is a socio-cultural experience and social interaction" for the development of inclusive paradigms for adult learning (Grace, 2013, p. 186). Culture is a backdrop of the TNBSI reality and it provides a framework from which to understand TNBSI and the different maps and guidelines that clarify the different cultural understandings of sexuality (Grace & Benson, 2000). The contrasts of western and non-western language usage is noted as the primary barrier to a full understanding and appreciation of TNBSI.

Individuals who are residents in 'borderland' culture are in tune with reading cultural maps, as the knowledge, understanding and sensibility gained from this existence allows for a heightened appreciation and understanding of 'difference' (Grace & Benson, 2000). Borderlanders quietly exist within and outside of hetero-normative contexts and as such are able to understand heterosexist culture and its perceptions of queer persons, and in so doing, are able to leverage this knowledge and awareness for their own advantage (Grace & Benson, 2000). As a result of this, borderlanders are able to navigate efficiently across all cultural and socio-political contexts of their lives.

The goal however, is not to avoid thinking in binaries, because binaries "have historical efficacy" and the tensions of same will "persist despite any refusal of them within a cultural" logic of difference" (Grace & Benson, 2000, p. 95). In the alternative, the best approach is to learn from TNBSI and "focus on the binary's relation to power" while "drawing lines and setting up boundaries" in our lives (p. 95). Borderlanders in their existence across the 'borderland spectrum' are inherently tenacious and adept at dealing with issues of politicization around diversity and differentiation (p. 95).

Adult education (adult learning) has so much to gain from a deeper understanding of TNBSI as border crossers who are adept at surviving inside and outside of the mainstreams of life with high levels of success (Grace & Hill, 2001). The plural ontology of existences that is resident in borderland culture intersects with a number of interdisciplinary fields of TSS. These intersections have not yet been harnessed in adult education (adult learning), for a deeper understanding of our increasingly borderless global contexts. A deeper understanding of borderland culture can provide unimaginable insight into heightened realms of human survival as seen with TNBSI experiences.

Some of what can be learned from border crossers (TNBSI) are:

- how to act, assimilate, affiliate and represent effectively according to different cultural contexts (especially the dominant cultural context);

- how to handle assimilation, adjustment and knowledge acquisition by virtue of the fact that constant change is common place for TNBSI; and

- how to navigate all types of politicization and use the tensions of politicization to build successful and efficient life strategies.

Education "has historically been about preserving the status quo and tradition, which, in regards to sex, sexuality, and gender, means assuming the exclusive morality of heterosexuality and the limited ontology of two biological sexes as cultural imperatives" (Grace & Wells, 2009, p. 20). There is an absence of research that addresses TNBSI and their learning processes within Canada's landscape. Multiculturalism, sexual identity and social identity intersect where TNBSI persons endeavor to learn, adapt and formulate their social identity within Canada. The TNBSI reality offers knowledge

and learning away from the current 'normative' perspectives (Grace & Hill, 2001) and can broaden the adult learning landscape to one that celebrates 'sameness as lameness' and makes room for a rejuvenated rhetoric in the field of adult learning.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Risks and Rewards: An Autoethnography of Moving into Arts-Based Teaching and Learning

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide guidance to educators who wish to adopt arts-based approaches through theorizing the experience of its authors, three doctoral students, in facilitating a relational sculpturing session in the context of a class on globalization. The paper begins by defining arts-based teaching, pointing to its identified benefits and risks alongside an explanation of the process of relational sculpting. Next, it tells of and analyzes the authors' experiences in order to point to tentative guidelines for facilitating arts-based sessions. These guidelines are intended to serve both an ethical and educational function. From an ethical perspective, they work to ensure learner and instructor safety and, from a learning perspective, they increase the chances of meaningful learning.

Many adult educators recognize arts-based approaches as holding rich potential to facilitate and foster embodied forms of learning, connecting learners in visceral and emotional ways with complex, abstract topics like globalization (Butterwick & Clover, 2013; Sanford & Mimick, 2013; Simola, 2012). Embodied experiential learning can add a pre-cognitive dimension to the material being studied; however, it is essential to approach this type of learning with great sensitivity and with intentional preparation to ensure the wellbeing, safety, and trust of those present. For instructors, adopting these approaches requires that they learn new, unfamiliar facilitation skills. It can also lead them to feel vulnerable in front of learners, since in guiding others through an arts-based experienced, instructors might find themselves negotiating unexpected emotional terrain. For students, arts-based approaches can provoke unexpected emotions. While arts-based approaches can foster significant learning that are difficult to access through traditional pedagogies, the risks must be acknowledged and attended to.

Meaningful learning can be emotionally challenging, and as educators it is not our job to eliminate risk, but to engage "ideas and new imaginings…pushing beyond the familiar already-known and daring to experiment, taking risks, and making mistakes" (von Kotze & Small, 2013, p. 39). It is, however, our duty to determine the appropriate balance between risk that generates fruitful learning and risk that could lead to harmful stress for students and for ourselves. As educators, we must recognize that emotional and psychological safety is a priority (Butterwick & Clover, 2013; Hyland-Russell & Groen, 2013; Simola, 2012). By reflecting on our own facilitation experience and framing that within the literature, we can aspire to enact a rich but safe praxis.

We are three doctoral students in the University of Calgary's Ed. D. program in the Adult Learning stream. During our most recent summer residency we had an opportunity to facilitate a class on globalization and how our increasingly connected world has implications for adult learners. We chose to use an arts-based approach called 'relational sculpting' as the approach to our presentation. This paper will provide an explanation of relational sculpting along with the theoretical rationale for using arts-based pedagogy to teach complex topics like globalization. Next, we will outline our thought processes and insights as we planned, facilitated, and debriefed the class. Finally, we will provide some guidelines for those planning to implement relational sculpting or any similar arts-based activity.

Relational Sculpting and its Benefits

Relational sculpting is an activity that allows the participants to learn about a variety of issues through the creation of a temporary art form. Drawing upon the work of others (Andolfi, 1979; Duhl et al., 1973; Papp et al., 1973), Simola (2012) explained the processes involved in relational sculpting. There are clearly defined tasks within the activity: "The Sculptor creates a concrete physical, visual image of a relational system. This is accomplished by inviting volunteer

Actors to assume roles, positions and postures in space that reflect the Sculptor's vision" (p. 82). As the Sculptor works to position the Actors, there is no immediate rationalization for the positioning. Once the sculpture represents the Sculptor's aims, the Actors remain in position for a brief time to allow the Audience to observe the relationships of the bodies in space. The Monitor then guides discussion in order to reveal and explore the "visceral and emotional awareness" that arises among all the participants. The narrative inspiring the sculpture is also made apparent and becomes part of the discussion. After a period of sharing impressions, the Monitor may direct the Sculptor, or other participants, to make changes to the sculpture in order to "ameliorate particular concerns or achieve more desirable experiences" (p. 82).

Relational sculpting can help to strengthen student understanding of difficult or abstract concepts, such as ethical dilemmas, interpersonal relationships, or justice issues. Within the context of globalized corporatization, relational sculpting provides a response to the ruthless agenda of profit-making and allows participants to instead examine the ethics of business and industry (Simola, 2012). Simola suggested that when reasoning makes use of "metaphor" and "emotion" there is "enhanced moral imagination" (p. 77). Simola studied her participants' learning with respect to the scenarios they sculpted and to the experience of sculpting as a pedagogical technique. The students reported being more aware of the thoughts and feelings of others, and of having a deeper appreciation for how those involved in business may be adversely affected by poor judgments of those in power. In terms of sculpting as a form of pedagogy, the students expressed a number of positive outcomes, including the likelihood of persistent recall of the event, increased interest in the subject matter, more dynamic learning, and the novelty and pleasure of joining in this form of learning. However, Simola (2012) cautioned that this form of pedagogy is not without its risks, and took care to provide comprehensive guidelines to help mitigate the inherent risks in relation sculpting, many of which may apply to the wider scope of arts-based pedagogy.

Risks of and Contingencies in Arts-Based Teaching and Learning about Globalization

To teach and to learn using arts-based techniques is to take risks. But how do we determine the appropriate balance between risk that generates fruitful learning and risk that could lead to harmful stress for the student? In a number of publications, the authors expressed concern for students' emotional and psychological safety (Butterwick & Clover, 2013; Hyland-Russell & Groen, 2013; Simola, 2012).

The unfamiliarity of relational sculpting or other arts-based techniques may raise anxiety with those involved. For some, the focus on "getting it right" in terms of the end art-product casts undue worry over the process, wherein much of the learning resides (von Kotze & Small, 2013, p. 39). Students and facilitators both fear making mistakes in a learning environment. This may be due to the pressure of knowing that there will be an assessment involved, or some may fear not being in control or looking silly doing unfamiliar things. However, these challenges are somewhat mitigated when students "learned to think of and implement contingencies" (von Kotze & Small, 2013, p. 36). Embodied forms of learning can be particularly stressful, as these require that "all step up and step out," but the power of the "creating a learning community" and experiencing the learning together is often enough to ease most discomfort and allow both students and facilitators to forge ahead (Sanford & Mimick, 2013, p. 26). Often once the anxiety over marks is addressed and students are reassured that their learning, rather than the art piece itself, is what is being assessed, then the class can continue with students feeling more at ease in taking risks.

Perhaps the most troubling concern over using arts-based pedagogies is the very real possibility of entering into a scenario that provokes a strong or unexpected emotional reaction for a student or facilitator. Again, this can create a situation where there are fine lines that separate the need to pull students into a realistic representation of some form of oppression or disjuncture, and the necessity of maintaining a respectful distance from stories that students may not wish to share, or to even remember. Hyland-Russell and Groen (2013) recounted working with students on stories of addictions and mental illness that struck very close to home for these people. Allowing students the freedom to opt out of particular exercises seems to be key, as does providing lead-in time and information about the activities. If students feel empowered to make choices about when and if they are ready to investigate troubling subject matter, they will likely feel more in control. This is certainly the advice offered by Simola (2012) in her comprehensive guidelines for facilitating relational sculpting. We will offer further thoughts on these guidelines in the final section of this paper.

Authors' Experience Stories

This paper's three authors decided to experiment with relational sculpting when we were asked to prepare a presentation on the topic of globalization for a summer class in our doctoral program. In all, as this section outlines, the experience was both challenging and rewarding. It was challenging because we did not fully anticipate how difficult it would be to design the session or the range of emotions that the activity would provoke. It was, nonetheless, rewarding because we perceive that we were able to facilitate a powerful learning experience that connected our classmates to the material in rich and memorable ways.

Collectively we viewed taking on this form of presentation as somewhat experimental. It is fair to say that none of us had experience in any similar form of embodied learning facilitation. Amy suggested, and Roger and Joan agreed, that as students in an adult learning doctoral program, this was as safe an environment as we could hope for in terms of "trying out" a new-to-us technique. Although we did agree

that this was true, we also harbored some anxiety about using this method with a group in which we are all so deeply invested. These individuals comprise our cohort and we are invested in maintaining group cohesion. Also, the residency periods are intense and we worried about heightening interpersonal tensions by pushing into new territory.

We found that we were surprised by the degree to which the use of relational sculpting challenged us. Choosing a topic was difficult and we wrestled with deciding on whether or not to create a sculpture based on a personal experience that one of us had had, or whether to choose a generic topic. In retrospect, we realize that in designing the sculpturing experience, we were involved in a truly ambiguous creative process, which none of us could see our way through in advance. At several points during our design process, we questioned whether the exercise would work and debated if we should just give up and facilitate a more straightforward class activity. It turned out that Roger's willingness to explore a personal issue had a profound effect on the process. His experience with the personally difficult and politically charged environment of international adoption proved to be a powerful story to sculpt and, we hoped, it would be a catalyst for fruitful discussion on how globalization can be individually affecting. While this topic ended up providing rich fodder for the sculpturing activity, it took us hours of discussion, debate, and reenactment—using our own bodies as "clay," as we figured out how to move forward—in order to plan the activity.

We decided not to share with the class what the sculpture was about before asking them to participate in the exercise, rationalizing that it was more important for the participants to authentically feel whatever came up during the process. During the debriefing time, however, we were not prepared for the reaction of some of the participants who felt somewhat deceived by the process. Their lack of knowledge of the topic, and particularly the fact that it was based on Roger's life, led some members of the class to feel that they reacted in a way that was not as deeply respectful of Roger's circumstances as they would have liked. They felt responsible for their reaction in a way that we had not anticipated.

Another surprise was the way our classmates reacted when asked, in advance of the class, whether they would want to participate as "clay" (Actors) for the sculpture. While some unhesitatingly agreed, others declined, indicating with certainty that they could not be part of the sculpture. We learned that it is difficult to try to predict who will wish to participate and who will not. Despite knowing the participants quite well, we did not predict participants well. We therefore suggest erring on the side of caution in explicitly seeking consent from all involved individuals, rather than counting on one's own perceptions of participants' comfort levels.

Perhaps because we are new to this type of class experience, we found it surprisingly difficult to focus on both the creative process and the topic we were intending to cover. It felt as though we had to struggle to maintain any kind of

meaningful focus on the globalization piece. The class became more about the construction and debriefing of the sculpting experience than about how globalization affects adult learners. Simply learning how to facilitate arts-based learning consumed so much of our attention—and how the exercise would unfold remained so unpredictable to us in advance—that we struggled to tie the powerful emotional sculpturing experience into broader learning objectives.

The degree to which the sculpture elicited an emotional response was startling. It is difficult to imagine, in spite of how much we practiced the sculpting process, just how affective the process of placing bodies in a space truly can be. Reflecting on the process, we all realized how powerfully affirming the presentation was. As we debriefed as a class it appeared, from our perspective, that the participants had gained empathy for Roger's direct experience with globalization, and that his own story had been heard and affirmed by those present.

A last impression of this experience was the coherence of the piece the class created. We found that students have art-making ability quite beyond what they likely expect. Providing an opportunity to express ourselves through a temporary art activity brought about a rich representation of Roger's story, and we were thoroughly pleased with how well our classmates embraced their creativity in co-constructing the piece.

Proposed Guidelines for Facilitating Arts-Based Pedagogy

We acknowledge collective inexperience with facilitating this type of pedagogical activity, so we have framed these guidelines with the thought that they apply to others like us, eager to try new techniques, but relatively new to this type of practice.

- Reach out to those with more experience: We enlisted the help of willing mentors who had used relational sculpting in the past, in their own classes, and the opportunity to meet with them provided valuable support. Without our mentors, we would not have had a sense beforehand of the potential emotional power of the exercise and might not have been as careful as we were in addressing issues of emotional safety. Our mentors also made themselves available to us on an ad hoc basis, via Skype, as we struggled to work through the sculpture design.

- Collaborate: From both an emotional and intellectual perspective, we each would have struggled to do this on our own. We were all amazed by how it came together—combining Roger's firsthand experience of the impacts of globalization and his desire to explore identity as a research topic, Joan having just reviewed a book on arts-based learning and seeming to have a gift for making links, and Amy's background in creativity-focused

education. We could not have predicted how these elements would come together.

- Accept/embrace that you are entering into a creative process: The less experienced you are in facilitating arts-based learning, the more creative your process and the steeper your learning curve will be in terms of how to navigate that.

- Inform: Give the learners some idea of what you have planned, and allow them to participate to the level at which they feel comfortable. Remind them that the process is what is important, not necessarily the product. Provide a judgment-free way for learners to opt out if at any point they feel overly uncomfortable. In many ways, the amount of information that participants have prior to the experience can raise or lower the stakes in terms of risk. Most importantly, make sure that all participants are aware that they can walk away from the experience at any time, if participating does not feel right for them. Ensure that participation in optional.

- Take stock of your experience in dealing with emotional content, and proceed accordingly: We reflected that our mentors are much more qualified in their fields to take on more contentious or emotional material. For example, they were either trained in social work or in using arts-based education, or both. We caution against going out of one's depth in terms of material presented. Unless you are a trained counsellor, know how and where to refer students should the need for professional intervention arise.

- If possible, experience arts-based facilitation before you facilitate it. Several months after we had facilitated the relational sculpting experience, we attended an event put on by a highly skilled and experienced arts-based educator. Experiencing this event allowed us to better contextualize what we were trying to do, and it would have been helpful to have participated in it before embarking on our own project.

Conclusion

Through the process of designing the relational sculpting experience for our cohort we dove into unfamiliar but exciting pedagogical waters. By relying on our collective strengths and taking the opportunity to reflect on what we have learned, the three of us have added an effective arts-based tool to our repertoire of skills, along with an awareness of the sensitivity with which such an experience should be constructed.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE ✦ ACÉÉA

Neutralizing Political Action with Education – a call to return to roots of resistance

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to contribute to developing a theory of the purposes and effects of a semi-professional education program for mental health workers and addictions counselors. I draw for this paper first upon my experiences as a feminist activist, and as a mental health worker. Now I am an academic and teacher in both a teacher education program in a research-intensive university and an instructor in a mental health worker and addictions counselor program in a private vocational college. Teaching in both a professional program (the teacher education program) and a vocational school has afforded me both an inspiring and troubling view of education programs meant to 'train' people to provide services to other people.

The fundamental effort of education is for the liberation of people, never their domestication.
Paulo Friere, 1971

Introduction and aims

One of the aims of this paper is to investigate the (arguably) dis-integrating and de-politicizing effects of vocational schooling for adults entering the field of community social services, mental health work and addictions counseling. A further goal, however, is to describe some of the junctures between those training to become 'mental health workers' and the potential to ally with and commit to activist social justice movements in solidarity with oppressed people. I hope to show the potential to collaborate with adult learners I have the privilege to teach and to engage together in fighting for our shared liberation.

I will first broadly describe some of the key features of the two different programs, including political or ideological shades visible in each. I proceed to sketch some characteristics of the students in these programs, highlighting some of the differences I notice as well as similarities. I will then discuss my history as a front-line worker, activist and

mental health worker including some of the education and training associated with various work places. In so doing, I hope to show some of the potential of vocational private college instruction to provide a liberatory education, rather than merely required credentials. Finally, this paper calls to return to the goals of some of the founders of grassroots, community or peer-based groups which employ mental health workers. At the present time, most now focus on providing service, but they once were political, strident, active and optimistic as they used service as only part of their work toward their own liberation.

What do you mean, "social justice"?

In the university teacher education program where I am a sessional instructor, there is a lot of talk about 'social justice in education'. The exact forms of justice and oppression are for the most part vaguely defined and liberal, tending toward addressing recognitive forms of justice claims[1] and valorization of a libertarian idea of "choice" and identity politics. The education system to which teacher candidates are being trained still tends to reproduce class structures of domination and subordination, rewarding middle and upper class dispositions and values (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 328). Most of the students in the teacher education program (though not all) are middle class, they have had some success in the education system as it is, and while they are aware of and concerned about injustice and oppression, most of them have benefited materially from the status quo. Some are aware of their own oppression, fewer are aware of their status as oppressors, though.

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[1] Nancy Fraser describes three forms of justice claims: Distribution, recognition, (2000) and more recently, representation (2009). Recognition and redistribution are often tied, as in the case of women's liberation, or Aboriginal movements to address colonial destruction of traditional lands, culture, and social structures.

This admittance, as Freire (1998) argued, is an essential first step in becoming more fully human (26). It is not sufficient to achieve our full human potential, and in fact, if the only thing the oppressor does is to express regret about injustice, the dehumanization of oppression continues: "Any attempt to soften' the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity…". This false generosity, in Vancouver, takes the shape of so-called 'harm reduction' approaches to social problems, or campaigns in schools to "celebrate diversity" while deftly turning away from acknowledging and confronting inequality. I will discuss the notion of false generosity later in this paper.

In the university as well as the vocational college, success is viewed as acquiring the necessary markers of cultural capital to move from the dominated class to the dominating class. Bourdieu described *the habitus* as a 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1990. The habitus is comprised of our dispositions, values, tastes, assumptions that we have learned from birth from our families, and which have been nurtured or constrained in school. It shapes us, even as we shape it. As our habitus shapes and is shaped by us in the fields within which we find ourselves, it is more likely that we will conform to the class or social structures in which we find ourselves rather than change the structures we enter. Friere as well noted that "during he initial stage of the struggle [for liberation from oppression], the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors or 'sub-oppressors'" (Friere, 1998, p. 27).

The liberalized version of social justice which I perceive promoted in the university seems similar to the analysis presented in courses offered by the college[2]. Overall, however, while there is some content in the vocational college curriculum about inequality and oppression, the program as a whole focuses more on promoting a medicalized harm reduction approach to mental illness and addiction. In Friere's conception, the students are trained to become "sub-oppressors", or at least charity workers.

The program is a little over a year in duration, and provides both classroom instruction and practicum experience, resulting in a diploma and usually work (initially in the relief pool) with any of the agencies where they did their practicum placements.

Students at the vocational college do not have the time or perhaps the self-assurance to go to a public college or university. The entrance requirements are not as strict, nor waiting lists as long as a university or community college, and most of the students want to get their credentials and get to work as quickly as possible. They are more likely to be working-class or poor than the students in the teacher

education program; they may be new immigrants whose degrees or diplomas have no currency here. Some of the students have a history of mental illness or are addicts[3] themselves—in fact, the school seeks students who have such experience. Given this life experience, some students lack the confidence and/or the cultural capital to navigate the admissions process of a public institution, never mind the entrance exams and academic requirements. There is a higher proportion of Aboriginal students in the Mental Health and Addictions Counselor[4] program than in the university teacher education program, as well.

I think it's fair to assert that the rich and varied experiences and astute analysis of the college students, while in some ways is sought out by the vocational college 'industry', is also not adequately attended to. Even as they are lauded for their courage to return to school and 'give back', they, like the people with whom they will work, are in a sense domesticated. The education they receive there on the one hand engages with their life experiences and encourages reflection and incorporation of their lived experiences into their work. On the other hand, they are training to work in the human services industry, which depends upon the degradation and maintenance of a population 'on the margins' as the raw resource of that industry. In the main, the college is an institution where they receive not education exactly, but 'training' so they may deliver a service to clients. It is a domesticating process for both the future mental health worker and the service recipients.

"Education will only be Valued as much as Experience"

Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" is a theory and practice of adult education with which many of us are acquainted (if not exactly familiar). He was exiled from his home country of Brazil for taking on the revolutionary work of teaching literacy to people who were of the rural peasant class, and in this teaching, also providing tools by which they could more effectively gain liberation from the oppression of class inequality and domination. His teaching method relied upon using what people already knew from their lives to expand their analysis and inform their theory (Friere, 1998). Praxis, that's what that is.

I first learned about praxis when I was a member of a feminist anti-violence collective. This organization still operates as a collective and still works to end men's violence against women. They staff a 24-hour rape crisis line and a transition house for battered women and their children. Each day the volunteers and paid staff evaluate the work of the day, and each year the collective gathers to evaluate the work of the year. The daily practice informs their theory of sexism, men's violence, women's resistance, the intertwined oppressions of class and race with sex, and the structural features of

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2   Though a significant proportion of the students are already politicized from their life experiences. They are sometimes quite critical of some of the de-politicized analysis they hear (in their lives in general, or their practicum placements too, not only in their classes or from teachers) of addiction, mental illness, poverty, racism and sexism of contemporary society.

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3   The school recommends that people who are in recovery from alcohol or drug addiction should have at least two years of abstinence, though this is not a formal requirement of enrollment.
4   The title of the program area within which I teach has been changed.

oppression. The ever-developing theory informs their practice, and the work with individual women who call them, and allied individuals and groups improves the theory.

Initially I applied to the volunteer training not because I had an analysis about men's violence against women, or even because I thought it would be good experience from which to get paid work. I volunteered because I wanted to work with women, in a women-only environment. I didn't understand much about how male violence protected and reproduced patriarchal domination of women, but I did know some of the statistics – (1 in 4 women will be raped in her lifetime, for example). Those kind of odds will keep women from taking up our share of space.

At that time, the volunteer training consisted of a three-hour weekly group meeting for ten weeks, and after four weeks, an additional weekly shift on the lines and in the house. The 'classes' were a form of consciousness-raising, and we learned some feminist theory, a history of the anti-violence work of the feminist movement, nuts and bolts of the services the organization provided (how to do a police accompaniment, which hospitals has a sexual assault team, feminist actions against men's violence against women and so on); and through role-plays and discussion, some of the basics of taking a crisis call. The founders of the rape crisis centre/transition house were women who saw that project as a political strategy by which to achieve women's liberation from men's domination.

At the same time as I volunteered with the rape crisis centre and transition house, I worked for pay at a "group home" for mentally handicapped adults. There were three people who lived there, and there were two staff on shift each evening to provide meals and governance until 9 or 10 pm when the overnight staff arrived. These two types of 'service work' were quite different from each other. I was interviewed twice for the work in the group home—once by the human resources person in the main office, and once by the manager of the home in which I was to work. I received no specific training other than a first aid course for the group home, although we did work in teams of two for the most part, except for the overnight shift, when there was one staff on site. Since that time, I note that that organization now provides workshops and courses on various aspects of the work of supporting adults with intellectual or developmental delays.

I worked at this group home for about three years in the early 1990s, at the same time as I volunteered with the rape crisis centre. From there I went to work in a drop-in centre for people with mental illness. It was called a "mental health drop-in" and the people it served were "mental health consumers". Once again, training for mental health workers was primarily on the job, in weekly staff meetings, and through partnering with colleagues. There was not at the time of my hiring, an expectation that workers would hold an academic or vocational diploma or degree, but now this, along with a requisite time period of related experience (as a mental health worker or counselor) is an expectation of new staff. In the early years of the existence of these centres, on the

other hand, for some the primary requirement for employment was experience as a psychiatric patient.

"I was on the board of [a mental health resource centre] when a registered nurse applied for a board position" a friend of mine told me once, "We were worried that she would be too professional, but she also had a diagnosis, so we figured she'd be okay[5]."

The education I received through my involvement as a volunteer collective member and front-line anti-violence feminist activist was by far the most engaging, enriching, politicizing and practical education or training I had ever had the privilege to acquire. This was exactly what Freire meant when he described "*praxis*: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it".

It seems that the college where I teach, with its emphasis on the importance of lived experience and the centrality of practicum placements early in the program, could be a site of such praxis. However, because of the particularly pernicious way in which institutions of power (medicine, education, social services, law enforcement) weave together to maintain the marginalized in 'de-facto psychiatric wards' in urban concentrations of poverty, the actual transformative potential of the students is neutralized. I do think there is room in the college for more consciousness-raising kinds of approaches to learning, and assignments that promote more critical thinking and action – actually engage in praxis together. Teaching for critical thinking is part of the agenda of the other instructors I've met there, yes, but not so much for critical acting. In the main, the college is invested in training helpers, not necessarily leaders.

Fundamental politics

The founders of the rape crisis centre/transition house were women who saw that project as a political strategy by which to achieve women's liberation from men's domination. The foundation of the drop-in centre was less militant, but also political. During the 1970s and 1980s, when this and other such organizations began, the government implemented deinstitutionalizing patients of psychiatric institutions. The stated aim of this process was to ameliorate the damaging effects from long-term institutionalization of these former patients. In addition, "financial incentives that were offered to provincial governments through federal-provincial cost-sharing arrangements to fund psychiatric units in general hospitals proved hard to resist" (2004, Parliament of Canada[6]). So psychiatric treatments that had been conducted only in big psychiatric institutions became the responsibility of psychiatric units and outpatient clinics in hospitals. People who had formerly resided in Riverview were released, often without any identification[7] or means of navigating life

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5   Personal communication, former board member and administrative assistant of mental health resources centres, March 12, 2015.

6   http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committee/381/soci/rep/report1/repintnov04vol1part3-e.htm accessed March 1, 2015

7   When I was an outreach worker for a mental health drop-in, in the late 1990s one of my tasks to support people was to apply for birth

'outside'. Former patients often had difficulty adjusting to life outside of hospital, and the promised supports for transition were not in place. The drop-in centre where I worked began when some of these abandoned people found each other, and allied with rogue psychiatric nurses and social workers to rent a storefront space and open a drop-in centre for a few hours a week. A couple other mental health drop-in centres opened in the 1980s, one of which, The Mental Patients Association[8], was stridently anti-psychiatry.

Over the last forty years, the government has responded to the organizing activities of these agencies by assisting with funding for services, (which the agency cannot turn down), but interfering by imposing conditions on the funding. The money is designated for a short term, specific contract, for example, or they impose minimum criteria for staff – formal education criteria, that is, not necessarily experience. And the agency leaders comply, because they need the money to provide the service. Trouble is, some of the other conditions attached to the money are state-imposed restrictions on the amount of political work or advocacy an agency can perform with the grant.

Over time, the people who operate the services (initially founded by the oppressed) accept these restrictions and conditions. "The oppressor class always finds people who will betray their own," said Chris Hedges[9], "I mean, this is the whole nature of colonialism — to [find people to] carry the water for the oppressor" (Hedges, March 2015, quoted by Murphy).

Resist!

I have argued elsewhere that addiction (and mental illness to some degree) is a form of rebellion against oppression. "People resist what we perceive as 'social control' by institutions and agents. Drug use itself could be characterized as an act of resistance [against forms of institutionalized control or oppression]" (Graham, 2007, p. 19). While it is not a liberating form of resistance, it is at least an acknowledgement that the rebel understands their oppressed state, and refuses to participate, though this refusal does not lead then to confronting reality or working to transform it.

Some students in the college have direct experience of living this kind of rebellion. One afternoon before class got

started, one of the students said, "You know, Erin, in all this time, we haven't talked about addiction as a form or rebellion". I found her insight reassuring, though we discussed it a bit in the time I taught the cohort she was in, there was little opportunity to really explore it. Having now worked in this college over a few months, I can imagine finding opportunities to do so.

Pierre Bourdieu, in his book *Pascalian Meditations* (2000), described several 'scholastic fallacies', of which he claimed academics (and others who were in positions of relative dominance) were guilty. One of these fallacies was the particular kind of chauvinism whereby the dominating class valorizes characteristics of the dominated, typifying their behaviours and activities under domination as essential. This type of rationalization allows the dominant to refuse responsibility for the suffering of others and to characterize the deprivations of the dominated classes as an expression of their choices (p. 76).

At the college, I often teach a sociology course specifically about youth, and particularly marginalized youth. There is one unit of study devoted to the issue of prostitution and sexual exploitation of young people. When I first taught this course, the unit was titled "youth sex work", and the attendant lesson plan with PowerPoint slides discussed a particularly egregious view of prostitution as a choice, and an expression of agency and youthful rebellion. Imagine my consternation. This is an example of the kind of chauvinism about which Bourdieu spoke.

Paulo Freire argued that the oppressed must be the ones to lead the struggle to regain not only their own humanity, but that of their oppressors (Friere, 1998, p. 26). When what you know is brutality, shame, poverty and grief, you need to have something else from which to build. That is what education, and what educators, should offer – a ladder of hope, anger, love and respect. Those of us who have access to positions as educators must find ways to collaborate with the oppressed, to find common ground and to refuse to stall in the face of false generosity or 'feel-good' charity instead of the messy difficult essential struggle for justice and freedom.

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certificates and id cards with them as they neared discharge from hospital. Before I was in that position, I thought that the hospital social worker would provide such services, but I was mistaken. In fact, unless a patient had contact with an outside service, or had family or friends looking out for them, they were often released without any birth certificate, social insurance number card, health care card or identification of that kind.

8   I remember hearing about the MPA in the early 1980s when I was a student at the University of Lethbridge and just becoming politicized and feminist. They were pretty radical then. Not so much, now. http://www.mpa-society.org/about-mpa/history accessed March 17, 2015.

9   The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist was discussing the recent attempt to no-platform his keynote address to Simon Fraser Universities' "State of Extraction" conference in March in Vancouver. This incident is an apt example of the effect of focusing not on structural social and political operations of domination, but identity politics and specious arguments for 'choice' without a context.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

The Banner of Change: Eva Perón, A Facilitator of Adult Learning Through Social and Political Action

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ABSTRACT

In 1940s Argentina, Eva Perón became a prominent figure in the country's political landscape. Entering politics as the wife of the president, she emerged in her own right as a champion of social justice and advocated the inclusion of working-class women in political action. Examining Eva's life and work within the discipline of adult education sheds new light on informal learning opportunities for many working-class women. Through her work in politics and community action groups, Eva worked closely with women to shape new social action initiatives and help expand their presence in politics.

Keywords: informal learning, political action, social action, women, Eva Perón

Introduction

In October 1945, Eva Perón, once an actress, radio star and producer of working-class origins, found herself the wife of the president of Argentina. At the age of twenty-six, she was at the center of the tenuous world of Argentine politics and a key figure in a new political movement. Over the next seven years, Eva became a prominent political figure for her work fighting for social justice and the rights of women, workers and the popular classes. This earned her influence that no other woman in Argentina – and very few women in the world at the time – had attained. Her name is still widely recognized both within Argentina and around the world.

Uncovering a history of Eva can reveal a vast and rich collection of stories: how she stepped outside the traditional boundaries of women in politics at the time, how she rose to tremendous popularity (and controversy), how her life and career ended early from cancer. Hers is a fascinating and riveting history; to some, her experiences represented a veritable "Cinderella" story, while to others, she was a woman who had (and still has) remarkable political and social

influence and was an iconic and revolutionary leader. It is still debated today whether Eva was a positive or negative force in politics.[1] However, a less-commonly explored aspect of her work will be the focus of this research. Under her leadership and the political party she spearheaded, thousands of women in the 1940s and early 1950s in Argentina had, for the first time, opportunities to pursue educational opportunities and work in social or political action groups.

To my knowledge, scholars have not considered Eva's work from an adult education perspective. This perspective is significant to scholarship, as Eva was a disruptive force in Argentina who attempted to enact sweeping changes for women, children, workers, and the elderly. She inspired significant numbers of women to become politically and socially active in the mid-20th century, leaving behind a legacy of activism that continues into the present day[2].

The political and social work enacted under the leadership of Eva Perón is of particular interest to the adult education community. This history provides important insight into how she operated under the conventions of her time to help initiate change in the way in which women participated in politics. What can the historic example of 1940s Argentinean women, under the leadership of Eva Perón, who engaged in social and political action in their country for the first time, contribute to our understanding as adult educators today about the learning that takes place within organizations and political groups? To explore this question, what it might have meant for these women to be a part

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1   Many aspects of Eva's life and work were extremely contentious and even provocative, and as such, she is a negative presence to many. Biographies on Eva Perón seem to be split on the subject and are, therefore, unreliable. This has continued to embroil her in ambiguity. For more, see Taylor (1979), Fraser and Navarro, (1996), Zableta (2000), Acha (2008).

2   Many Argentinian politicians and political groups point to her as a in inspiration or leader: the Madres de Plaza de Mayo (or Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) is one such group that has referenced Eva as an inspiration (Nouzeilles and Montaldo, 2002).

of the groups, organizations and activities that were fostered in Argentina under her leadership will be considered.

Situating this History within the Adult Education Literature

Examining Eva's life and work within the discipline of adult education sheds a new light on her work as contributing to informal learning/educational opportunities (Livingstone, 2012) for many (previously marginalized) working-class women. Through her work in politics with unions, in community action groups and spearheading educational opportunities, Eva worked closely with women to shape new social action initiatives within the community and to help expand their presence in politics.

The strength of communities has long been associated with their ability to organize and resist oppression: perhaps the author who has championed this significance of social justice and its relationship within community action the most has been Freire, who has written extensively on the importance of community-based education (Freire, 1970). As Freire has described, communities learn together and they can form collective consciousness through the process of *conscientização*, or conscientization (p. 49). Such consciousness results in learning and ultimately is the key to resisting oppression. By acting collectively, people move toward organizational or social change, and as such begin to challenge the norms, beliefs and actions that contribute to exclusion (Wiessner et al., 2010).

Organization and resistance to oppression were both important themes of Eva's political and social action work. As Hall (2009) has acknowledged, "social movements are a socially constructive force and a fundamental determinant of human knowledge... social movements are far more than 'sites of learning', but lie at the heart of the content of learning itself" (72).

As Hayes (2001) has noted, the understanding of how women learn has evolved and has only received increasing attention since 1980. Andruske (2003) has built on concepts of women sharing "lessons around the kitchen table" in her work about how women learn informally in everyday social spaces to meet their needs and those of their children. These perspectives are important to keep in mind in this work, as much of the informal learning examined in the context of this history would not have traditionally been recognized as a space of "learning." However, the story of Eva and the women who worked within her organizations have some compelling parallels to accounts of women who worked in community and social movements in the past, including Neal (1998), Lander (2000), English (2011), and Imel and Birsch (2014).

Informal learning experiences were present and apparent in Eva's work with women in the Women's Perónist Party and the Eva Perón Foundation. To borrow from Livingstone (2012), "when mentors instruct novices in more spontaneous learning situations without sustained reference to a previously organized body of knowledge, such as guiding

them in acquiring job skills or in community development activities, the form of learning is informal education." This will be an especially important definition to keep in mind throughout this work: when Eva is indicated as a "mentor" of learning in this work, it is within this context.

The History of the Women's Perónist Party and the Eva Perón Foundation

The Women's Perónist Party and the Eva Perón Foundation were both organizations that helped working class women have an increased role and presence in social and political action in Argentina[3]. These groups contributed toward the education of women as nurses, provided them paid work as political and social workers, and also assisted women and children in need, going beyond providing them handouts by also providing them with various educational and networking opportunities.

Under the umbrella of the Eva Perón Foundation, one of this organization's initiatives was the *Hogars de transito*, or homes for women and their children. These homes provided opportunities for women to learn how to better care for their families and see that their needs were met, from understanding better hygiene habits to learning from social workers in the home how to solve problems such as filling out government paperwork. Many of the social workers and other employees of this home were also women. Similarly, a home called the *Hogar de empleada*, or a home for young employed female workers, was a type of residence where young, unmarried, employed women who had no family in Buenos Aires lived. At the Hogar de empleada, Eva Perón herself would sometimes have lunch or dinner with the residents and participate in evening activities, such as poetry readings (Perón, 128).

As Eva contended (Perón, 1949), these spaces were not a charity, but rather designed specifically to meet the needs of young women working in Buenos Aires who may not have otherwise had a safe, comfortable or good place to live in the city. The Hogar featured a library, a music room and a sewing room so women could learn essential skills, which encouraged them to learn skills that (under the constraints of the time) would have enabled them to realistically have some degree of economic independence after they were married. Indeed, these homes went beyond "charity" in the traditional sense: they were spaces for women to live, work and participate, learning skills and networking with each other (Greenman, 2014). In a city where having the right networks was key, the women had access to not only the staff in the home but also other female workers to exchange ideas with as they worked on learning practical skills such as sewing that could help support their lives financially after they were married. This was important, in the mind of Eva Perón (1953), "It is necessary also to raise the level of woman's culture, dignify her work and humanize her economy by giving her a certain minimum material independence" (187).

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3   These organizations are also known by their Spanish names, Partido Perónista Femenino and Fundación Eva Perón, respectively

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, working-class women in Argentina became more politically and socially active in the country's landscape. 1947 was a historic year for women in Argentina. Under President Juan Perón's administration and with Eva as the figurehead, Law 13.010 was passed, which officially granted Argentinian women the right to vote. Before, there had been one final push by women to gain this highly sought after right. A female activist at the time, Beba Gill (2004), has described:

> The year was 1947. Evita called us to band together and demand the vote for women, the draft of which was in Congress... Walking, we cried our request: 'We want to vote!' Evita was our symbol and her portraits were the banner of our struggle (25, translation mine).

Once the law was passed, a women's political party was formed. This party, which became the Partido Perónista Feminino or Women's Perónist Party, open to women only, held its first National Assembly in 1949.

Eva's encouragement of political involvement seemed to go hand in hand with her interest in struggling against the oppression of women and the working classes:

> The hour of the people will not be achieved in our century if we do not demand active participation in the government of nations. But how? As we have done in our country,…by placing our people's workers and women in the highest posts and responsibilities of the State. (Perón, 1996, 72).

As Eva rose to national prominence as a leader in her own right, women from the working classes in Argentina seemed eager to become involved in politics. Gill (2004) has recounted in her memoirs her activities in the Women's Perónist Party:

> I enlisted, in whatever political action developed, what I like most is to talk to women and what Evita and Perón were doing and saying, collecting fliers and cutting the important facts out of newspapers to share them, affirming our identity and ideology, throwing myself into the task of doing social action and works (25, translation mine).

Many of these women were organized into groups and trained to take the census throughout the country. For the first time, this census would count Argentinian women, who, now as full citizens and members of the voting public, had never been included in a census before. These all-female groups of census-takers, or *censistas*, also provided information to the women they counted in the census about how they could register to vote. Eva (Perón, 1953) described,

> It was indispensable above all to take a census of all the women throughout the length and breadth of the country who felt our *Perónista* faith. That undertaking required intrepid women who were willing to work day and night (194, translation mine).

Gill took the census in the working class neighborhood of La Boca in Buenos Aires. The women who set out to record the people who lived in the neighborhoods were not always a welcome presence. Gill (2004) wrote they came to know "the faces of the men who refused to say the number of women, their names, age and civil status. More than once in two days they refused to open the door, threatening us with dogs or throwing smelly liquids…" (27).

Eva's leadership encouraged them. "I saw her in the lift in Congress and she held my hand. I told her she meant everything to me. That strength has stayed with me ever since. She called us 'her girls'" (Gill quoted in Padhy, 2012, translation mine).[4] Gill continues to work in social action to the present day. Gill (2004) has said of her early days working for Eva, "The work was carried out in the form of conscientization and defined what would be the reason for my own struggle: participation" (27, translation mine).

As many women began to take part in politics, there were other women who were reluctant to get involved. This is where it seems that Eva acted as a mentor for these women. In a published interview, Ana Carmen Macri (2006) describes how she expanded beyond the social action she was involved with in the homes for women and was pushed into political action when Eva encouraged her to get involved in the political party:

> [Eva] designated 23 delegates, among which I found myself, destined for Tucumán. I was not convinced about leaving the activities of the Foundation. But with an itinerary in hand and the decision made, one day she called me and wondered why I did not want to go to Tucumán. I replied that I was not suited to politics and that the Foundation was my thing, social action... Then she insisted, telling me: 'No, look, everything is arranged. You saw me once, nervous when I had to read a speech in front of so many people and now I do not even need to read it? The soldier is in the battlefield...' I will never forget those words because they have served me for everything in my life (39, translation mine).

In Tucumán province, Macri recruited about 6,500 women and founded three *Unidades Basicas Femeninas*, which were neighborhood centers for women. The Unidades Basicas Femeninas had several functions, among which was that they provided information to women about the political movement and how they could become involved, registered women to take part and taught them the partisan behavior they must conduct themselves with as members. It is noteworthy that Macri (2006) recalls these centers were not solely for political action:

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4   Gill's recollection that Eva Peron called the women who worked with her in political action "her girls" demonstrates an interesting example of "caring citizenship." This notion has been described in adult education literature by Andruske (2003) to refer to the notion that citizenship goes beyond civic duties such as voting; it also describes the process of social action in order to improve the community.

> In these centers, we not only registered affiliates of the Movement but also held several meetings, educational and work endeavors of all types, and housework... we taught the alphabet, dance and gymnastics. (42, translation mine).

The result of women becoming involved in political life in Argentina during these few years under Juan Perón's administration were impressive when compared to other large, democratic countries in the Americas in which women also had the right to vote and run for political office. During the November 1951 presidential elections (in which Perón was the incumbent presidential candidate), 3,816,654 women voted for the first time; (15.4%) and six women senators (20%) joined the Argentinian Congress in 1952 (Marx et al., 2007).[5]

Eva was a figurehead of a movement that helped incorporate women in politics, yet carefully separated them from male politicians[6]. Perhaps organizing a political party for women was a necessary compromise to the "old guard" of male politicians and male Perónists who may have been resistant to women in politics, while still providing the type of environment and necessary encouragement for working class women who were interested in exercising their political voices for the first time.[7]

Women such as Beba Gill seemed keen to participate in political action and travelled to remote parts of the country to take the census and provide information to other women about how they could register to vote. This time when women worked together seems to have had a long-lasting impact on women's participation in politics, if we can take the example of Gill into consideration, as she continued to work as a political activist.

In the instances of other women like Macri, Eva encouraged them to see the connection between social action and becoming more involved politically. This suggests Eva saw these two areas as closely related and a sphere in which women could act, participate and learn.

Discussion: The Impact of Women's Involvement in Eva's Argentina

Working class women found a voice because of the national political and social action initiatives led by Eva. This was an important aspect of her work that helped incorporate thousands of Argentinean women into political and social activities.

The work of these groups is an example of the potential for informal learning through social action, and indicates that Eva acted as an educator in the form of a mentor for many of these women. Through her words and her actions, I suggest she used her leverage from within government to foster initiatives that created greater participation in government by women. Scholars, historians and others might disagree with this assertion, but regardless of these varied points of view, many Argentinian women were participating as political actors and elected officials in government at the time. By creating a network of political offices throughout the country and establishing community centers that encouraged women to meet and discuss issues, Eva's initiatives and public visibility as leader and mentor undoubtedly helped raise awareness about politics and community participation.

Impact on Informal Learning

We are aware through the work of those such as Foley (1999) that informal learning can occur as a result of, and is an integral part of, social movements. This paper brings Foley's work further in that it highlights women's learning in groups, whereas Foley focused on individual learning and on groups of men. To the field of adult education, an exploration of history provides a perspective on how groups of women may have experienced informal learning in the past.

Today, one way in which we can piece together just how significant this political and social movement was within Argentina is to consider that Eva's image is still used as a symbol to represent political and social struggle. A current leader of the female activist group the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo has stated, "Eva Perón did not die… this woman taught us everything" (Télam, 2012, translation mine).

During her life, and arguably even after death, Eva prompted women who, like her, came from the working classes, and invited them to consider their place within and consider actively participating in politics and their communities. The idea of a woman in a prominent position in government, a prominent social activist and leader, was a bold and audacious notion that Eva harnessed and was one aspect of her as an individual actor that no doubt contributed to her long-lasting legacy and the involvement of many women in social and political life.

Areas for future work. Eva Perón is just one part of a larger history of women's activism in Argentina. It would be of interest to the field of adult education for more researchers to explore women's movements in history and in Latin America, Eva was a woman involved in a position of leadership and political power at a time when this was (and still is) rare. The educational impact of leaders in history could be significant and offer another opportunity to explore how

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5   To compare this to Brazil and the United States, in 1952 in the United States there were ten women in the House of Representatives (2.3%) and one in the Senate (1%) (Manning et al., 2013). Brazil, which granted women the right to vote in 1933, saw fewer than 1% of women elected to Congress in the 1930s, 40s and 50s, and for decades until quotas were established in Brazil, that number did not drastically increase (Marx et al., 2007).

6   It is worth noting that there were some practical political considerations for this: by granting women the right to vote and giving them their own political party, the Perónists could earn a tremendous majority of seats in office and gain a significant edge over their opposition.

7   There had been suffrage movements in Argentina in the decades before Eva Perón came on to the scene. It should be noted that the organized feminist groups who had called for the right to vote in previous decades were generally members of the upper classes, the oligarchy the Peróns perceived as their political enemies. The oligarchy was Peron's natural opponent and these groups were swiftly brushed aside in favor of Eva as the figurehead of the suffrage movement.

women acted as leaders, role models, or major influencers in history. More work could also be done to explore the class component of her work.

Limitations. Historical studies are limited by their very nature: they are an imperfect science that requires scholars to "fill in the blanks" and form a story of what happened. The history of Argentina and Eva in particular is politically charged, with primary and secondary sources consulted in this work potentially containing political bias. There is a dearth of primary sources connected to Eva and the women who worked in her political and social action groups because of political events in Argentina from 1955-1971, in which many of these sources were destroyed.

Since there was a strong political and partisan component in Eva's work, it is possible that her social and political action work benefitting her husband's position and party was the primary goal of these activities (Fraser and Navarro, 1996). Another problematic element is that while Eva seemed to support the economic and political independence of women, it could be a stretch for scholars to consider her work as necessarily favorable to women (Zableta, 2000). Finally, the examples of women who worked in her organizations quoted in this work were overwhelmingly positive and biased in favor of Eva; potentially less-favorable attitudes should also be sought.

Conclusion

Eva's life and work are examples of history that is often taken for granted or skimmed over: through stories, movies and Broadway musicals, this historical figure has often been reduced to a mythologized figure. However, upon closer observation of her life and work, and more importantly, the lives, work, and opportunities of the women who were involved in her political party and political action initiatives, a story of how these women learned how to exercise their rights as citizens, politicians and potential agents of change begins to form.

This provides an intriguing example for adult educators who are interested in the history of how women learned informally within political and social movements. Eva enforced her goals of changing the status quo. Increasing the inclusion of working-class individuals and female workers in the social and political landscape of Argentina by spearheading the work in the Foundation Eva Peron and Women's Peronist Party, Eva prompted women who, like her, came from the working classes, and invited them to consider their roles in politics and communities in a new light. The idea of a woman in a prominent position in government, acting as social activist and leader was a bold and audacious notion that Eva ceaselessly represented, contributing to a long-lasting legacy.

Author Note

Amanda Greenman conducted this research as a part of her studies in the Master of Adult Education program at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Can Church Policy Cultivate EC?

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the potential role religion, particularly Christianity, could play in cultivating environmental citizenship by exploring sample environmental policy statements of two church denominations - the United Church of Canada, and the Catholic Church in Canada. We argue that their religious policy statements can serve as an important resource for environmental adult education, as these institutions are not only uniquely posited to engage with environmental policy development at the both national and international levels, they can also serve as a powerful vehicle for more grassroots engagement in EC.

The earth is entrusted to humanity like a garden that is managed but not owned. Humans are responsible for being gardeners for the species of plants and good shepherds for the species. Humanity is accountable, not only for managing the domain entrusted to it, but also for the image of God humans reflect by means of their management.

Commission for Social Affairs
Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops
(2007, p. 2)

The Earth community is a sacred trust. We recognize God's call to live in harmony with this total community … To live within such a holistic relationship requires our discovering the spiritual connection that unites us to the land and that nourishes our souls as well as our bodies.

United Church of Canada Social Policy Position_ One Earth Community (1992)

Background

The quest to live lightly in our world call us to take up environmental citizenship (EC), defined as the coming together to cooperatively build solutions to problems affecting lives and communities and to shift to "a way of being in the world rooted in the knowledge that I am a member of a vast community of human and nonhuman beings that I depend on for essentials I could never provide for myself" (Palmer, 2011, p.31). As this requires such a deep change in how we relate to the natural world, an environmental adult education approach that draws on a spiritual philosophy of learning, "stressing the intrinsic biophysical and spiritual connection of human beings to nature" (Walters, 2009, p. 3), is required. Parallel to the discourse arguing for a spiritually informed approach adult environmental adult education, we note a significant opportunity as Bibby (2004), tracking Canada's religious development over the past 30 years, suggested that "findings point to a religious and spiritual renaissance in Canada – new life added to old life, sometimes within religious groups but often outside" (p. 40). Noting that Bibby referred to both 'religious' and 'spiritual' in his research, it is important to highlight the overlap and the differentiation between these two terms. Briefly, religion is based on both individual and collective relationships, belief systems and practices, while spirituality usually focuses on the individual and the quest for meaning and purpose, connection to a higher being and being interconnected with others and nature (Groen, Coholic, Graham, 2012). However, we align ourselves with English (2012) who argued that religion and spirituality are not totally separate; "rather some people express their spirituality through religious practice (i.e. in more formalized and institutional ways) and others through alternative means" (English, 2012, p. 18). In addition, it is important to acknowledge the role that religious groups and, more specifically, faith based adult educators have played in taking on issues of social justice and change (O'Sullivan, 1999) as evidenced through various initiatives

such as Mondragon, the Antigonish movement and Frontier College (English, 2012).

Using interpretive case study methodology, this research explores the role of formalized religion in Canada, particularly Christianity, in cultivating EC through their spiritual retreat centres; sites of adult learning owned and operated by several church affiliations, such as the United Church of Canada and the Catholic Church in Canada. For this conference presentation, we present study results from the first objective of this study: *How do church affiliations under the umbrella of Christianity, which have spiritual retreat centres, perceive their role in fostering EC? And how does this play out in their policy statements on the environment?* In undertaking this research, we were informed by Hitzhusen (2006, 2012) who argued "the formal authorized environmental dogma of religious policy statements – is one of the more important resources religions can contribute to environmental education" (2006, p. 12). In addition, we posit that policy developed within religious institutions not only has the potential to catalyze environmental engagement and citizenship within their churches and retreat centres; they are is uniquely positioned to engage with policy development at both the national and sub-national levels, an example being the significant policy role of interfaith organizations, such as *Kairos* and *Citizens for Public Justice*.

Theoretical Underpinnings

While the aim of this study is to explore the role of religiously based spiritual retreat centres in cultivating EC, it is important to consider if whether religion and their institutions, e.g., churches, retreat centres and governing bodies, should even be invited to the conversation, much less developing policy statements about the environment, to begin with (e.g., Temple, 1942; Waterman, 1983). Indeed, one perspective posits that Judeo-Christian faiths are ill equipped in this area, and are, in fact, to blame for the present ecological woes (White, 1967). The criticism rests on the anthropocentric values the religions espoused in the Middle Ages, which gave permission to exploit the natural resources for human benefit at the expense of environmental degradation (White, 1967). In other words, since humankind was "given" dominion over the world, it could exploit the environment for its own ends. Notwithstanding the inaccuracy attributed to this one-sided argument, i.e., failing to mention the culture, ideas and thought that anthropocentric Greek and Roman culture has bequeathed to Western society (see Mizzoni, 2004), the outcomes of such debates seem to have limited effect in eco-centric oriented character many contemporary environmental advocacy groups adopt today. For example, Hitshuzen (2006) noted that an environmental educational division of a large environmental non-government organization had convened to assess what role religion might serve in their mission. The material impasse that caused the committee to disband was based on the group's strong objections to the religious notion of "stewardship" and the inconsistency this has with their secular groups' anti-anthropocentric views of environmentalism (p.13). This disagreement

reflects a salient dilemma religious environmental groups face in terms of working with some secular environmental bodies. With all of the problems environmental groups are having in creating change, it prompts the question as to whether religious environmentalism can help achieve a breakthrough or whether or not it will create yet another obstacle for environmental education and activism. In reviewing the literature, we believe there are more arguments for the former.

Religion offers a certain practical solution to the more structural challenges environmentalists might be facing. For instance, in America it has been found that 92% believe in God (Newport, 2011). This statistic is similarly, though less overwhelmingly, reflected in Canada with 2011 Environics Focus Canada project finding that 79 % of Canadians "believe in God or a universal spirit" (Davison, 2013). This means that an audience of approximately 350 million people between two countries may find environmental expression through their belief in God, which lies squarely in the authoritative domain of religion. This, and the growing 150 active spiritual retreat centres in Canada who have the potential to cultivate EC, points to a rather convincing argument that religion plays a practical role in educating adults to take up the EC challenge.

More than simply valorizing religion for its practical utility, there is, in fact, a theoretical confluence between secular EC and what religiously inspired values and policies can provide. The theoretical framework for this study draws on an environmental education approach to cultivating EC developed by Hungerford and Volk (1990) and extended to the religious sphere by Hitzhusen (2006, 2012). Hungerford and Volk (1990) argued that, as learners, we move through phases of understanding about the environment, from initial awareness or sensitivity, to a basic understanding of the environment, on to developing the motivation to acquire skills to solve environmental problems and finally the desire to actively engage in working toward solutions to the environmental crisis at an individual and possibly a societal level. Hungerford and Volk (1990) also suggested critical education components to foster EC, such as teaching significant ecological concepts and providing opportunities to develop environmental sensitivity and citizenship skills. Utilizing Hungerfold and Volk's (1990) model, Hitzhusen's (2006, 2012) made a compelling case for the inclusion of religion and spiritual approaches to learning as we move through the stages; arguing that drawing on a religiously and spiritually based sense of a moral imperative, calling, sacred awe and a position of love for the planet and for each other can be powerful and deep motivators for both personal change and contributions to societal change. As we review a sample of the United and Catholic Church's policy statements regarding their position on the environment, we analyze these statements to ascertain: (a) if and how they align with the secular and religiously extended theoretical frameworks to cultivate EC, and if (b) they have the potential to serve as a catalyst for deeper environmental adult education.

Policy Development: The Process

In order to contextualize the policy positions of these religious institutions, we first offer a brief overview of how policy is developed within each setting. Policy in the United Church of Canada is developed and implemented under the auspices of a General Council, described as the church's highest legislative court: "Ordained, commissioned, and lay commissioners are elected by the Conferences (an administrative grouping of presbyteries in the regional area) and meet every three years to set church policy" (United Church of Canada Web-Site). In turn, policy is implemented through four permanent committees of the General Council, a staff group organized into eight working groups and approximately 100 committees, task groups composed of members from across the country and on the ground within congregations.

The United Church of Canada's positions on the environment are found under the auspices of their statement on social justice, featured as one of their nine central belief statements (i.e. the bible, multi-faith relations). "Ours is a living faith, a faith that is expressed not only in ministry, but also in mission in and with the world" (United Church of Canada Web-Site).). In turn, social justice is broken down to address the intertwining areas of aboriginal peoples, ecology, economic justice, health, human rights, and peace. Policy positions focused on ecology range from a general policy position statement to those focusing on action; particularly advocating the federal government to take a stand or action on a particular issue, the most recent being to "categorically reject construction of the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline" (United Church of Canada Website). As the 'action' oriented statements are based on the underlying social policy position statement – One Earth Community – developed and approved by General Council in 1992, we will narrow our focus to this particular statement. This statement has the following major headings: a vision, the threat, the way forward, and ethical principals for environment and development (11 principals).

Policy development within the Catholic Church in Canada is done under the auspices of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. Whilst recognizing the autonomy of individual Bishops and the direction they provide to their diocese, this conference develops policy directions, through commissions and committees comprised of Catholic Bishops holding interest and expertise in areas that they deem have "national and international scope in areas such as ecumenism and interfaith dialogue, theological, social justice, aid to developing countries, the protection of human life, liturgy, communications and Christian education" (website). Within the Episcopal Commission for Justice and Peace of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (hereafter referred to as ECJPCCCP), consisting of four members who hold four working meetings per year, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops recently published a position statement entitled, *Building a New Culture – Central Themes in Recent Church Teaching on the Environment* (2013). As this statement, like the *One Earth Community* social policy

position statement, focuses on Catholic Church in Canada's position on the environment, as opposed to specific action oriented directives, this is where we focus our attention. This statement, after a short introduction, offers "eight central themes found in recent Church teaching on the environment … these reflect on how a Catholic approach to economic questions, social justice and environmental questions are necessarily viewed in relation to each other" (ECJPCCCP, 2013, p.1).

Policy and EC

The social policy position statements of both religious institutions reflect Hitzhusen's (2006, 2012) and McFague's (2013) view that the first step toward EC starts by cultivating environmental sensitivity or an empathetic perspective toward the environment. Both of these faith communities foster such a position by reinforcing that we have a spiritual connection to the natural world and that we, as God's children, have a responsibility to care for it. For example, the statement of the United Church tells us that, "the Earth community is a sacred trust. … To live within such a holistic relationship requires our discovering the spiritual connection that unites us to the land and that nourishes our souls as well as our bodies" (United Church Social Policy Position, 1992). In turn, the statement of the Catholic Church declares, "The wondrous beauty of creation ought to lead us to recognize within it the artistry of our Creator and to give him praise. The created world is not simply a place to live, or material for our use; it possesses an aesthetic element which can lift our minds to God" (ECJPCCCP, 2013, p.5). Both statements remind us that the natural world has an intrinsic value, far beyond economic worth.

In turn, both policy statements challenge us to move into the second phase of EC as outlined by Hitzhusen (2006) and Hungerford &Volk (1990); ownership of the issues, a desire to learn about the issues, and the beginnings of a personal commitment to engage. "These are factors that make environmental issues personal … and to express their personal commitment to environmental issue resolution as part of a larger commitment to peace, justice, and the integrity of creation" (Hithuizen, 2006, p. 17). In particular, the call to stewardship, taken up as a central plank within both position statements, can serve as a powerful moral imperative to assume personal responsibility for the state of the natural world. The United Church statement, after the threat of our current economic model on the environment is succinctly laid out, argues that the call to stewardship is an irrevocable response; there is no alternative. "We recognize God's call to live in harmony with this total community, to draw on the Earth's sustenance responsibly, and to care for it that all may benefit" and "We need to reaffirm the importance of justice, frugality, humility and reverence for life and nature" (United Church Social Policy Position, 1992). Theme Four, entitled *Responsible Stewardship*, within the Catholic Church's statement states that "as stewards, human beings recognize that the environment does not belong to them, but it a gift entrusted to them which demands responsibility

in action" and also clearly indicates that "we are still betraying the mandate God has given us" (ECJPCCCP, 2013, p. 3)

However, subtle yet notable distinctions exist between these two religious institutions and their positioning of human beings as stewards caring for the world; ranging being situated within creation to one that separates us somewhat from the world around us. While the United Church's stance on stewardship places us in the midst of "one Earth community" and "everyone member of the family must be a full participant in the web of life" (United Church Social Policy Position, 1992), the Catholic Church's stance has a slightly anthropocentric tone, reminding us of the historic tensions more secular environmentalists raise regarding religious involvement in this area. Indeed in the first theme of their position *statement, entitled Human* Beings are Creatures Made in God's Image, we are reminded that while we are part of the natural world, we also transcend it. Indeed, there is a caution to not slip into fully integrated and equal stance with nature.

> If the Church's magisterium expresses grave misgiving about notion of the environment inspired by ecocentrism and biocentrism, it is because such notions eliminate the different of identity and worth between the human person and other living things in the name of a supposedly egalitarian vision of the 'dignity' of all living creatures, such notions end up abolishing the distinctiveness and superior role of human beings. They also open the way to a new pantheism tinged with neo-paganism. (ECJPCCCP, 2013, p. 2)

The final phase of EC proffered by Hungerford and Volk (1990) and extended by Hitzhuizen (2006) is really a call to action through empowerment. In particular Hitzhuizen believes that religion can motivate us to act by tapping into a sense of purpose and meaning we can be "part of a divine initiative [which] can help people or individuals feels their actions will make a difference ... this sort of hope and empowerment borne of religious faith has sustained social activists in other cases, such as the abolition of slavery" (p. 18). For example, within the Catholic Church's statement, we are reminded again of our special place and role within creation, every human has power and is expected to use it for good. To reiterate, if humans are unique and special amongst all of God's other creations, and that creation was intended and designed for a purpose, human beings are furnished with a direct responsibility, as well as power amongst all other species, to effect change.

Finally, both position papers, once they have reminded us of the intrinsic worth and sacredness of creation, that we are stewards of creation and that we are required to take action, outline specific areas that must be addressed such as the economic disparity between the North and the South, the perils of lifestyles addicted to consumerism, the rights of future generations, protecting the biodiversity of the Earth, development decisions that emphasize the prevention of environmental damage, and the establishment of procedures

and mechanisms that foster a transnational approach to environmental issues and disputes. While neither religious institution believes that they are in a position to offer technical solutions to specific issues, they both are compelled lift up areas that must be addressed if we are ever to address our environmental problems.

Concluding Comments

The closing theme in the position statement of the Catholic Church tells us "The church does not propose or evaluate specific technical solutions to our current environmental problems. Rather, her task is to remind people of the relationship between creation, human beings, and the Creator" (ECJPCCCP, 2013, p. 6). This powerful statement reminds us of the unique role that religion, through their environmental position statements, can play in cultivating EC. While neither the environmental policy statements of the United Church of Canada, nor the Catholic Church in Canada focused on developing detailed or technical policy statements, they offer a space for a deeper engagement in environmental education. In particular both policy statements focus on creating environmental sensitivity or an empathetic relationship with nature by tapping into notions of reverence, sacredness and creation as an expression of God. As well, both statements are able to proffer the compelling argument that we as God's stewards are called into environmental awareness and action. The underlying question we have now, while recognizing the powerful call both position statements have to take up EC, is how are these statements taken-up. Are they used as a vehicle for reflection, dialogue and action in local dioceses, churches and indeed retreat centres. They are powerful statements, but are they taken up as powerful tools for environmental education and citizenship?

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Researching Transnational Migration and Adult Education: Toward a Model of Recognitive Adult Education

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Abstract

This study examines the changing nature of adult education in the age of transnational migration and its impact on adult education. Informed by a critical theory of recognition, it proposes recognitive adult education *as an alternative model that offers a broadened perspective on transnational migration and adult education that recognizes their transnational flows and concomitant diasporic allegiances and affiliations.* Recognitive adult education *rejects the deficit model of adult education that seeks to assimilate migrants to the dominant social, cultural, and educational norms of the host society. It proposes instead to build an inclusive adult education that acknowledges and affirms cultural difference and diversity as positive and desirable assets.*

Introduction

As a result of transnational migration, many countries are becoming increasingly ethno-culturally diverse. As newcomers, adult immigrants need educational programs to help them navigate complex paths to citizenship, and to upgrade their language, knowledge and skills to fully participate in the host society. As our populations grow more diverse, it is imperative for adult education to continue its long-standing commitment to social justice by working toward a more inclusive adult education squarely focussed on the benefit of marginalized adult learners (e.g., workers, farmers, women, racialized minorities). In this regard, it is not clear to what extent adult education has upheld its progressive roots in creating inclusive education environments for adult immigrants. This paper examines the changing nature of adult education in the age of transnational migration. The discussion that follows is organized into three parts. It begins with an analysis of theoretical debates related to transnationalism and transnational migration. Then it moves on to examine the impact of transnational migration on adult education and how adult education has responded.

The paper ends with a discussion of its implications for adult education, particularly with respect to recognitive adult education as an alternative model of adult education.

Theorizing Transnational Migration

Migration is a broad term used to describe the movement of populations from one place to another. Often used interchangeably with migration, *immigration* refers to the permanent movement of people from one country to another. Where migration most often refers to the movement of populations between nation-states, *internal migration* is used to describe movements of population within a nation state. For example, it is claimed that in recent decades China has experienced the largest internal migration in human history. Besides "internal migration" and "international migration", the relatively recent term *transnational migration* describes the multiple and circular migration across transnational spaces of migrants who maintain close contact with their countries of origin. With the development of modern transportation and advanced communication technologies, migration has shifted from *inter*-national to *trans*-national, as "multiple, circular and return migrations, rather than a singular great journey from one sedentary space to another, occur across transnational spaces" (Lie, 1995, p. 304). On this view, migrants can no longer be characterized as "uprooted", people who are expected to make a sharp and definitive break from their homelands (Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc, 1995). Instead, their daily lives depend on "multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). In articulating transnational migration, Lie (1995) argues that "the idea of transnationalism challenges the rigid, territorial nationalism that defines the modern nation-state" (p. 304). According to Lie, "transnationalism" makes it possible for imagined diaspora communities to subvert old conceptions of unidirectional migrant passage and replace them with understandings

centred on images of unending sojourn across different lands. It seems clear that the concept of transnationalism provides the necessary theoretical underpinning for transnational migration, which is the focus of this section.

Transnationalism is not a new concept *per se*. According to Kivisto (2001), the earliest articulation of transnationalism was by cultural anthropologists (i.e., Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Szanton Blanc). In its debut in the early 1990s it offered a novel analytical approach to understanding contemporary migration. Sociologist Alejandro Portes is most responsible for popularizing and expanding the use of transnationalism (Portes, 1999; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999; Portes, 2003). Portes et al. (1999) propose three criteria for identifying a transnational phenomenon: the process involves a significant proportion of persons in the relevant universe; the activities of interest possess certain stability and resilience over time; and the content of these activities is not captured by some pre-existing concept. When analyzing transnationalism, individuals and their support networks are regarded as the proper units of analysis. According to Portes et al., a study that begins with the history and activities of individuals is "the most efficient way of learning about the institutional underpinnings of transnationalism and its structural effects" (p. 220). Unlike early transnationalism, which was often limited to elites, contemporary grass-roots transnational activities have developed in reaction to government policies—and to the condition of dependent capitalism foisted on weaker countries—to circumvent the permanent subordination of immigrants and their families. At the grass-roots level, Portes (1999) points out elsewhere, transnationalism offers an economic alternative to immigrant's low-wage dead-end employment situation, gives them political voice, and allows them to reaffirm their own self-worth.

Transitional activities can be organized into three types: economic, political, and socio-cultural (Portes et al., 1999). The main goals of each type are different. To be more specific, transnational economic entrepreneurs are interested in mobilizing their contacts across borders in search of suppliers, capital and markets; transnational political activities aim to foster political power and influence in sending or receiving countries; and socio-cultural transnationalism is oriented toward the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods. Another useful distinction is made between transnationalism "from above" and "from below", initiated respectively by powerful states and corporations, and by grass-roots immigrants and their home country counterparts. In commenting on the fear that transnational activities will slow down the process of assimilation in immigrant host nations, Portes (1999) maintains that transnational activities can actually facilitate successful adaptation by providing opportunities for economic mobility and for a vital and purposeful group life. He also points out that the overall bearing of transnational activities on sending countries is positive, both economically and politically. Migrant remittances and business investments promote economic growth,

and political activism is most likely to align with the forces of change in promoting democracy and reducing corruption and violation of human rights at home. Portes (2003) further argues that transnationalism provides "an alternative path of socioeconomic and political adaptation to the host society not envisioned by traditional models of assimilation" (p. 887).

Researching Transnational Migration and Adult Education

Despite the long tradition of adult education in serving marginalized groups, until recently there has been a lack of interest among adult educators in issues related to transnational migration (Alfred & Guo, 2012). Transnational migration did not draw the attention of the international adult education community until the new millennium when Canadian scholars (Mojab, Ng & Mirchandani, 2000) organized the first roundtable focused on the concept at the joint AERC (Adult Education Research Conference) and CASAE (Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education) conference in Vancouver. Since then we have witnessed an emerging critical scholarship in studies related to transnational migration and adult education focusing on the following topics: devaluation of immigrants' prior learning and work experience; marginalization of immigrant women; volunteering and informal learning; and community-based adult education.

Devaluation of Immigrants' Foreign Credentials

Deskilling and devaluation of immigrants' prior learning and work experience is one of most important issues that has been studied by international adult educators. Despite many countries' preference for highly skilled immigrants and the fact that immigrants bring significant human capital resources to the host country, many well-educated immigrants encounter difficulties in integrating into the host society due to a lack of recognition of prior learning and work experience (Andersson & Fejes, 2010; Brandi, 2001; Guo, 2009, 2013; Morrice, 2013; Shan, 2009a, 2009b; Wagner & Childs, 2006). In Australia, where recruitment addresses specific skills gaps and labour market shortages, skilled migrants, particularly those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, face an ironic situation. Those whose skills are most needed encounter special difficulties in gaining access to these professions (Wagner & Childs, 2006). As Wagner and Childs observe, immigrant optometrists become taxi drivers; social workers become hospital cleaners; teachers become clerical assistants; and environmental engineers stack supermarket shelves. Unfortunately, this experience is not unique to Australia. Italy's "brain gain" has become a "brain waste" (Brandi, 2001). Brandi reports that more than 40% of Rome's skilled migrants, particularly these from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, work in low-skill jobs. Immigrants in Canada face similar challenges. Guo (2013) uses the *triple glass effect* to illustrate the multiple layers of structural barriers facing immigrant professionals in Canada as a result of devaluation of their prior

learning and work experiences, including a *glass gate*, *glass door*, and *glass ceiling*. While a *glass gate* denies immigrants' entrance to guarded professional communities, a *glass door* blocks immigrants' access to professional employment at high-wage firms. Finally, the *glass ceiling* prevents immigrants from moving into management positions because of their ethnic and cultural differences. Highly educated refugees in Sweden and the UK encounter similar barriers (Andersson & Fejes, 2010; Morrice, 2013).

Lack of access to the professional occupations for which immigrants have prior learning and work experience leads to unemployment and underemployment, poor economic performance, and downward social mobility. In tracing its root causes, Guo (2009) attributed the devaluation phenomenon to epistemological misperceptions of difference and knowledge and an objectivist ontology and liberal universalism. The deficit model of difference leads to conflation of "difference" and "deficiency", as well as a belief that the knowledge of immigrant professionals, particularly those from developing countries, is incompatible and inferior, and, hence, invalid. Knowledge has been racialized and materialized on the basis of ethnic and national origin. Furthermore, our commitment to an objectivist ontology and liberal universalism exacerbates the complexity of this process. Guo's study demonstrates that by applying a one-size-fits-all criterion to the measurement of immigrants' credentials and experience, liberal universalism denies immigrants opportunities to be successful in the new society. It also reveals that discourses of "professional standards" and "excellence" have been used as a cloak to restrict competition and legitimize existing power relations. Once heralded by adult educators as potentially the most radical innovation since the introduction of mass formal education (Thomas, 1998), it seems evident that prior learning assessment and recognition (PLAR) has become a serious barrier to adult learning rather than a facilitator. The difficulties immigrant professionals face to being recognized in the host society suggest that PLAR procedures have been deployed as technologies of power and a system of governing in discounting and devaluating immigrants' prior learning and work experience, thus reducing adult education to a system of exclusion and a mode of social control (Andersson & Guo, 2009).

Marginalization of Immigrant Women

The situation of immigrant women is worse still. A number of studies demonstrate that immigrant women face multiple barriers in adapting to the host society, particularly in accessing the labour market, owing to disadvantages inscribed by gender, class, and race (Fenwick & Mirchandani, 2004; Gibb & Hamdon, 2010; Maitra & Shan, 2007; Mojab, 1999; Ng, 1999; Shan, 2009a, 2009b). Feminist scholars argue that, in the labour force, the category of "immigrant women" serves to commodify these women to employers (Mojab, 1999; Ng, 1999). Their existing lower class positions are reinforced when they provide cheap, docile labour to the state under exploitive conditions, often permeated with racism and sexism. Maitra and Shan (2007) showed how highly skilled professional immigrant women learn to reorient and re-shape their skills, experiences, and aspirations in order to secure employment in ways that can be both conformative and transgressive. In a study with immigrant women in Toronto, Shan (2009a) found that the women resort to re-training and re-education as a means to improve their employment prospects. She uses the credential and certificate regime to explain the social process and practices that attribute differential values to credentials and certificates produced in different places. Some women also resort to strategic tolerance, mobilize their prior knowledge and expertise, and become agents of change (Shan, 2009b). Shan further argues that the legitimate space presupposed in situated learning was an entitlement that the women had to earn in Canada. Crucially, adult educators took up these issues and examined how gender, class, and race interacted to shape the experience of immigrant women, particularly women of colour.

Volunteering and Informal Learning

Volunteering has been identified by many researchers as a powerful source of informal learning (Guo, 2014; Sawchuk, 2008; Slade & Schugurensky, 2010). Immigrants volunteer for a range of reasons, from altruism to learning new skills for career advancement. Through volunteering, immigrants learn the necessary language, skills and knowledge required by new citizens for successful integration into the host society. Immigrants consider informal learning from the volunteer experience to be more significant than formal, job-related training. One of the most valued areas of learning through this process is communication skills. As alluded to earlier, one of the most prominent issues facing immigrants is unemployment and underemployment. In this context, volunteering has been adopted by many immigrants as a strategy to gain local work experience and improve their access to the labour market (Slade & Schugurensky, 2010). Volunteering and informal learning are seen as important stepping stones for the integration of immigrants in helping them navigate the complex paths to citizenship. Unlike traditional forms of volunteering, which are freely chosen, the decision of immigrants to volunteer is often the result of labour market pressures. In this sense, Slade and Schugurensky (2010) argue, for immigrants volunteering is more coerced than an expression of individual freedom. Furthermore, volunteering helps immigrants build a community and a sense of belonging. Immigrants participate in volunteer activities to fulfill their social responsibilities as active citizens to take collective action in providing mutual support to newcomers, helping them overcome barriers in settlement and adaptation in the new society (Guo, 2014). In this sense, volunteering becomes an important site for the kind of social action and emancipatory learning that Foley (1999) speaks of.

Community-Based Adult Education

A number of studies investigate the potential for community organizations to act as spaces and places of adult education for recent immigrants (Guo, 2006; Guo & Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Kim, 2010). A common issue faced in serving immigrants lies in the "sameness" approach, which treats all adult learners as having the same learning needs and backgrounds, thus negating and denigrating immigrant learners' rich socio-cultural diversity and complexity (Guo, 2010). As a consequence, many adult immigrant learners feel alienated and excluded. Since mainstream adult education organizations fail to provide immigrants with education programs that are culturally and linguistically accessible and appropriate, community-based adult education has become an alternative in providing inclusive and equitable programs to adult immigrants. In Canada, ethno-cultural organizations play an important role in promoting adult and lifelong education (Guo, 2006; Guo & Guo, 2011). They are effective and responsive in providing culturally and linguistically accessible and appropriate educational programs to adult immigrants, including language education, employment programs, business development and training, counselling services, and community development. Their programs have helped immigrants ease the process of settlement and adaptation. More importantly, they have created homes and communities to which immigrants feel they belong. Elsewhere, Jackson (2010) in the UK and Kim (2010) in South Korea report similar findings. In particular, they emphasize on the importance of the social spaces these organizations have created, which enable immigrants to network with each other to affirm identities, develop relational capital and an enhanced sense of belonging. As transitional institutions, they have acted as stepping stones for immigrants to integrate into mainstream society and as mediators between individual immigrant and receiving states. They also demonstrate that communities are important sites for emancipatory learning and social action (Cunnigham, 2000; Welton, 2001).

Conclusion: Toward a Model of Recognitive Adult Education

The above discussion highlights the changing landscape of adult education characterized by cross-disciplinary and multidisciplinary orientations and activities focusing on the complexity of immigrant experiences. The four themes that emerge from this analysis demonstrate that the changing diversity resulting from transnational migration poses both challenges and new opportunities for further development in adult education. In the process of building socially just and inclusive adult education, we have witnessed two prominent challenges confronting adult educators in our daily practice: the "difference as deficit" perspective which views difference as deficiency; and the "sameness" approach assuming that all learners have the same background and learning needs. Despite its long-standing commitment to social justice, this analysis demonstrates that adult education has played a dual role in responding to transnational migration and cultural diversity as both enabler and constrainer. Immigrant women's marginalized experiences and the devaluation of immigrants' prior learning and work experience suggest that adult education has created a system of exclusion and a model of social control. In this sense, adult education has failed to respond positively to the changing needs of adult immigrants and failed to embrace cultural diversity and difference that recent immigrant learners bring to adult education settings. On the other hand, community-based, informal learning indicates that adult education has created important spaces for emancipatory learning and social action. In this view, adult education remains an enabler.

To reclaim the radical roots of adult education for social inclusion, I propose *recognitive adult education* as a paradigm shift in building inclusive and socially just educational environments. *Recognitive adult education* is in alignment with the principles of recognitive justice, which provide an expanded understanding of social justice insisting that we must rethink not only what we mean by social justice, but also acknowledge the place of social and cultural groups within this space (Fraser, 2000, 2008; Gale & Densmore 2000; Guo, 2010). Recognitive justice advocates three necessary conditions for social justice: the fostering of respect for different social groups through their self-identification; opportunities for self-development and self-expression; and the participation of groups in decision-making through group representation (Gale & Densmore, 2000). Since a society without intra-group differences is neither possible nor desirable, recognizing the validity of social and cultural groups is essential for their identity, sense of worth, and self esteem (Fraser, 2000, 2008; Honneth, 2008). Fraser explains that claims for recognition have become the "paradigmatic form of political conflict" since the late 20th century (Fraser, 2008, p. 188). Treating recognition as a matter of social status, she argues that the struggle for recognition means "examining institutionalized patterns of cultural value for the effects on the relative standing of social actors" (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). To be misrecognized, according to Fraser, is to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, which constitutes a form of institutionalized subordination and a serious violation of justice. In this view, redressing misrecognition should aim at overcoming subordination, replacing institutionalized value patterns that impede parity of participation with ones that foster it. To achieve this goal, Fraser suggests developing a critical theory of recognition that can coherently combine two analytically distinct kinds of remedy, redistribution and recognition, which are fundamental to achieving the justice of representation that ensures equal political voice (Fraser, 2009).

It is this notion of recognitive justice that informs the notion of *recognitive adult education* that offers a broadened perspective on migration that recognizes its transnational flows and concomitant diasporic allegiances and affiliations. It seeks to balance freedom of mobility with protection, recognition, and membership. *Recognitive adult education* rejects the deficit model of adult education that seeks to assimilate migrants to the dominant social, cultural, and

educational norms of the host society. It proposes instead to build an inclusive education that acknowledges and affirms cultural difference and diversity as positive and desirable assets. These assets are seen as a means of ensuring the participation of individuals from socially and culturally differentiated groups in social, political, and educational institutions. It challenges Eurocentric perspectives, standards, and values and accepts presently marginalized knowledges as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience. This framework will inform policymakers, researchers, and practitioners in developing inclusive policies and initiatives in the area of adult education, immigrant settlement and integration, work and learning in order to embrace people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

"It's a Powerful Thing": Arts-based Community Research on Intergenerational Learning in Indigenous Textiles

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ABSTRACT

Working on arts-based community research to explore intergenerational learning about textiles in Indigenous communities produced original stories about knowledge transfer between generations of weavers and beaders; in Chile and Saskatchewan, Canada respectively. The original, arts-based Indigenous methodologies garnered data which produced rich stories and findings. The research mobilization phase involved having study participants decide how they wanted to share the results of the research. Several unexpected outcomes surfaced, in addition to exposing the work of the Indigenous women (ages 24-95 years) to a wider audience – academic, community-based, collectors, artists and the public. Insights are ultimately shared on the process.

Background to the Study

Over the past two years, I have been researching intergenerational learning with Indigenous weavers from Chile and beaders from Saskatchewan. In particular, I worked with textile communities of practice using research methodologies that spurred memories and stories. The relationships with academic and community collaborators along with the arts-based Indigenous methodologies applied when the study participants, all women, gathered to tell stories as part of the research process were significant to the process. Among other things, this included efforts building relational networks with Indigenous communities of practice, developing ethical and appropriate frameworks, and drawing upon postcolonial methodologies (Chilisa, 2012; Green, 2007; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). The methodologies also included using artifacts to draw out memories, stories and testimonies about intergenerational learning. This paper discusses the research process, methodologies, and then offers insights and critical reflection on these.

The participants gathered in their perspective countries (and communities) in story-telling discussion circles to share knowledge and testimonies about their work in beading and weaving. When Mary, an elder from Montreal Lake Cree Nation started to talk about beading, she said, "It's a powerful thing." For me, her words came to symbolize how learning of the art of beading represented stories of tradition, of love, of healing, of resilience and of sharing.

According to the literature, a *community of practice* is a site of learning where people are linked by a sense of belonging, meaning, identity and practice. Because of its stability and because of the regard for situated learning within it the concept of organization seemed an appropriate one for research on informal learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). I worked with academics and community-based Indigenous people to determine which sites would be best for the research process. The sites in Chile included four communities in the South of the country. In Saskatchewan the process of recruiting participants was different. It involved more relational networks – families and friends contacting each other. Most participants recruited came from northern communities.

Arts-based, Indigenous Research Methodologies

The study involved holding two story-circle focus groups in each country. These were inspired by Indigenous research methodologies. The study participants included Mapuche weavers from Chile and Cree, Dene, and Metis beaders from Saskatchewan, Canada. Significant to the study was the use arts-based Indigenous methodologies. The methodologies included using artifacts placed in the centre of the circle on a blanket. The artifacts included beading items the participants were asked to bring – items they were working on or that reminded them of stories about learning to bead. They were used to draw out memories and stories of intergenerational learning. The focus groups in particular, involved working through images and story circles. Specifically, symbol-based learning and story circle focus groups emphasized oral traditions and learning based on senses,

including the visual, aural, and tactile (Bourdieu, 1999; see also dé Ishtar, 2005; Silko, 1990). Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work on bodily narration addresses how knowledge can be expressed and conveyed through postures and gestures, which articulate deeper emotional aspects of the participants' memories (dé Ishtar, 2005). Such a notion invokes the concept of "blood memory," also be referred to as bone memory (Allen, 1999; see also Henderson, 2000; Lavalléee, 2009). As a way of knowing, blood memory asserts that extended kinship passes on teachings and cultural practices, including rituals and ceremonies, from generation to generation (Henderson, 2000). In this way, memory engaged with a profound body of Indigenous knowledge, to illustrate intergenerational learning and life histories through storytelling. In Indigenous communities, sharing circles focus on storytelling and personal narrative are considered a specific strand of Indigenous knowledge (Baskin, 2005; Lavallée, 2009). Lavallée states:

> There is recognition that the spirits of our ancestors and the Creator are present in the circle and guide the process. Energy is created in the circle by the spirit of the people involved. The circle is nonjudgmental, helpful, and supportive. Respect is important, and this includes listening to others. (p. 30)

Sharing circles may be viewed as an anticolonial epistemology in the sense that they involve the direct involvement of participants within the research, thereby unhinging dynamics related to power/ knowledge and to promote empowerment, inclusivity, and respect (Dickson, 2000). Sharing circles were a key method used in the study data gathering process. Lavallée (2009) uses Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection as part of an arts-based research approach that emphasizes story-telling and community engagement. This method encourages participants to identify, represent, and engage through creative approaches that connect with memory, personal narrative, and collective history.

In this qualitative research, the process attempted to situate the individual with the collective and the researcher with participants, and to emphasize lived experience, interconnectedness and holism, and healing. The arts-based, storytelling methodology used in the research both engaged adult learners from three generations in discussions about their lives, and produced examples of healing, resilience and intergenerational knowledge sharing that were community-based and socially complex. Participants had brought items such as jewelry, moccasins and clothing that were items they were creating and/or things that had been made by them, or for them, by others. Along with the student research assistants, I also supplied pieces of fur, needles, beads, photos and other artifacts that might trigger stories. In Chile, the items included wool rugs, items for dying wool, wool, and photos.

The stories that follow were created following the story-circle process. One is from rural Chile and the other from Saskatchewan, Canada. Both are from women who live in isolated communities.

Ingrid[1]: A Mapuche-Pehuenche story from Chile.

Like the other local Mapuche women, Ingrid came to the meeting at the co-operative wearing her working clothes. Her pants were well worn and she rolled up the sleeves on her sweater above her elbows before sitting down – seemingly, a gesture of getting ready to work. Her long, black hair was pulled back in a ponytail. She wears no make-up or jewelry. Ingrid is a 34 years old Mapuche women and a weaver. She sat on a thin chair with her arms and legs crossed. Once the research team was introduced, she held her head up and looked attentive, and, after looking around for confirmation, she was the first to talk. She said her name and age, and identified herself as Mapuche Pehuenche[2]. She told us that she speaks her native language *Mapudugún*, and that she has two sons, ages 16 and 11 years old. She said that she first learned to spin yarn when she was six years old. She said this is a common age for learning because this is when children spend a lot of time around the yarn, helping their mother, and playing with the yarn as she works. Ingrid's mother learned in the same way – from her mother.

Ingrid knows how to knit, but finds weaving with the loom very difficult. That is the reason why, according to her, women help each other in the coop, so that they can create textiles of perfect quality, making no mistakes. As the conversation continues, she told us about the dying techniques that they used to color the yarn, all the while emphasizing that the weavers from the coop only work with natural elements, for as in the past, they use roots from local plants to dye the yarn.

Betty: A Cree story from Saskatchewan.

Betty shared childhood memories of beading and tanning hides (hides later used for beading) with her mother, sister and grandmother. Betty's earliest memories are sensory and she described how her mother and sister did most of the work that goes into tanning hides. "My mother was the one that actually used to do hides. I didn't like doing hides at all. I used to clean up the house, tear the house up inside out, but my sister used to help scrape the hides and…take the meat off the hides. The only thing I used to do was I used pull the hides with my mother… I guess home to me was the smell of hide. Every time you could smell that piece of hide it actually made, it was comforting because you knew you were home".

Betty recalls her grandmother's beading, ever present on the kitchen table and that she always wondered at how her grandmothers managed everything. "Because not only did they do hides, they made moccasins, they made… they were

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1   Names used in the stories have been changed to protect the identity of the study participants.

2   The name comes from these people's routine of harvesting "piñones", which are the seeds of the Araucaria or Pehuén tree. The Pehuenche lived in the mountains around Lonquimay volcano.

so multiply skilled. They'd be cooking bannock, cooking soup, and doing their hides and then, they'd be making their moccasins… And they still cleaned the house. So they did a lot of things at the same time".

Betty made her first pair of baby moccasins when she was twelve years old, but says she was motivated to learn how to bead when she started making another craft - dreamcatchers. "It was always a challenge… learning to bead something original, different was important… I made a beaded medicine wheel that probably took me a whole year to do and mainly because it was kind of like healing therapy." Betty researched every part of the medicine wheel to pass it on to her Auntie because her Auntie was "having a hard time because of the fact that we lost my Dad. My Dad was her rock and so I had to send her something special to make sure that she understood it wasn't the end of the world. So I guess in every piece of, it's not just beading that makes everything… It's a part of making… it's a piece of art. It expresses you. It expresses how you feel."

Through the stories, examples of intergenerational learning, of identity, of history and of cultural knowledge were passed on. Each telling of a storey invited the production of stories from others. At certain points, the tellers picked up items from the artifacts in the centre of the circle and passed them around to others. No one interrupted because the methodology of sharing circles was understood by the participants. This study, specifically, used symbol-based learning and story circle focus groups, which privileged oral tradition and story-based learning that was premised on the reciprocal relationship between the teller and listener (Chilisa, 2012; Lavalléee, 2009). The familiarity of such approaches to those who grew up in Indigenous communities then transferred into knowledge-sharing, local and personal, thereby transforming theories and practices, and additionally, exposing social realities.

Locating the researcher position

This research emerged from an engagement with Indigenous communities internationally and locally, personally and politically, that spanned three decades. My experiences included living with the Mapuche people in Chile, working in Aboriginal education at various levels formally and informally in Canada, being an ally in solidarity with Indigenous rights, and living with a Métis partner. The work I initiated in Chile also resulted in institutional memorandums of understanding between universities in Chile and Canada which I think, provided an additional layer of support for the project.

My research position was to use methodologies that weave ethical approaches, participatory models of research, self-reflexivity and a critique of researchers' social subjectivities, and Indigenous research practices and worldviews within anti-colonial research. As Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) asserts, contemporary research involving Indigenous peoples and communities must address the "relationship between knowledge and power, between research and emancipation, and

between lived reality and imposed ideals about the other" (p. 165). Thus, it was necessary that the research methodologies engaged with decolonizing processes that sought to unhinge power relations and provide an ethical, culturally-based foundation for practice (Ermine, 2000). For example, the language of use was critical and accessibility to the study also depended upon availability of translation. Several of the participants spoke only in their Indigenous language and others were invited to do so as well. The use of a community coordinator and elders in this process was seen as crucial. Indigenous scholars argue for processes that are holistic and mutualistic (Battiste & Henderson, 2000), community-driven and guided by an Elder (dé Ishtar, 2005), and wherein the researcher locates themselves and their social position as part of a decolonizing practice. The choice of study methods and the involvement of the study participants in sharing the results was therefore critical in the process.

The Findings
Saskatchewan, Canada.

The first focus/discussion group took place at an Indigenous heritage site in Saskatchewan – Wanuskewin. At that gathering, there were fourteen study participants aged 24 to 95 years. They represented Metis, Cree and Dene ancestry. Most were originally from Northern (Indian) reserves in Saskatchewan. The session was opened by an elder and then participant consent forms were described in simple English. Translation was available at all times and three participants chose to speak in Cree, dispersed with English. Time was built in for eating together, sharing knowledge informally, and responding to the research questions. The informal sharing was considered part of the research process and part of relationship building. The second focus group was held at a youth cultural centre, White Buffalo Lodge. The site of the focus groups was important for the comfort or the study participants and situating the learning context.

Important learnings garnered from the Canadian context of beading *communities of practice* was the idea of *observation* as a learning pedagogy; that the meaning of the work was not associated with economic prosperity or work inside the global marketplace; that men were routinely involved in the process; there was a strong desire to share the learning; and that older generations were more likely to speak about the beading process as connected to the land and the animals. For example, the older learners always started their stories by explaining something about the hunt or the tanning of the hides; the younger learners generally spoke only about the act of beading. Although the literature and this study support the idea of common threads connecting beading and Aboriginal art as living, adaptive, resilient and rooted in tradition (Farrell Racette & Robertson, 2009; Blady, 1995), the stories from the focus groups also suggest that the intergenerational impacts from forces of globalization may be disrupting the connection of the beading work from the land and animals. The younger people often spoke about learning beading from family members or workshops, but unlike the elders, they did not connect it to hunting or tanning hides.

Southern Chile.

In Southern Chile, I first travelled and met with weavers from four communities – 23 weavers in total. Most of the participants were not familiar with the communities of each other. The visit to four communities was then followed by a larger gathering wherein three-four women from each of the four communities came together. There was time built in for socializing, eating, and learning from each other. The second, large focus group was held at a museum in Temuco, so that women would have the opportunity to attend an Mapuche exhibit at the local museum. A translator for *Mapudugún*-Spanish was also present.

The findings from this group also demonstrated intergenerational learning as something held with great cultural pride, but others noted that it came to certain communities because of economic needs not traditional practices. Similar to the communities in Saskatchewan, the weaving was done as a source of bartering or as a way of clothing one's family. The women spoke with pride about weaving as the greatest heritage they have from their mother or grandmother and said it defined their sense of culture and pride. They believe that the main reason why Mapuche stopped wearing *chamal* was to avoid discrimination and because buying industrial clothing was easier. The impact of rural migration and globalization have shifted the learning of Mapuche practices for younger generations as many youth are leaving their communities and merging into urban landscapes. Study participants also noted that a renewal of Indigeneity and interest in Indigenous lives from non-Indigenous communities made it easier to continue weaving.

Interestingly in both locations, textile work was associated with well-being and a way of relieving oneself from stressful things. This was especially noted in relation to gender relations and women commenting about stressful situations with their husbands and how working on textiles was a way to get away from this.

Research mobilization.

The research mobilization phase of the research involved having the study participants determine how they wanted to share the results of the research to a wider audience. In Saskatchewan, this included an art gallery exhibit of beading; in Chile efforts to write a book. Several unexpected outcomes surfaced, in addition to exposing the work of the Indigenous women (ages 24-95 years) to a wider audience – academic, community-based, collectors, artists and the public. Community ownership over the results was viewed as an important part of this process and a way of finding reciprocity in the research.

Critical Reflections from the Research

Important to the study was understanding how intergenerational learning and knowledge sharing are practiced in two distinct Indigenous communities, and further, how such learning and work sustain communities and cultural identities. Other benefits included a validation of the work women engaged in and in at least one location, the women decided to form a local beading group which continued to meet informally after the study was complete. Most importantly, the outcomes were intended to validate the knowledge of the study participants in ways that were respectful and culturally relevant because they included processes of engaging in co-creation of knowledge or reciprocal work. I feel that the art exhibit achieved this in Saskatchewan. The book remains an ongoing process.

Engaging in a research practice that involved non-Indigenous researchers building relationships and collaborations that value and highlight Indigenous lived experiences and epistemologies is challenging and takes personal commitment beyond the scope of traditional Western research paradigms. Such a commitment includes building relationships with Indigenous people and communities, developing ethical and appropriate frameworks, and learning and implementing postcolonial methodologies. These attributes of practice are seldom straight-forward or linear. Further, they were challenged by Euro-western thoughts and practices. For example, when the research participants in Canada expressed interest in sharing results of the research through an exhibition, not only was there a challenge in how to organize such an event, but the participants' relationship with the art gallery was non-existent and comfort levels in entering the gallery, as well as putting their goods on display, was fraught with unexpected tensions. Ten days prior to the exhibition opening, for example, I still did not have any goods to put on display. Since I also had no experience curating an art show, this put me under considerable stress. To get the items for the exhibition I had to drive to reserve communities as far as four hours by vehicle, meet people in the parking lot of Tim Horton's, and contact various family members. Although this was at times onerous, and I questioned my own motivation in doing this, it also allowed me to attend feasts and develop new relationships in Indigenous communities. These relationships translated into unexpected results such as meeting Band Chiefs at the exhibit, requests for photos from governing bodies of communities (i.e. Band and Council), and new personal friendships. I also had to accept that it was okay to frame your own work (as one study participant did) using a chopstick and band-aids to assist.

Individuals who had experienced negative encounters with researchers further challenged me in several communities. In particular, signing the ethical consent forms was viewed as suspicious. Working with local, community coordinators in this regard was very helpful as the explanations for doing the research became ones they took on. There was at least one instance were a family member refused to participate, but sat in on the story circle to observe. On another occasion, an elder questioned why I asked that children under eighteen not be allowed to participate as this is contrary to their cultural ways of operating. Again, deferring to the community coordinator altered the situation. Such experiences are awkward and thought-provoking, but also humbling as they remind the Western researcher whose territory the research is taking place in and whose power dynamic is being put into question.

In Chile the women who participated in the study asked for a book to be produced. The collaborators had their own agendas and delays meant that although they were committed to writing the book, the dynamics were local. These encounters do not always meet the need of the funders or academic schedules. They are however, part of understanding a decolonizing methodology and of deconstructing how borders limit possibilities for fully understanding interconnections between people and places. It is my hope the learnings from this research may have implications for the theory and practice of adult and lifelong learning in diverse contexts – particularly as they apply to decolonizing methodologies and reciprocal processes or knowledge sharing.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Transforming White Racial Consciousness in Rural Canadian Communities

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ABSTRACT

This narrative inquiry explored how anti-racist White Canadians from rural and small town communities have become conscious of race, racism, and White privilege, and how their localized identities have impacted their transformative learning processes. The study used a blended methodology and mixed methods, and the personal voice of the researcher was situated through the use of ethnography. A review of adult education literature revealed gaps in the research on the socio-cultural context of transformative learning (Taylor, 2007; Manglitz, 2003), and generally on racism in Canada (Henry & Tator, 2010). The results of the study include recommendations to educators and researchers about approaches to teaching about race and racism in rural Canadian communities, and the importance of a critical understanding of White identity and its complicated relationship to ethnicity, geography, and other formative aspects of White identity.

Context of the Study

Working in a college in a small city in south-eastern Ontario, I interact with students, employees, and community members who share my background as a White, British-descent, rural, first generation post-secondary educated[1] Canadian. I have observed again and again how rural White learners shrink from human rights discussions in the classroom, maintaining quiet, watchful expressions as others share their experiences interacting in diverse environments. In considering their needs and how best to engage them in anti-racism education, I have been propelled to reflect on how I came to understand race and racism as a rural learner myself. Canada's rural population is about 6 million people (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008), and this does not even

include the many citizens living in small towns like Peterborough. Less than 6 percent of Peterborough residents declare themselves to be either members of visible minorities or Aboriginal persons, and this number drops to 3.3 percent in neighbouring Lindsay (Statistics Canada, 2011). This is not the portrait of urban Canada, but rather of small towns and rural communities in many parts of the country. Kincheloe (1999) stated

> There is a new consciousness about race in contemporary Western societies. The crisis of whiteness has ended the notion of white racial invisibility, substituting in its place questions about how Whites, young Whites in particular, will construct a new white identity in this new racial world. (p. 8)

Engaging White Canadians in this process is as important in rural communities and small towns as large urban centres.

Facilitating anti-racism education is challenging in all contexts though, not just in rural communities. Helping adults to identify racism in Canadian society, as well as their own privilege and ethnocentrism, is a difficult and often emotional dialogue. Discrimination is often subtle or masked in societies like Canada that have what Henry and Tator (2010) label as "democratic racism" (p. 9), when "principles such as justice, equality, and fairness conflict but coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment, and discrimination against them" (p. 9-10). In his introduction to a Canadian text on racism in higher education, Heer (2012) identifies the discomfort Canadians feel in discussing race, preferring to think of their American neighbours as the ones with the racism problem (p. 12). Yet research clearly demonstrates that racialized communities are increasingly marginalized in Canada's labour market (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Real inclusion and appreciation of diversity may not be as deeply embedded in Canadian values as we would like to think.

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[1] "First Generation student" is now a designation used in Ontario colleges and universities to identify a student "whose parents have not participated in postsecondary studies" (Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities, 2013). These learners have access to additional supports in recognition of the barriers they experience.

Three important bodies of knowledge informed this study: critical whiteness theory (Engles & Thompson, 2006) to help me resist the dominance of White supremacist thinking in my analysis; transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 2002) to help me locate important marker points in participant learning journeys; and critical democratic citizenship education (Veugelers, 2007) to ground what I learned in praxis and the concrete world of my work as a human rights educator in an Ontario college. These bodies of theory shaped my research questions. I anchored the first question in transformative learning theory: how do White Canadians from rural areas and small towns learn about race and racism and experience shifts in the meaning perspectives and habits of mind shaped by the White paradigm in a Canadian context? Secondly, I used an intersectional analysis to explore the holistic learning of participants: how have participants' experiences of both marginalization (including the intersecting elements of ethnicity, class, and geography) and privilege (and in particular White privilege) situated and impacted their cognitive, affective, embodied, and social learning?

I used Paxton's (2010) concept of the White paradigm, or White worldview, as a backdrop to the analysis. This paradigm sets the cultural norms for behaviour in a predominantly White, post-colonial society, and affects everyone who lives in that society. I also relied on Kincheloe's (1999) explanation of the historical construction of whiteness, which reveals how people of different European backgrounds were gradually absorbed into an ever-expanding notion of whiteness by the Anglo-Saxon majority in North America over several centuries. While not every participant in this study described whiteness in such large terms, their stories provided clues to some of the components of White identity.

Research Methodology

I chose a qualitative approach to explore these two research questions. In anti-racist qualitative methodologies, both the researcher and the participant have subjective, situated identities and voices (Dei, 2005). I chose to combine narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and auto-ethnography (Chapkis, 2010), blending methodologies to capture both the personal and cultural dimensions of how anti-racists have learned through experience. I interviewed five participants who were members of two local agencies promoting diversity and anti-racism education, and I created an auto-ethnography about the rural community I grew up in and how it shaped my White identity. Mixed methods are highly recommended for capturing depth in data (Demerath 2006; Mertens, 2005; Taylor, 2007), and so I used several data collection methods: a pre-interview questionnaire to select participants, individual conversational style interviews based on a semi-structured set of interview questions, artifact collection, and auto-ethnographic journaling. The pre-interview questionnaire determined if participants had spent a significant period of their lives (20 or more years) in rural communities or small towns, and if they identified as

an anti-racist based on a definition by Calgary Anti-racism Education (CARED) at the University of Calgary:

> A person who practices anti-racism is someone who works to become aware of: how racism affects the lived experience of people of colour and Indigenous people; how racism is systemic, and has been part of many foundational aspects of society throughout history, and can be manifested in both individual attitudes and behaviours as well as formal (and 'unspoken') policies and practices within institutions; and how white people participate, often unknowingly, in racism. (CARED, n.d., para. 5)

The questionnaire also assessed their level of racial consciousness based on Frankenberg's (1993) 5 stages of White racial consciousness, and all five tested at the highest level, *race cognizance: transforming silence into language and action*. I used the constant comparative method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to analyse the data, and a summary of the findings follows. Any references to participant comments in the summary use pseudonyms.

Findings

Finding #1: White identity is complex and rural realities affect its formation

Many critical theorists, like Kincheloe (1999), Williams Paris and Schoon (2007), and Heilman (2004), have countered the tendency in anti-racism work to essentialize whiteness, and emphasized the complexity of White identity. This study tested this concept against the life experiences of five committed Canadian anti-racists. Not one participant saw themselves as simply White, but rather described hybridized identities that were shaped by ancestry, immigration histories, local geographies, class, and gender. Embracing their history was important in their journeys, and arriving at Frankenberg's (1993) fifth level of White racial consciousness involved critically reflecting on this history.

Ancestry and identity emerged as different angles from which to view one's personal experience of whiteness. Casey's experience when her grandmother revealed her hidden Haudenosaunee Mohawk identity to the family shows the contradictions that can surface:

> I have some aunties and some cousins who … very much reject being indigenous. They don't identify and … actually have a lot of resentment around it … I remember being privy to this conversation … where they [said] … "I'm not an Indian!" ... and my grandmother [said], "I don't know who you think you are, but you're my children and grandchildren, and I know who I am, and you just don't get to be like 'I elect to skip out of this.'"

As an adult, Casey chose to embrace her indigenous ancestry and identify as both Mohawk *and* Scottish, indigenous

and White, even though she was raised to see herself as a White woman.

David and Helena also embraced the dominant and the specific within themselves, as White and Scandinavian or White and Fries (an ethnic identity within the Netherlands). Helena added, "I would describe myself as first generation Canadian and I would claim that label much more today than I used to. I used to want to get rid of that label." Her hybrid identity was shaped by the immigrant experience of her parents, who came to Canada from the Netherlands as migrant workers. While the ancestral ethnic identities of these participants are racialized within the White paradigm, they claim both identities, unlike American abolitionists who reject their whiteness in favour of their ethnicity (Moon & Flores, 2000).

Aileen identified more readily as "rural" than White or British, perhaps related to her family's long history in the region, and several of us seemed to share this sense that who we are may have been even more powerfully shaped by the culture of farming than by a conscious connection to our ethnic culture. On the other hand, White people do have the option to ignore race, and this is what Frankenberg (1993) defined as the colourblindness stage of awareness. Krista saw this in her mother's ability to ignore her adopted sister's racial differences.

> [My mother would] just sort of pretend that you are the same as everybody else … [but] when [my sister] was in grade 8, they would wait for her at the bus and beat her up and call her nigger woman, and she actually left home at 13 and went to Toronto and never came back … she and [name withheld]. He was gay and she was not totally White, so they left.

Clearly other people did not see her sister as White as her mother did. Casey also reminded us that "At the end of the day, even if you accrue benefits from it because you have White privilege or whatever, it is damaging for everyone." Participants described some of these socially and spiritually harmful effects of White privilege as isolation, conflict, guilt, and fear. Other descriptions of whiteness included seeing ourselves as "boring" or somehow undefined.

Heilman (2004) argues through his research in the United States that distinct, localized portraits of White identity help educators to better understand and meet the needs of their learners. This study confirmed this, describing a complex and changing rurality where internal and external views of the community may not correspond. Participants in this study stressed the racial, religious, and class divides that exist in these often silent spaces where people actively promote or hide their ancestry as a strategy for surviving in White rural spaces. Williams Paris and Schoon (2007) also suggested that pre-existing White identities might be useful building blocks for establishing positive, anti-racist White identities. Some participant narratives supported this proposition, describing lost identities that had to be reclaimed later. Some narratives also suggested that ethnic identity might be higher among White Canadians in rural spaces, though these older settler identities may have changed significantly over time.

Finding #2: Social and affective learning are important in the development of an anti-racist perspective

Findings related to transformative learning theory stressed the importance of relationships with non-White people, as well as the role of activism and conflict with the White paradigm in shifting deeply embedded White meaning perspectives and thick White identities. Taylor's (2007) review of the literature found that we know little about transformative relationships, but participants described the importance of affective bonds with both non-White and anti-racist White people who helped them to see the world of race through a different lens, as well as the oppressive relationships with racist people that propelled them into a deeper commitment to anti-racism. Building on this, activism and sites of learning where people of different races collaborate and learn from one another, such as student councils or professional associations, are important for unlearning White supremacist thinking (hooks, 2003). A period of post-secondary study in a diverse urban environment also seems to have benefits for promoting anti-racist consciousness in rural youth, especially if some type of community of practice (Shaules, 2007) supports the learning.

Finally, cognitive learning seemed less impactful to participant learning than affective learning. The importance of taking emotions into consideration when teaching about race and racism surfaced in the findings, since participants described an emotionally charged journey of confronting racism in the world and in oneself. Dirkx (2006), Malkki (2010), and Lipson Lawrence (2012) have all called for a deeper appreciation of both affective and embodied dimensions of deep learning. The journey is particularly fraught with peril for rural learners who come from cultural backgrounds where conflict is not openly expressed and a certain reserve in expression is favoured. Simpson (2008) noted the affective costs of racism on learning, and so educators need teaching methods that help rural learners step out of their rural silences and recognize the emotional and physical responses they have to encounters with racism and their own privilege.

Finding #3: Anti-racism research could help draw a clearer portrait of race and racism in Canada

A final finding of this inquiry regarding research and curriculum was that we should draw more complex portraits of Canadian diversity, instead of relying on American literature, which is set in a different context (Weinfeld, 2012). Older participants often experienced racism through an American civil rights lens, but as Casey stated, anti-racism education needs to be grounded "in the land where we stand." All participants noted the importance of encountering racism from an indigenous perspective, and had been engaged on some level with First Nations peoples in activism or education. This engaged their learning in their local

community, instead of always locating the work of anti-racism somewhere else, like Toronto or Calgary.

Implications for the Practice of Anti-Racism Education: Recommendations to Educators

Educators must develop a critical understanding of White identity and its complicated relationship to ethnicity, geography, religion, and other formative aspects of identity. They also need to understand the rural communities they are working in. The "Whitewashing" of rural histories is a significant factor for anti-racism work, and the participants in this study remind us that assumed rural homogeneity can mask an internal diversity, often fragmented along historically entrenched racial, cultural, religious, and class divides. These divides require attention from anti-racism educators so that they do not treat the subject of rural racism in stereotypical and simplistic terms, but rather as complicated spaces where there are many hidden and silenced realities.

This inquiry has also affirmed that biographical work is highly instructive in this regard, and can allow these hidden identities to surface. Learners could explore the relationship between self and family, looking for clues of association and dissociation when exploring their life story for their earliest childhood notions of difference. Using narrative inquiry in the curriculum might engage more learners in analyzing their own complex relationship with whiteness, however the educator should be attentive to the fact that these identities may be tied up in local histories, where ancestries are suppressed, resented, and even rejected. Educators should also consider that rural and small town learners may view their communities as authentically Canadian spaces, and this tension between urban and rural viewpoints may cause resistance in rural learners. Helping learners to locate their ethnicity, including the subcultures within it (such as farming culture), and situating it both as ancestry and identity, and as well as part of contemporary Canadian diversity, may help them to make connections to their own privilege and marginalization.

Since relationships are important for learning, educators and facilitators should pay attention to classroom or group dynamics as a source of indirect learning. Where more homogeneous classrooms and groups limit this source of learning, teachers and facilitators can construct experiences, such as through Living/Human Libraries or ethnographic interviews with local community members from different racial, religious, or cultural backgrounds. Community engagement, such as experiential/community-service learning (Hall, 2009), provides opportunities for students to learn about diversity and social justice in the communities where they live and work. Videos, role plays, and case studies could all help fill the gap where there is little local diversity to interact with, and to avoid overstressing minority communities with educational demands.

Student service departments within colleges and universities, as well as community-based organizations, should also create programs that support peer-to-peer relationships between learners of different racial and cultural backgrounds. We know that rural people have not had the inter-racial interactions that stimulate them to question their White habits of mind, so these programs should be well supported and their experiences should be debriefed from an anti-oppression lens. Of particular interest to community organizations and secondary and post-secondary student councils and clubs with missions to promote diversity, is the importance of engaging young people in activism. Early experiences may enable young adults to make a lifelong commitment to unlearning their White privilege and collaborating with racialized peoples to end racism. We can encourage learners to self-reflect on their activism and to monitor their feelings and bodies as sources of knowledge, because White privilege often hides behind very mundane encounters and everyday behaviours (European American Collaborative Challenging Whiteness, 2010).

Educators, especially those in large urban settings, should watch for the isolation and anxiety of rural learners, and offer them supports such as First Generation programs. They should understand the rural silences they come from, and how their silence in a classroom can mean more than disinterest. While White privilege can operate in this silence, so may hidden marginal identities, protecting themselves from detection. We can use anonymous methods like iClickers (classroom technology where students can answer questions on their device and instant results are projected onto the screen for discussion), or private exercises like journaling, to engage their learning. We can look for transferable knowledge and experiences, using an intersectional analysis to help learners relate what they have learned about other marginalized groups, such as women or people with disabilities, to other groups such as indigenous peoples. Finally, educators can help rural learners build critical thinking skills and autonomy, so important to the anti-racist stance.

Recommendations to Researches

A large volume of literature on race and racism is currently produced in the United States, but is set in the American context where over one in three Americans, and half of all babies born, are persons of colour (Wihbey, 2012). While the national percentages are lower in Canada (19% are members of visible minorities), 78% of new immigrants who came to Canada between 2006 and 2011 were members of visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2011). Race is going to be an increasingly important issue in Canadian society, and anti-racism research will grow in importance as we try to educate citizens for a democratic pluralist society. Community organizations and educational institutions that serve rural and small town communities need information that can help them allocate resources and build effective programs, whether they are specific anti-racism education projects, or broad liberal arts courses and programs that address diversity. Canadian researchers need to contribute more Canadian and rural-specific content.

This narrative inquiry has emphasized the importance of social learning, and larger studies could build on these

findings. Rural educators and institutional leaders also need more information about the barriers to learning in rural communities, which were not addressed directly by this study but were suggested indirectly by various findings. The obvious benefits of a period of post-secondary study in a diverse urban environment for participants suggests a more homogenous environment could be a barrier to learning, and we need to know more about possibly thicker ethnic identities in rural communities. Researchers could also assist by further investigating lost histories in rural communities, and making them available to formal and informal educational programs, in forms such as monographs or oral history projects. This could encourage rural citizens to reclaim lost identities and complex histories that have been buried in their families and communities and help them to celebrate the diversity in their midst, in particular those of indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

Racism is a fundamentally human problem, but it has a particular post-colonial context in Canada that needs to be considered when undertaking anti-racism education. Small and rural communities have their own context as well, and each community has its own history, whether it began with the stories of local indigenous peoples, or the historic settlement patterns of ethnic groups migrating to the area and the story of their relationship to whiteness in Canada. Educators who address the topic of race and racism in secondary and post-secondary schools, or who carry out anti-racism education in the community or workplace, can consider this when developing their programs.

This study has achieved its original purpose of strengthening my anti-racism teaching methods, so that I can better support learners in developing positive, anti-racist White identities at the college where I work in diversity and human rights education. I have shared these findings with my colleagues and the local networks promoting diversity and anti-racism education in my community, and we are exploring ways to build on these findings. Adult educators can play an important role in challenging persistent systemic racism in Canadian society by providing a critical citizenship education for Canadians everywhere, including rural and small town communities. As we draw more complex portraits of White identity when we teach about diversity, we will enable more White Canadians to enter into the dialogue.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ⋅ ACÉÉA

Discovering How College Faculty Help Students to Mature: An Appreciative Inquiry

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Abstract

This research study aimed to discover how the faculty in a college program see themselves assisting students in the development of their maturity. Semi-structured interviews from the appreciative inquiry perspective were utilized to gain qualitative data on the participants' thoughts and experiences. The 5 participants were either currently fulltime, retired, or part-time teachers in the Early Childhood Education (ECE) program at Durham College. The findings indicate the participants' value integrity, a strong work ethic, mentorship, reflection, relationships, and mature behaviour. A key factor in the findings is that the participants have clear expectations around students' responsibility and tolerance for difference. Four themes are identified as contributing factors in the students' development of maturity. Following the discussion, the researcher presents a list of suggested best practices for faculty and support staff to assist college students in developing maturity.

Introduction

As a community college teacher in the Early Childhood Education (ECE) program at Durham College, I have noticed that traditional age students, 18-25 year olds, begin college with a low level of maturity. In most cases, this is their first post-secondary education experience. Often by the end of the 2-year college program these young adult learners demonstrate growth in maturity and exhibit responsibility, integrity, improved communication skills, awareness of others, and the ability to be proactive, all aspects of mature adult behaviour. Responsible college students attend class regularly, submit assignments on time, and are accountable for their own behaviour. Integrity is seen in the young adult student who demonstrates trustworthiness and reliability by participating equally in group assignments. Communication skills enable the college student to negotiate with others to meet his or her needs. Demonstrating compassion, seeing the affect one has on others, and being conscientious, all illustrate how the young adult has an awareness of others.

When someone is proactive they tend to approach issues or concerns prior to having to deal with larger problems. All of these traits demonstrate maturity.

Based on my experience teaching young adults I consider maturity to be composed of the following characteristics: responsibility, integrity, adept communication skills; awareness of and compassion for others; and the ability to actively participate in solving problems. Researchers have found higher levels of maturity to be related to increased levels of responsibility, tolerance, and independence (Bauer & McAdams, 2004). Additionally, emotional maturity, expressed as awareness, empathy, and control, is believed to be necessary to participate in meaningful dialogue that assists with understanding and in transformative learning (Mezirow, 2000). Finally, "autonomy (i.e., independence, self-reliance, and the ability to set and meet goals) and social responsibility (i.e., contributing to the well-being of society and tolerating differences in others)" describe psychosocial maturity in young adults (Benson, Johnson, & Elder, 2012, p. 1753). All of these characteristics contribute to a picture of maturity. Anecdotally, ECE students speak to the role of faculty in helping them develop these skills and traits, but little is known about how faculty do this. The purpose of this research project is to identify how the faculty of the ECE program at Durham College see themselves helping students to mature.

Research Methodology and Rationale

The research methodology used in this project was qualitative inquiry based research within an interpretivist framework. Semi-structured interviews were used because interviews can provide the thick rich descriptions that are a vital component of qualitative research. The interviews took place from July to October 2013 where the questions were framed from an appreciative inquiry (AI) perspective. Appreciative inquiry is a philosophical approach to positive change that

involves participants in the 4D Cycle of Discover, Dream, Design, and Destiny. AI is built on the belief that every organization has positive qualities that work well. Figuring out what it is that works well is Discovery, the starting point of the 4D Cycle. Discovery is the part of the cycle I have focused on with this research project as it provides a positive starting point to investigate what the faculty members are doing well by attending to their insight and experience in regards to how they assist young adult learners to develop maturity. The remaining steps in the 4D Cycle were beyond the scope of the current study. My hunch was that the ECE faculty group assists students in their developmental journey so to focus on how each of us thinks we do this seemed like an appropriate starting point.

Purpose of Research and Research Questions

The purpose of the study was to discover how the ECE faculty at Durham College see themselves as helping students mature. Although I recognize that there are many influences on a student's development of maturity, my focus was to see if there are ways faculty members have and can positively influence this process, and how they view their role in the process. By utilizing the AI step of discovery I aimed to learn what it is that the ECE faculty members believe they are doing to help young adult learners to develop maturity. The following interview questions were framed from an AI perspective:

1. Tell me a story about the best experience you have had working with a student –one where you felt the student had matured and grown as a person. What happened? How did you contribute to the process? What made it successful and rewarding?

2. Tell me about the things you value deeply –specifically, what do you value about: yourself? the students? teaching? your interactions with the students? mature behaviour?

3. Tell me about your expectations of students in regards to their: responsibility? communication? tolerance for difference? independence?

4. What are your thoughts on how the ECE program/faculty positively influences the students' development of maturity throughout the 2-year program?

Participants and Selection Criteria

I began by emailing an invitation to participate to the three fulltime ECE faculty members who met the inclusion criteria of having taught in the program at Durham College for a minimum of 3 years. Next, I invited three retired ECE faculty members, each who had taught in the ECE program at Durham College for many years. Then I invited a part-time teacher of the ECE program. In total, five ECE teachers participated in the semi-structured interviews. These teachers are profiled in Table 1.

Table 1: Participants

Pseudonym of participants	Employment Status	College teaching experience	Main teaching focus
Abby	Retired ECE Faculty Member	> 20 years	1st year students
Dawn	Part-time ECE Faculty Member	< 5 years	Both 1st and 2nd year students
Joy	Retired ECE Faculty Member	> 20 years	2nd year students
Lori	Fulltime ECE Faculty Member	< 5 years	1st year students
Nancy	Retired ECE Faculty Member	> 20 years	Both 1st and 2nd year students

Data Collection Techniques and Trustworthiness

This qualitative research study utilized semi-structured interviews which were framed from an appreciative inquiry perspective. The interviews ranged from 25 to 95 minutes in length and on average were 60 minutes long. I audio recorded each interview and then transcribed the interview before beginning the next interview. After each interview was transcribed, I met with the participant to conduct member checks so that each participant could review her transcript to validate the responses. I provided a printed transcript of the interview to each participant that she then reviewed. In each case, slight changes were made to the transcript to clarify what the participant wanted her responses to say. The member checks were completed to assist in building credibility and consistency in this research study. All recordings and transcriptions were securely stored and kept confidential in accordance with the research ethics guidelines. Once I completed the member checks and made the appropriate revisions to the transcripts, I began the analysis process by coding the data and searching for themes and categories.

Overview of Findings

The participants' stories of students who developed maturity throughout the program included descriptions of growth in tolerance, responsibility, and critical thinking. These characteristics of growth represent and support what researchers have labeled as maturity (Bauer & McAdams, 2004). While discussing what they value, the participants spoke about shared values of integrity, a strong work ethic, mentorship, reflection, relationship building, contributions to learning, and mature behaviour.

A consistent message from the faculty participants was that if expectations are clearly communicated to students, the students should meet the expectations. If the students do not meet the expectations then the appropriate consequences are applied. Dawn explained that the faculty members guide the students towards being responsible. "I think that

we try to guide them with being responsible with their work when they start coming into the program. Letting them know they have been penalized for handing assignments in late." The faculty members were very clear about the need to communicate expectations to the students. Abby, who taught first year students prior to retirement explained, "So the responsibilities I expect, I think it's important that students experience the consequences of their decisions so that if the expectation has been clear and then they don't fulfill that then there will be a consequence for that." A clear message about responsibility is that the participants think appropriate consequences must follow if the expectations are not met. Overall, the participants expressed that consequences assisted in the development of students being able to independently demonstrate responsibility.

Four themes emerged from the data on what it is that influences the students' development of maturity: the ECE program of study, the ECE faculty team, individual ECE faculty members, and the interaction between the program and the faculty members. Some participants believe an influencing factor on the students' development of maturity is the ECE program of study which consists of classroom and field placement experiences. Lori the fulltime faculty member explained, "There's no doubt that they do mature. And I think that it's experience. I think it's exposure to the workplace, to other members of the community, and other expectations." A retired teacher, Nancy, suggested, "I think the policies and expectations that we have in place in the program" assists in the development of the students' maturity.

Each of the participants voiced thoughts about how the ECE faculty team supports the growth of maturity in the students. Overall, most of the participants' responses described the impact of the faculty being role models for the students, diversity among the team members, the team's skill set, and commitment to meeting the needs of students. Some of the faculty shared their individual strategies for how they contribute to the growth of maturity by supporting the students in respect to building their confidence, encouraging them to share in times of need, through providing extensions on due dates, and through providing them with various tools.

Finally, the interaction between the program of study and the faculty members was identified by the participants as contributing to the students' development of maturity because the faculty members follow through with the policies and procedures with integrity and consistency. Nancy explained, "I think the role models we present. I think the policies and expectations that we have in place in the program. I think the consistency that we all follow the policies." The interaction of the policies with the consistency, in which they are applied, provides clear examples of the expectations to the students with appropriate consequences to follow if the expectations are not met. The interaction of these aspects assists in furthering the students' maturity levels.

Discussion of Findings

For several college students many things are happening throughout their experience with post-secondary education.

The ECE student will learn how to provide early learning and care for children, this is referred to as informational learning (Kegan, 2000); throughout the 2-year college program she will also be transitioning into adulthood within the various domains of development; finally, how she knows what she knows may change throughout this process. How one knows what she knows is referred to as epistemology (Kegan, 2000). The changes that take place within one's epistemology is of interest in this study because these changes result in the student viewing the world differently and as a result affecting the young adult's behaviour, thus in many cases resulting in a more mature young adult. In my study, the faculty members said that the changes can take place within and outside of formal education after the learner reflects on how she knows what she knows. The stories the participants shared about their best experience with a student showed how the students' epistemologies changed as they progressed throughout the 2-year program.

An epistemology is like a framework of how the learner understands what she knows. Kegan (2000) outlines five epistemological changes that can occur throughout the lifespan that result in increasingly complex epistemologies. The second epistemology, typically developed in late childhood and held into the adolescent years is described as the instrumental mind where the learner is most concerned with self-interest and learning to get along with others (Kegan, 1982). It is likely that the student Abby described as impatient and dismissive in her first semester was operating from an instrumental mind epistemology. Transitioning to the next epistemology, the socialized mind, moves the adolescent to value a mutual relationship more than her immediate gratification and to be able to think abstractly and create values. Kegan (2000) suggests that "when adolescents do make this shift (to the Socialized Mind…), interestingly, we consider them to be responsible" (p. 64). This is a point the faculty, especially Abby mentioned in her interview when she described how the same student mentioned above, had begun to demonstrate more tolerance for others in her second semester. A shift to the self-authoring mind, means the learner develops the internal authority to examine information and make judgments independently. Some but not all adults reach this complex self-authoring epistemology and even fewer adults reach the final epistemology, the self-transforming mind. It is likely that the student Abby spoke about was approaching the self-authoring mind epistemology as she graduated and became a successful early childhood educator. According to my five participants, it is likely that many college students begin their post-secondary experience at the socialized mind epistemology and some then may move into the self-authoring mind throughout or after college (Kegan, 2000).

How my participants related to students is captured in Kegan's (1982) notion of the educator creating a "holding environment" to assist students in transitioning into new epistemologies by simultaneously offering support, structure, and challenge. The idea is to provide support without constraining the learner (Kegan, 1982). My data showed that

the ECE faculty participants create a "holding environment" through the ways that they offer students support while also adhering to the program policies. For example, faculty participants stated that if expectations are clearly communicated to the students then the students should be expected to complete the task as assigned or have the appropriate consequences applied to the situation. Here, support and guidance are provided and also the expectations are reinforced with appropriate consequences if required. Additionally, the ECE faculty participants' attributes, identified in the data, assist in creating the "holding environment" because the faculty participants described how they support students by building students' confidence, encouraging students to share in times of need, providing extensions on due dates in extenuating circumstances, and providing students with various tools. My data show that these qualities contribute to creating a supportive environment, to assist students in transitioning to a new epistemology.

Baxter Magolda (2009) suggests that an underlying thread among developmental theories is the "gradual emergence of an internal voice to coordinate external influence and manage one's life" (p. 628). This emergence of the internal voice, which many of my participants witnessed, is part of the process of self-authorship. The transition from the socialized mind to the self-authoring mind can be broken down into three elements of self-authorship defined as "the internal capacity to define one's beliefs, identity, and social relations" (Baxter Magolda, 2008, p. 269). In the data, Lori described a student as self-reflective and explained that she would meet with the student to talk over the student's thoughts about the field of ECE throughout the 2-year program. It is likely that through those conversations the student was developing her internal voice regarding her beliefs and values of ECE and likely herself. Baxter Magolda's theory of college student development is an integrative perspective that encompasses "three major phases: following external formulas, crossroads, and self-authorship" (2009, p. 628). The phase, following external formulas, describes the actions of those in their late teens and early twenties. Young adults in this phase rely "on external authority for one's beliefs, identity and relations with others" (Baxter Magolda, Abes, & Torres, 2009, p. 188). My own experience and that of my participants is that young adult students view "knowledge as certain or partially certain and held by authorities" (Baxter Magolda et al., 2009, p. 188). Relying on external sources may be why many college students want to know the exact page number in a textbook where they can find the correct answer to a test question. Dawn shared an experience of guiding students from using external formulas to self-authorship as she encouraged students to put the pieces of a philosophy together so they could apply it to scenarios in ECE. She explained how she enjoys seeing the students connect the dots.

Young adults, like the ones we teach in our program, enter the second phase when they experience difficulty following the external formulas. The timing of when one enters "the crossroads varies widely based on individual and environmental variables" (Baxter Magolda, 2009, p. 629). For college students in the ECE program, during the crossroads there is "tension between external authority and the growing internal voice" as the young adult student becomes aware of her role in composing reality (Baxter Magolda et al., 2009, p. 188). In the above mentioned study, some students expressed a growing awareness of their own ideas and values during their second year interviews. "This emerging internal voice was not yet strong enough to outweigh external influence so they were not consistently able to act on it" (Baxter Magolda, 2009, p. 629). Although the crossroads period often lasts throughout the twenties for young adults, those "who experience oppression and marginalization develop self-authorship prior to or during their 20s" (Baxter Magolda, 2008, p. 271). I believe the students' field placement experiences, which the participants discussed, provide opportunities for them to begin to develop their internal voice because they are expected to perform the early childhood educator's role more independently with each passing placement. In order to do this they will need to be acting according to their own ideas and values throughout the placements.

During the final phase of self-authoring, three elements the young adult experiences include "trusting the internal voice, building an internal foundation, and securing internal commitments" (Baxter Magolda, 2009, p. 631). As young adults begin to trust their internal voices they begin to discern "between reality and their reaction to it" (Baxter Magolda, 2009, p. 631). This assists them in accepting responsibility for how they choose "to interpret reality, how to feel about their interpretation, and how to react" (Baxter Magolda, 2009, p. 631). The next element, building an internal foundation, is like forming a philosophy that guides young adults through their reality. The final element, securing internal commitments, often occurs in the 30s; it represents the adult's ability to live by her commitments and this in turn produces feelings of security and freedom (Baxter Magolda, 2009). For many of the ECE students the process of developing self-authorship will continue as they graduate from the program and continue with education or enter the ECE profession. I think the ECE program of study and especially the field placement experiences prepare the students well for this last phase of developing self-authorship.

The faculty in my study were very clear on the importance of a partnership with students. This relates well to the learning partnership model (LPM) described by Pizzolato and Ozaki (2007). The model engages students in active learning and coaches the students to take on greater responsibility for learning all within the students' experiences. Each of the study participants explained different ways in which they provide a kind of partnership with the students. Abby spoke highly of the importance of building the students' confidence and Joy enjoyed teaching students how to negotiate their needs as she built relationships with them. Lori shared a story of mentoring a student throughout the program and Dawn explained how she likes to be patient and empathetic with the first year students as they begin their first post-secondary experience. Finally, Nancy encouraged students to

decide for themselves if they needed help in a course. This is a valuable part of the learning partnership model as it gives the student ownership over her decisions.

The faculty participant members' shared values of integrity, work ethic, mentorship, reflection, relationships, contributions to learning, and mature behaviour, all support self-authorship of students. The study participants demonstrated ways in which they affected the development of maturity and thereby impacting the development of self-authorship in students. For example, Nancy emphasized the importance of not providing students with answers to the questions they could easily find answers to themselves in order to encourage independence. This supports Pizzolato and Ozaki (2007) and Kegan (2000) who suggest young adult learners' need opportunities perform independently and to be challenged. Though the faculty participants were not following suggestions on how to promote self-authorship as described by Baxter Magolda (2009) in practice, they were providing students with opportunities to develop an internal voice and foundation for them to base their future actions on which contributes to the development of self-authorship and therefore, the development of mature behaviour in the young adult student.

The findings of this research study confirm that the faculty participants' strategies for promoting maturity, the faculty participants' attributes, and the ECE program of study promote the development of self-authorship in learners. The strategies utilized by the faculty participants included building student confidence, encouraging dialogue with students, being flexible, and providing students with various tools. Some of the attributes of the study participants included being role models, commitment to meeting students' needs, communication amongst team members, recognition and utilization of each other's skills, and acceptance and support for each other. Field placement experiences within the ECE program of study are likely to contribute to the development of self-authorship where the student learns to perform the role of the early childhood educator in the setting and to act according to her own philosophical approach to ECE. This then assists the student to develop an internal voice and foundation from which to act from.

The findings from this research study suggest that, though it is not formalized, mentoring occurs within the ECE program. The findings also show that several of the values and actions of the ECE faculty participants support the values and principles of learning partnerships to promote self-authorship. The learning partnerships model for supporting the development of self-authorship could be utilized more formally by the ECE and other college faculty members interested in assisting students develop an internal voice and foundation, thus developing their maturity.

This research study provides insights on how to assist young adult college students to develop maturity through the development of self-authorship. The greatest implication of this study for me is that my understanding of epistemological development will help me to provide a holding environment that guides, directs, and challenges young adult learners. The faculty of the ECE program at Durham College may be interested in adopting a learning partnership model to promote self-authorship. Looking at the bigger picture, community college faculty, advisors, and administrators could utilize literature on the development of epistemology and principles of self-authorship to assist young adult learners in their journey into adulthood.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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International Policies in Adult Education:
A Critical Feminist Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a critical feminist analysis of the intersection of policy, practice and decisions about funding for women. The authors examine international policies on the lives of women such as CONFINTEA, MDGs and CEDAW. This paper highlights the interconnections of the local and the global, and the need to look beyond our current Canadian context for insights into the promotion and practice of adult education.

If Canadian adult educators are any sign, whispers of the death of feminism are premature. Adult education feminist and writer Angela Miles (2013) makes this point in her exhaustive collection, *Women in a Globalising World*, which brings together an amazing array of writers and thinkers on feminism locally and globally. The Canadian/South African team Manicom and Walters (2012) focus also on feminism when they highlight the role of popular education for women in *Feminist Popular Education in Transnational Debates*. Meanwhile, Darlene Clover (personal communication) is presently editing a book on women and adult education in Canada, and Nancy Taber is editing a special issue of *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*. These demonstrate the vibrancy of feminism and adult education in this country, at least in print and in the minds of adult educators. This essay takes up the recent re-engagement with feminism and brings it into conversation with international policies for adult education and women, practice, and issues of payment, asking the question of implications for adult education in an increasingly neoliberal context.

We note this sense of optimism as a response to recurring rumours that feminism is passé. We acknowledge that feminism in the policy sphere is struggling to regain the visibility it once had in the mainstream press and public discourse. As a social movement, in and of itself, feminism and its emancipatory goals have been integrated into many sectors of civil society (Walby, 2011). Feminism has made common cause with many grassroots social movements campaigning for rights and protection in such areas as labour, First Nations, anti-violence, and environment, and feminist goals are often subsumed under categories of globalization, diversity, gender, and cultural studies. This mainstreaming and integration sometimes undermines feminism's visibility both domestically and internationally.

Although recent literature on feminism, community development and education (Miles, 2013; Manicom & Walters, 2012) has clearly tried to move beyond geographical boundaries and to embrace the international community to record and probe critical feminist pedagogies, much of adult education literature in North America has reduced discussions of feminism to experiential techniques in classroom based women's learning (e.g., Hayes & Flannery, 2000). So, now there is hope to be found in the way in which the political energy of feminism and radical adult education, in the tradition of Jane Thompson (2007) and Paula Allman (2010), is coming back in a deliberate way, and cannot be ignored totally as a source of political learning for policy change. The causes of feminism such as just labour laws, gender equality policies, and anti-violence legislation have long been the content and subject of this politicised learning and policy making, yet its distinct and continuing role were too often been absorbed into other aspects of the social democratic tradition of radical adult education.

We argue here that the interrelationship between grassroots/local activism and international policymaking and practice (Caglar, Prügl, & Zwingel, 2013) are at the heart of feminist visibility in countries, mostly in the Global South, where feminism and gender have not been forgotten largely due to stunning inequities and challenges for women. In moving beyond our classrooms and our continent, we observe what is happening globally to enact policy, engage political actors, and involve women in funding decisions to see what is possible. The international sphere, especially the Global

South, has a great deal to teach us about the intersection of policy and practice.

The Education and Learning Dimension

Recent feminist voices in adult education internationally bring a decidedly political learning agenda to the table, and reach toward the kinds of political action and learning that is necessary for social transformation. For some voices, such as Carpenter (2012), the vision for adult education involves reaching back to Marx to see how his theories can advance an equitable feminist agenda. Similarly, Ledwith (2009) in the UK reaches back to Gramsci's insights on hegemony, the organic intellectual and everyday material life to find the arenas in which women's voices and agendas can be heard. She suggests that Gramsci provides a way forward to help us think about feminism and its struggles and dreams. Along with Carpenter, Ledwith intends to renew our practice by taking the older theoretical frameworks and concepts, and using them in an imaginative way to critique neoliberalism. The question of all these attempts is: Are they enough for our field? Are they connected to policy, practical decision making and funding priorities at all levels?

We share with feminism a goal of political, economic, and social equality for women but also the belief that in achieving equality, both the learning process and the movement matter. Feminism for adult educators is at once a movement and an aspiration, as is social democracy. For adult educators, like Manicom and Walters (2012) and Carpenter (2012) feminism always involves a learning and education component. Many women who work at the policy and practice level learned feminism in community-based contexts, and need that continued linkage for credibility and effectiveness (Manuh, Anyidoho, & Pobee-Hayford, 2013).

Like Ledwith (2009), we agree that effective feminist-infused adult education needs to move beyond the narrow focus on personal experience and the individual. She proposes:

> potential sites of liberation. These three dimensions are: i) **difference**: age, 'race', class, gender, sexual identity, 'dis'ability, ethnicity; ii) **contexts**: economic, cultural, intellectual, physical, environmental, historical, emotional, spiritual on another, and iii) **levels**: local, national, regional and global which form a complex set of interrelationships which not only interweave between axes, but which also intertwine on any one axis (Ledwith, p. 694; emphasis in the original).

The level that most concerns us here, and which adult education in North America has not been strong on, is the third, the multiple levels which involve policy, practice and most of all decisions about who pays. We look now to the global sphere to see what is being done on the ground and in the corridors of power to reinvigorate and forward the cause of women internationally.

Looking Globally for Insight and Inspiration

In some ways, women in the West have privileged critical analysis and identification of issues in particular organizations and local arenas, or as identified by Ledwith (2009), the old way of identifying patriarchy and oppression. There is a second option which we can learn from the global sphere: finding new strategic ways to resist patriarchy. Examples of the latter are growing when we look at how international agencies and nation states have chosen to tackle head-on the material issues confronting women through examining and implementing international agreements and declarations, which give policy and political weight to the ideas and theories of adult education. Over the past two decades there has been substantial evidence of both progress and regress in the advancement of women's rights in our own field of adult education and in broader contexts of human development. There are many at the UN level who recognize this concern for women, learning and feminism, and are continuing to keep feminist and critical adult education issues central to policy discussions. When the 58th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) met in March, 2014 at the United Nations in NYC (UN Women, 2014) they explored the many stalled or disappearing commitments on women's empowerment globally. In the words of the Agreed Conclusions from the 58th Session, progress has been "slow and uneven" (UN Women, # 18). As the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are about to expire in 2015, CSW called for new strategic directions in which women, "quality" education, and development were given centre stage. They reiterated that we have many existing declarations, agreements, and instruments but we need to revive and act on them.

Global Agreements

Progressive policies and statements especially from the United Nations have acknowledged the intricate connection between feminism and adult education, and their integral role in promoting social democracy and other development goals. The MDGs and other global efforts such as CONFINTEA to support education generally do not exist alone and are not raising new themes about feminism, education or development, as they follow in a long line of critical policy efforts that cannot be ignored. As the post-2015 rounds of negotiations roll out, there is a sense of déjà vu: "Haven't we been here before?" What role does critical adult education have in advancing the hoped for change? Here we revisit some of the key agreements to take stock.

CONFINTEA. UNESCO's fifth conference on adult education, CONFINTEA V in Hamburg, Germany, in 1997, was notable for the recognition of the importance of both gender and knowledge, and the advancement of women through education. Alejandra Scampini (2003) notes the importance of coordinated efforts of women's organizations in promoting these issues at CONFINTEA. There was great hope and enthusiasm for learning generated in Hamburg (CONFINTEA V) for women, adult education, and global change and this hope was clearly evident in the resulting *Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning* (UNESCO, 1997).

Alas, much of the promise and commitment of this Declaration has yet to be realised. As Nellie Stromquist (2013) notes, reflecting on the woeful lack of evidence of substantive progress, part of the problem lies in implementation: "Their discourse (and that expressed in the various other official documents of international conferences) underwent minimal translation into operational levels" (p. 34). More recently, the goals linked to feminism and adult education have slipped off the UN agenda, and consequently off funding priority lists of national and regional governments. Stromquist reminds us, CONFINTEA VI in Belém, Brazil in 2009 did not even mention challenges facing women or identify empowerment as a goal (see also UNESCO, 2009). This silence threatens gains that have been made and thwarts further progress. Although Belém had other strengths, namely an emphasis on nonformal learning, women or women's concerns were not strongly articulated. One wonders if this situation came from lack of women's participation or the lack of strong feminist voices at the conference. Stromquist laments the "predictable path" (p. 34) whereby goals are articulated repeatedly over the years with little evidence of progress, or where the goals are watered down, or are voiced with no plan for action. Like Scampini (2003) she sees the role of local women's organizing as the realm where the issues are most clearly understood, and where creative solutions are developed, but sadly these contributions tend not to be noticed at the formalized research and policy levels. And as we have seen in Canada, when grassroots activist organizations struggle for funding, their ability to act is compromised, which undermines any lofty goals espoused.

MDGS and the Post 2015 Agenda. To put education within the larger context of human development goals, we turn the Millennium Development Goals (see above) which has defined funding and action priorities for human development and poverty reduction around the world for the past decade. Commissioned by the United Nation's Secretary General, the eight Millennium Development Goals were developed by UN agencies, the international non-governmental sector, researchers, policymakers, and government representatives (Sachs, 2005). Almost immediately, a groundswell of criticism arose from women's organizations who were particularly concerned with the MDG's narrow definition of women's issues and the apparent ignorance of existing declarations that had been implemented since the 1980s promoting women's empowerment (Barton, 2005). The third MDG Goal—*Promote gender equality and empower women* (MDG3)—is often referred to as the women in education MDG. Despite its broad sweeping title, it promotes equality in primary and secondary education for women, though in practice the emphasis has been predominantly on access to primary education for girls, to the detriment of other stages of learning. There is another MDG narrowly focused on maternal health.

By and large, the MDGs focus on access and service provision and not on a broad understanding of empowerment and rights, thereby ignoring underlying inequalities. As with the social determinants of health, attention needs to be given to the basic issue—not the services, *per se*, as important as they are, but to the underlying causes. To accomplish MDG3, considerable work has to be done on issues of power, patriarchy, and policies, yet it was set without a strong analytical framework or plan to achieve it. It is not enough to say we must end oppression of women—it took us a long time to get to this point, so we cannot expect to address it quickly. In some ways, the MDGs are part of the Western mindset and the western ideas that we can reach these goals quickly if only we name them. We are reminded that the work that goes with undoing patriarchy is long and complicated, and it involves not only action but analysis.

With the MDGs now expiring and accomplishments falling far short of aspirations, attention is now shifting to the "Post 2015 agenda". Women's rights advocates who felt marginalized by the MDG process are determined not to be sidelined this time around as they strive to get the core declarations and conventions and commitments of decades ago back to the centre of policy and funding. Who is at the table to advocate for this more fundamental change is yet another matter, as are questions of priorities and motivation within the feminist movement. Batliwala (2012) gives a frank critique of mainstream feminist organizations who have shown signs of being co-opted, in what she sees as a shift from movement building to organization building. In her view, and the view of many international observers, emphasis on service delivery through feminist organizations thwarts the efforts to continue pushing for more radical change that addresses root causes of persistent inequality. Batliwala says those groups at the margins have been much more innovative in their practice.

CEDAW: A Policy of One's Own. One of the most important guiding documents for women globally is the *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW; United Nations, 1981) which was adopted in 1979 and ratified in 1981. CEDAW has a concern that "in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs" (para. 8). CEDAW is one of the cornerstones of the feminist movement internationally. It is held up as the document that obliges nations to take issues of gender inequality seriously and develop concrete actions to combat it. In the wake of the losses for women in CONFINTEA VI and in the MDGs, women globally harken back to the promises of CEDAW and draw on its insights and promises for current debates and challenges. There is a strength in drawing on global bodies like UNESCO to enhance women's roles and education. They serve as a reminder of world commitments and understanding of the complex global problems women face. The ongoing challenges are not due to a lack of awareness or evidence, but of chronic lack of understanding and political will for implementation to deal with the issues once and for all.

On Policies and Laws, and Education

Yet, once these policies and documents are being considered or even implemented it is imperative that the grassroots, many of whom helped these come to fruition, be able to read, comprehend and work with these as they are political and power-laden. As Rosalind Eyben (2012) reminds us, "Policies are instruments of power that classify and organise ideas and social relations to sustain or change the current social order" (p. 17). She then explains how this power is contested and challenged, and then proposes ways for activists to be more effective in their advocacy work. We would say that they can work for women and in their favour—they are political tools to be strengthened and used. Batliwala (2011) emphasizes, "Feminist leadership means the ability to influence agendas even without the formal power or authority to do so, and the capacity to leverage larger-scale changes (in policy, legal rights, social attitudes, and power relations) with very marginal resources" (p. 66).

To understand and work with global pronouncements, legal documents, government policies, and to work with the political system globally and locally requires what Jim Crowther and Lyn Tett (2012) describe as political literacy: knowledge that enables people to interrogate the experts, which is easier said than done, Crowther and Tett draw out the distinction between learning for conformity and learning for dissent. They define the purpose "literacy for citizenship and democracy has to address making power visible and accountable" (p. 123) but note the variety in starting points. "If people are to gain a voice—to question and speak back to power—they will need the confidence and authority that comes out of experience, reinforced and tempered by study" (p. 125). Being politically savvy around policy and policy making is challenging and speaks to a role for adult educators. If we are to be effective at the most basic of levels, then we have to be involved in educating women about rights, policies and laws.

At heart much of education and the law/policy work is analysis of power, as Rosalind Eyben (2012) reminds us based on her study of women's unpaid care work. She describes the effects of the assumptions around "evidence-based" policy-making which begins with the assumption that policy is created through the analysis of sound evidence. In this type of policymaking, it is understood that if an issue is absent from policy, then the evidence highlighting the issue is flawed or it has been poorly communicated. But what is really going on is "strategic ignorance" – to acknowledge the issue would take too much work and too much money to resolve. If it is a systemic problem then the system needs to be changed for it to be resolved (see pp. 12-13). Like Eyben's issue of trying to make unpaid care work quantifiable in economic terms, it is near impossible to make all women's issues count. Playing by their rules can undermine the crux of the issue.

Implications for Adult Education and Feminism

International direction and policies to forward the cause of feminism and education for women have sometimes fallen short, especially in terms of global policy and efforts to make change possible. Yet, there are glimmers of hope in specific practices like gender-based participatory budgeting and organizations. In looking to the Global South, we see some ways of actually putting our ideas, hopes and aspirations for feminism into effect. It is important to note that participatory practices at the community level do not exist in isolation. They are supported and abetted by international policies such as the CONFINTEA's Hamburg Declaration, and other UN level goal statements. While it can sometimes be dispiriting to think of what is lost in some of these policies and at that global level, the global community of practice can provide inspiration.

It is increasingly clear that policy and practice, politics and more importantly funding become the axis on which women's learning is promoted, defined and enacted. Policy and practice dictate funding priorities, and funding dictates practice. It comes as no surprise to anyone experienced with the Association of Women in Development's (Batliwala, et al., 2013) findings that the short-term project funding cycle that an increasing number of organizations find themselves is inefficient and drains potential for sustained activism and change. Adult education for social justice cannot thrive in these conditions. We can learn from our international sphere about vibrancy and networking to protect themselves from the whims of politically manipulated funding regimes.

Conclusions

As we turn to Post 2015 on the international stage, and we assess what is happening nationally and globally, there is much to be hopeful about. Although we have not accomplished all that we set out to do, we remain optimistic. The articulation of rights through broad-based policy statements such as CEDAW, and more recently the discussions for the Post 2015 congresses on future priorities, make it clear that feminist adult education is alive and well, working with partners globally to change the world. Adult education is in a very good place these days.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE ♦ ACÉÉA

Convergences and Divergences in the Contemporary Western Academy: How Discourses of LGBTQ Rights, Alliance, and Internationalization Work Together and Pull Apart (A Dialogue in Progress)

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ABSTRACT

In this conceptually-oriented, dialogically-structured paper, we offer a critical discussion about three prominent discourses in today's Western academy and in the field of adult education: equity, alliance, and internationalization. Focusing on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or queer (LGBTQ)-identified staff and students, we consider how these discourses, which promise expanded opportunity and global engagement for individuals and institutions, combine to produce unanticipated tensions and problems. We conclude the paper by questioning what is possible for and being asked of some members of the academy in the name of internationalization.

Introduction

This paper offers a critical discussion of prominent discourses in today's Western academy and in the field of adult education. Such a discussion reveals powerful and power-filled structures. We pose two central questions: (1) How can discourses premised on alliance, equity, and internationalization combine to produce unanticipated tensions and problems? (2) What is being asked of members of the academy, and in the service of/at risk to what or whom? The situation for LGBTQ-identified people frames our discussion and highlights emerging tensions. As a Canadian lesbian and a Canadian gay man, both of whom are based in the field of adult education in Canadian universities, we share an obvious interest in this topic. We look for our selves reflected back to us in policy, curricula and practice, and in tandem with our identities as scholars. Beyond our personal self-interest, we believe that this exploration is important in illuminating a discursive quandary that has surfaced in Western universities that are embracing discourses of equity and internationalization.

These equity and internationalization discourses are common across Western academies and promise opportunity,

whether for individuals or institutions. Moreover, the individuals who are imagined to benefit from equity and internationalization discourses include current or prospective university workers or students, as well as people who live in the Global South or, for other reasons, typically are seen as marginalized from the academy. Despite enthusiastic pursuit of them and occasional appearance of overlap between these discourses, there seems to be very little scrutiny as to what the opportunity that they extend means for certain sociocultural groups. Ignoring these groups maintains their minority/fringe status, and discourages consideration of how marginalization practices affect everyone (Curry-Stevens, 2007; Walton, 2009). Furthermore, contrary to our assertion that these discourses converge in people's lived experiences, in practice there is a tendency for them to be developed, enacted, and monitored in isolation from each other. The situation for LGBTQ-identified people brings the convergence of these discourses and resulting tensions into sharp focus.

Before proceeding with the paper, we offer a brief explanation of how we developed it. Although we share an interest in this topic, we come to it with different backgrounds and affiliations, and from different scholarly perspectives. Wanting to develop and recognize points of convergence between us when they are evident, and to make space for divergences in our thinking as a way of illuminating the varied ways in which an idea can be explored, we write in both a common voice and our own distinctive voices.

There is something autoethnographic about this writing-in-the-round process and its outcome: It is "ethnographic in its methodological orientation, cultural in its interpretive orientation, and autobiographical in its content orientation" (Chang, 2008, p. 48). We draw on our own experiences, which have led us to understandings about a contemporary phenomenon – the coinciding convergence and divergence of equity and internationalization discourses – and what

other scholars have to say about either side of this phenomenon. We attach our reflections about where we are – geographically, socially, and culturally – to the talk and text that surrounds and helps constitute us and our practice.

Conceptualizing Discourse and Location in a Globalizing Academy

Kaela

In starting to develop this paper and the larger project behind it, I turned to methodologists whose writing on discourse analysis I find helpful and resonant. I looked to Nancy Naples (2003), agreeing with her assertion that the insistence on a clear division between modernism and postmodernism short-changes the possibility of working with insights of both paradigms so that the complexities of human experience can be apprehended more deeply and completely.

I also used James Gee's (2011) book, in which he distinguishes "discourse" – "language-in-use or stretches of language (like conversations or stories)" (p. 34) – from "Discourse,"

> socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting, in the 'right' places and at the 'right' times with the 'right' objects (associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network'). (p. 34)

The capitalized Discourse is inherently linguistic, contested, contextualized, and materially based and consequential. Although I do not think that we will capitalize the word discourse in this paper, it is this latter, politicized understanding of the word that I am interested in bringing to this discussion.

These perspectives feel comfortable to me. They retain an emphasis of discourse as socially structured and meaningful, at the same time as they recognize that social identities are relationally, contextually made and made meaningful. This is my stance, and I wonder how Rob and I will work through our intellectual divergences as we develop this paper.

Rob

I agree with you and Naples (2003) that theoretical boundary markers (e.g., postmodernism versus modernism) may not be useful as they draw lines and create limits around understanding the aforementioned complexities of concepts such as ally, oppression, and privilege. However, what may be helpful is to consider as well Edwards and Usher (2008) notion of (dis)location, which is described as, "increased emphasis given to location is more aptly situated in current globalising trends where forms of location – of positioning and being positioned – also and inevitably entail forms of dislocation – of dis-identifying and being positioned as other" (p. 10). (Dis)location, as Edwards and Usher explain, is not bound and secure, but rather a space located in the diaspora that includes the migration of people, capital, commodities, and cultures. It is not (re)location as one typically imagines with migration, but rather (dis)location as explained above and the pedagogical consequences that emerge as a result. It is peering through the lens of (dis)location that may expose the diaspora living within "internationalization" mandates of universities, the globalizing processes of these universities, and who is positioned as an "other" in this diasporic space. What this means is that equity, internationalization, and ally discourses shape space/place, a reality which impacts and positions people who live on the margins.

Three Central Discourses: Equity, Internationalization, and Ally

Following Bishop (2002), we define an ally as "a member of an oppressor group who works to end a form of oppression which gives her or him privilege" (p. 52). In relation to the discourses considered here, the concept of ally and the idea of oppressed/oppressor can have two applications. First, people living in the Global South, where some internationalization strategies are focused and made mainstream, can be considered oppressed in relation to those in the Global North. Programs that adopt a development perspective use rhetoric of alliance, which positions those of us in the Global North, and especially the Western academy, as allies. This framework, and the development discourse more generally, can be seen as part of an imperialist mindset, which is exacerbated by an inclination to romanticize, exoticize, and colonize "other" places and peoples. Critical theorists argue that, to avoid echoes of that mindset, it is necessary to move "from a limited/reproductive praxis where one merely tries to better [some]one's position within a dialectical relation to a critical/revolutionary praxis where one understands the internal relations and struggles to overcome them" (Holst, 2007, para 15). It follows, then, that a critique of the development and internationalization discourse and associated practices is that they retain the fundamental dialectical relations which are evident globally (and locally), even as they bring changes to the lives of some individuals, and communities.

We focus on a second example of how the concepts of equity, internationalization, and ally operate in relation to LGBTQ people and in the context of the Western academy. In that understanding, LGBTQ-identified people can be positioned as an oppressed group, and straight people as an oppressor group. That characterization seems obvious in many non-Western countries, where homosexuality often is illegal, and sometimes a capital offence (Hill, 2013). Closer to home, equity-oriented policies have been developed to reassure members of historically marginalized groups, including LGBTQ people, that they are entitled to access to rights and fair treatment. That being said, we recognize that there are people in the Global North that press against the extension of rights to LGBTQ people. This tension over LGBTQ rights continues to play out in global politics, activist networks, and "development" practices (Baird, 2007).

Indeed, the moniker "LGBTQ" itself presumes that both LGBTQ and straight identities are clearly, universally defined. In fact, same-sex behaviour and relationships are understood differently across contexts, and not always tied to LGBTQ identity (Altman, 2001/2005), creating uncertainties for self-identified LGBTQ people *and* people with non-described, same-sex relationships who cross geographic or cultural borders (Eichler & Mizzi, 2013). Moreover, rhetoric of a singular LGBTQ category ignores the reality of differences and similarities between and among LGBTQ-identified and straight-identified people (Renn, 2010). (As we consider our rhetorical options, Kaela wonders about how the "Q" in LGBTQ functions. Does it erase the possibility that lesbian identity is not always solely a matter of sexual orientation, but can also be tied to a sociopolitical project of feminism?)

This suggests limitations of Bishop's (2002) starting definition of ally, which she herself recognizes. "The vast majority of us…belong somewhere in between; we are oppressors in some parts of our identity and oppressed in others" (p. 78), she writes. Likewise, Curry-Stevens (2007) asserts that identity is always multiple, and that most people experience both privilege and oppression. As she writes,

> In this sense, supplemental identities that are privileged serve as protective devices that typically protect or buffer the individual from bearing the full brunt of that oppression. Similarly, bearing multiple oppressed identities serves to exacerbate or deepen one's experiences of discrimination, marginalization, and powerlessness. Understanding this construction of plural identities can be very helpful to the learner beginning to grapple with these issues. (p. 37)

As people move from context to context, particular facets of their identities come to the fore and position them in relation to others. Curry-Stevens cautions that this view can lead to a "'race to innocence'" (Fellows & Razack as cited in Curry-Stevens, 2007, p. 37), as people try to distance themselves from privilege and avoid disrupting what is comfortable in their lives. A main advantage to this perspective is that it is seen as helpful in engaging people in socially transformative efforts, including alliance-building.

Within universities, discourses of internationalization and LGBTQ rights are commonplace in institutional policy texts; however, the tendency is for them to be pursued and articulated in separate institutional silos. Discourses about them are (re)produced separately, but explicitly; in contrast, the discourse of the ally is more likely to be implied and undefined, a fact which creates confusion about exactly what it means to stand as an ally. In the following sections, we present three tensions that surface upon examination of the convergence of the discourses outlined above.

Tension 1: LGBTQ Rights/Institutional Financial Growth

Kaela

As I start this inquiry, I go to the institutional texts that are closest to home for me: those written by and for the university where I work. I find that, within equity-oriented texts, "rights" can be expressed through rhetoric of "respect for the dignity of all persons" and "fair and equitable treatment of individuals" (University of Calgary, 2014, p. 4). I am surprised to find explicit reference to sexual orientation in the University's sexual harassment policy (University of Calgary, 1990), which prohibits "physical or verbal conduct… in a manner which the actor knows or ought reasonably to know creates…an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working, learning, or living environment" (para 3). These are exactly the assurances that LGBTQ-identified people have pressed for. Successes in Western societies are apparent, albeit sometimes also arguable, in the legalization of homosexual behaviour and same-sex relationships, extension of marriage and adoption rights, assurances of non-discrimination in the workplace, coverage of gender transition procedures, and other shifts in social and organizational policy.

When attention turns to internationalization in my University's texts, priorities seem quite different, even if some key rhetoric remains in place. The University's *International Strategy* (University of Calgary, 2013) makes no mention of the concern about how LGBTQ staff and students will be treated when they engage in internationalization. Nor, for that matter, does it comment on the circumstances of ordinary citizens in countries where collaborations are undertaken. Like the policy documents that deal with conduct and harassment, the documents that focus on internationalization feature frequent references to diversity; however, that word seems to be convenient for its varied meanings and associations. In relation to the internationalization discourse, diversity appears as a stand-in for financial and industrial positioning, and is promoted to advance graduates' standing in "a global marketplace" and in "the local economy by attracting high-quality personnel to Alberta" (University of Calgary, 2013, p. 2).

What this suggests to me is that, when an LGBTQ rights discourse is set against internationalization, at least at the University of Calgary, the outright prohibition against intimidation and hostility seems to become contingent on the fulfillment of other priorities. Ultimately, the common use of the word diversity across policies and discourses central to different offices creates confusion about exactly what is extended to and expected of LGBTQ-identified faculty members and students.

Rob

Kaela, your focus on the University of Calgary has prompted me to take a critical look at what is currently happening at the University of Manitoba. How timely it is that the University of Manitoba has started its internationalization process (University of Manitoba, 2014a) during a proposed

4% cut for both 2015-16 and 2016-17 school years (University of Manitoba, 2014b). In this internationalization process we have new regional advisory groups largely based on geographical regions to facilitate research and scholarship. So while departments struggle with harsh cutbacks which result in threats to academic quality, internationalization seemingly receives a political boost. Besides this observation, I also view the introduction of these regional groups as being a de-centring move that alleviates the "burden" of accountability from central administration towards equity discourses. Like your university, there is no mention of LGBTQ realities in the internationalization strategy. These regional groups, as informed by the terms of reference (University of Manitoba, 2014c), also have no expectation to be inclusive of LGBTQ realities, and, more broadly, to be equitable at all.

In my view, the university uses "cutbacks" so that other areas of potential financial growth are permitted (i.e., internationalization). This approach sets priorities and establishes hierarchies by determining what is important and what is less important. Along this vein I interpret the word "cutback" as also meaning "cutting back" on the university's responsibility towards equity and justice given the absence of this discourse in the internationalization process. Cutting back contains echoes of the past, and reminds me that, when LGBTQ people are not included in policy, we must (once again) speak up loudly about exclusion practices.

Tension 2: Safety/Risk
Kaela

As faculty members are invited and, sometimes, expected to conduct portions of their work in far-away places, some who self-identify as LGBTQ might travel to countries with anti-homosexuality laws. This paper is part of a larger emerging project for me – one that piqued my interest after hearing news stories in the lead-up to the Sochi Olympics. Actions and reactions from various governments, sporting bodies, and individuals clarified just how hostile and volatile the situation can be for LGBTQ visitors (and residents) in some countries.

What might such stories and the conditions behind them mean for me as a scholar who happens to self-identify as lesbian? Likewise, study abroad programs promoted as experiential learning opportunities which can strengthen a student's resume might be dangerous for LGBTQ-identified students. I return to the institutional texts, and find that risk assessment is recognized as a priority in the University of Calgary's internationalization strategy. References to it are rather cryptic, though, and give me little reassurance in thinking about vulnerabilities of me and other LGBTQ faculty members or students. In a paragraph on risk assessment, the document notes that "the safety and security of our students, faculty and staff is paramount. The operation of all international activities must proceed within a well-considered, enterprise-wide, risk-management framework that will include reputational and financial risk assessment" (University of Calgary, 2013, p. 5). To me, it seems that the

primary concern is the institution as a corporation, rather than as a community of human beings. I know that the University operates a satellite Nursing campus in Qatar, where male homosexuality (although not, apparently, lesbianism) is illegal. For the University, Qatar has passed any test of riskiness. I would be surprised, though, if that test included hazards for LGBTQ faculty members who might be – and have been – asked to travel to that campus in support of internationalization.

As second wave feminists understood and insisted, the personal is always political, and the association between the personal and political spheres can become evident in quick and surprising ways. By late spring 2014, I decide that I would not attend international conferences located in countries that had an anti-homosexuality law on the books, even if any such law was not enforced. For me, that decision is about more than my own safety; it is about the obligation that scholars (should) have to one another, and to at least consider ramifications of such decisions. What might the implications of that decision be for my own academic future?

Several months later, I am touched by a segment on the radio show Q. It features Danish photographer Mads Nissen, who won a major prize after producing a series of photographs of gay couples in Russia. Asked by the interviewer why he, a straight person, champions LGBTQ people and rights, he explained that his interest is in human rights broadly. He was struck, he said, by the awareness that "a kiss can be more dangerous than a bomb" ("Mads Nissen," 2015). That sentiment seems quite different from the perspective apparent in the University of Calgary's internationalization strategy and activities.

Rob

What is being asked – either implicitly or explicitly – of the LGBTQ person is silence and compliance to internationalization processes. Opportunities are often positioned in pedagogies that show promise for intercultural communication and understanding, such as service learning or experiential learning. Yet when I think of these pedagogies, I cannot escape the fact that there are structures of exclusion made more visible – and indeed strengthened – through them. Through (dis)location, it becomes clear that, with such harsh political, social, and legal contexts firmly in place, the "service learning" lesson that emerges is that LGBTQ people need to learn how to stay alive and under the radar, and how to mask identity. Rarely is there consultation between internationalization and equity offices. There seems to be unspoken assumptions that equity means respecting internationalization (e.g., challenges facing international students; overseas students are being openly accepted in their temporary study situations) and that internationalization is respecting equity (e.g., marginalized people are given voice in the development of new campuses). Besides this non-communication, my concern is how easily these initiatives are uncritically pursued despite the equity activity that is becoming more prominent in Canadian universities.

We argue – and agree – that heteronormativity is at work in these internationalization discourses, which ignore the reality that LGBTQ-identified educators and students are not safe and welcomed like their straight counterparts (Hill, 2008). It becomes a case of equity and internationalization discourses not speaking to one another. As the earlier section points out, given the financial rewards, internationalization remains the dominant force.

Tension 3: Marginalized/Ally
Campuses often are seen as especially progressive and welcoming. In that sense, the academy itself can be seen as a sort of ally, standing in solidarity with its LGBTQ-identified faculty staff and students who have faced marginalization throughout society. An equity-oriented discourse extending to LGBTQ people is evident in workshops and seminars; "safe" spaces designated by signage and rainbow stickers; gender studies courses and programs; queer studies scholarship; centres for LGBTQ people and allies; policies of inclusion; and, increasingly, non-gendered washrooms.

Still, research rarely explores academic life for LGBTQ people (Dilley, 2004; Engberg, Hurtado, & Smith, 2007; Hill, 1995, 2013; Renn, 2010), and researchers who do explore this topic have found that life is not always rosy on campus. On the one hand, universities are a meeting ground for people from a range of backgrounds and with varied identities. Encountering people with diverse identities can foster empathy and respect among members of majority groups (Engberg, Hurtado, & Smith, 2007); presumably, those qualities are important in alliance-building. On the other hand, academic institutions remain places where LGBTQ students and faculty members report experiences of discrimination and harassment (Dilley, 2004; Engberg, Hurtado, & Smith, 2007). In short, the academy can help LGBTQ people counter homophobia alongside new-found allies, even as it reinforces the message that LGBTQ people belong on the margins. Western universities appear to embrace the function of ally, even if their track record in realizing promises is inconsistent. In this regard, the Western academy is a microcosm of Western society, which often is idealized by both those who live within it and those – especially LGBTQ-identified individuals – who live in places where homosexuality is met with legally and socially sanctioned punishment (Mizzi, 2013).

Implications and Concluding Thoughts
The Western university has long attracted critique and criticism, often for promoting elitism, exclusion, and imperialist interests; however, changes that have accompanied contemporary, neoliberal globalization create new questions and problems for everybody who lives within it (Jubas & Seidel, 2014). For LGBTQ-identified people, though, the questions and problems are somewhat unique. In a context which both deals with policy on a campus-wide basis and embraces international partnerships and exchanges, where exactly does the campus begin and end? What might its equity-related

discourses and policies mean to the faculty members who need them most?

Despite the critiques against it, the academy has come to be seen as notable for being serious about the need to develop as a progressive, welcoming place. We ourselves were attracted into academic life precisely because of a sense that we could pursue work that was important to us, and lives that felt authentic and safe for us. Now, we find ourselves in a field replete with unanticipated complications of an unprecedented scale that seem to affect us in particular, and very material ways. The discursive conundrums outlined above are not just about words and texts; rather, they implicate our employers, our colleagues, our students, our existing and potential partners or collaborators, and our own selves in cultural, social, and material relations that can leave us questioning who we are and can be as scholars and as LGBTQ-identified people.

Working on this paper together has become a space of both community and individuality. Our improvisational approach to it reflects how openly identified LGBTQ folks routinely experience and respond to exclusion. In such moments, we have to think on the spot and respond in a way that fosters a combination of dialogue with others (some, but not all of whom might ally with us), solidarity with one another, and, sometimes, individual assertiveness. The issues that we confront and that we have discussed here are complicated and complex, and our approach has helped us identify and unravel some of the complications and complexities.

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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

A Steep Learning Curve – Supporting 'Cross-Cultural Competence' within Higher Education

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ABSTRACT

Universities play a crucial role in educating and supporting their members to develop and strengthen cross-cultural competencies. One of four broad goals identified in the UCalgary International Strategy *focuses on improving global and cross-cultural competencies across the university community. In this paper, the authors detail UCalgary's strategy to achieve this goal. Guided by philosophical underpinnings and practices that support adult learner engagement and learning, a conceptual model, currently in development, is presented.*

Background

A deepened focus on internationalization in higher education is a result of the globalized, knowledge-based economy of the 21st century. Globalization can be understood as the rapidly expanding economic connections within world markets, resulting in an increased interconnectivity and mobility of people, ideas, and goods made possible by advancements in technology. The circulation of people, ideas, and goods within and across national boundaries has resulted in the efforts of most higher education institutions to devise internationalization strategies. The goal of these strategies is to integrate comprehensive international and intercultural dimensions into teaching, research, scholarship, creative activity, and practice, to enable faculty, staff, and students to contribute to and participate in the increasingly more diverse, multicultural and global socio-economic, political and cultural contexts in which we live and work. The strategies recommend the integration of an "international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions [and] delivery of post- secondary education" (Knight, 2003).

While the internationalization of higher education is in a constant state of transformation (Leask, 2008), international activities of universities over the past two decades have dramatically expanded in volume, scope, and complexity (Altbach & Knight, 2007). These activities range from traditional study abroad programs that encourage students to learn about other cultures by immersing themselves in those cultures, to providing access to higher education in countries where local institutions cannot meet the demand, often through devising joint degrees and curricula or development projects. Other post-secondary activities have stressed upgrading the international perspectives, knowledge, and skills of students, enhancing foreign language programs, and providing cross-cultural training, either stand-alone or built into programs and courses. Expanding international political and economic linkages, the increasing demand of the international labour market for an internationally sensitive and globally aware work force, and the mounting need for intercultural sensitivity within the growing diversity of Western industrial nations have prompted many universities to focus their internationalization efforts on either attracting international students or promoting international mobility through cross-border education opportunities. Currently, however, only about 5% of all students take advantage of a study abroad experience (Clifford, 2011). Internationalizing the "home student" has therefore become more of a focus in higher education research over the past years, with studies focusing on the global dimension of the curriculum (Clifford, 2011; Dunne, 2009; Trahar & Hyland, 2011).

In fact, research on internationalization in higher education has identified precisely the emphasis on students as the focus of many international activities. Yet, for post-secondary institutions to infuse their entire organization with the goals and values identified in their internationalization plans, internationalization has to become relevant, meaningful, and rewarding to every employee group on campus. The reliance on individual and limited initiatives often results in a fragmented approach to internationalization. Universities do not just require clearly defined institutional strategies, but those that articulate meaningfully the relevance of

internationalization for different groups and different levels across the institution (Childress, 2009).

The University of Calgary has made a deep commitment to support all of its members – students, faculty, staff, and administrators – to assume important roles as players, facilitators, and mediators in cross-cultural contexts, at home and abroad. . Our paper will focus on *Goal Two* of four broad goals in the university's *International Strategy*, passed in 2012. Goal Two centers on "Improv[ing] global and cross-cultural competencies within our campus communities" (2012, p. 8). "Being an internationalized university is … not just about the proportion of international students or staff or the number of our students who study abroad but rather about the extent to which internationalization enters the very fabric of our research and educational enterprise" (IS, p. 18). "Achieving this goal requires a focus on the global and cross-cultural competencies and experiences of our students, staff and faculty" (IS, p. 18), while acknowledging and allowing for different levels of emphasis and competency in different places in the institution. This paper details the University of Calgary's commitment and approach to defining the concept of cross-cultural competencies and the way in which they are designed to permeate all levels of the institution.

Exploring Meanings of Cross-Cultural Competence

Cross-cultural competence refers to the knowledge and comprehension, skills, and values that enable individuals to adapt and interact effectively in cross-cultural environments. One of the foremost researchers on defining cross-cultural competencies within higher education, Clara Deardorff (2009), defined intercultural competence as individuals' ability to interact effectively and appropriately in cross-cultural situations based on their intercultural attitudes, knowledge and comprehension, and skills. Deardorff conceived of intercultural competence as an ongoing, continually evolving, interrelated process that involves three aspects in particular: the self-awareness of being in a particular cultural context, the appreciation of cultural differences, and the development of general strategies to respond to cultural difference. Hiller and Wozniak (2009) similarly defined intercultural competence as having the capacity to understand and analyze other cultural systems and the ability to approach cultural "others" without feeling threatened.

There exists a high level consensus regarding the core elements necessary to acquire cross-cultural competence; these are attitudes, knowledge and comprehension, and skills (Deardorff, 2009). Attitudes include valuing cultural "Otherness," and self-monitoring and resisting ethnocentric behavior (Paige & Goode, 2009; Teekens, 2003). Knowledge and comprehension often refers to acquiring culture-specific information, developing linguistic knowledge (Paige & Goode, 2009), or building an awareness of global systems (Olson & Kroeger 2001). Skills entail engaging in critical self-reflection, self-awareness, reflexivity, and communicating across cultures (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Deardorff's model is process oriented and assumes that, when

core elements work together, they produce a number of shifts that indicate cross-cultural complexity and competence. Examples include a shift in a person's frame of reference, indicative of increased adaptability, and a shift in appropriate behavior in intercultural situations.

Assumptions

At the University of Calgary, the process of delineating cross-cultural competencies was guided by a number of assumptions and decisions. *The Internationalization Task Force on Cross-Cultural Competencies (CCC)* was formed and charged with defining such competencies for the institution. The committee, through deep dialogue, and the sharing of perspectives and expertise, explored, interrogated and expanded the concept of cross-cultural competence. The committee decided to adopt the non-static process model as set out by Deardorff (2009). One of the first unanimous decisions the committee made was to determine that cross-cultural competence at the University of Calgary was to apply to all members of the campus community – to students, faculty, staff, and administrators. While Deardorff's model is most often applied to student learning and outcomes, the committee felt that it needed to be expanded to include each of these groups, and that members of these diverse groups would need opportunities to acquire different levels of competency. Deardorff's model assumes that it is individuals who will acquire cross-cultural competencies; the task force/committee set out to re-frame (re-define) Deardorff's model to ensure that cross-cultural competence permeates the entire organization resulting in a culturally competent organization.

The CCC committee defined three layers of competence expressed in three stages; each layer represents an increased level of competency. The graduated layers of competencies include: Awareness, Leadership, and Engagement. Within the context of the re-framed model, all those who research, teach, work, study, and manage at the University of Calgary *would not* acquire all of the competencies to the same extent, nor would they be expected to achieve advanced cross-cultural proficiency in all categories. Rather, a combination of proficiency levels would support the institution's efforts to internationalize its students, faculty, staff, and administrators.

Also significant was the belief that cross-cultural competence could not be acquired in a singular experience, course, assignment, workshop, or training module. Rather, cultural competency needed to permeate the university's academic curricula, faculty, and staff professionalization, and be woven into performance metrics in order to be effective. Members of the university community would acquire cross-cultural competence cumulatively: through students' entire university career in curricular and co-curricular programming, through faculty mentorship opportunities to manage diversity as part of their research networks and class composition, and through staff training to communicate within an increasingly diverse campus community. This process model extended beyond the individualistic concept that

Deardorff put forward, by considering the inter-linkages between different levels and layers of the organization.

At the University of Calgary, cross-cultural competencies play out in two different ways, *internationally* and *intranationally*. "Internationally," cross-cultural competencies play out in collaboration/partnerships with post-secondary institutions around the world. These partnerships help participants to gain competencies, skills, and attitudes that lead to successful performance in diverse multicultural teams and international settings. While all students, faculty, staff, and university administrators need cross-cultural competencies to engage with stakeholders globally, cross-cultural competence is also a factor "intranationally," within Canada. Canadian society has been shaped by historic immigrant patterns and colonial legacies and is impacted by new immigration patterns, a trend accelerated by the need for foreign skilled labour. Cross-cultural competence and intercultural sensitivity and knowledge apply to an increasingly intercultural and international Canadian society impacted by accelerating patterns of globalization.

Three specific cross-cultural competencies were defined by the CCC committee to address Goal Two. These three cross-cultural competencies were:

1. *Understanding Global Connections and Cultural Differences* – refers to the complex interdependency of worldwide systems that include natural systems and built systems. Understanding cultural differences within and across local, global and international contexts includes realizing how cultures can be marked and assigned a place within built systems and relates to power structures in which hierarchies, inequalities, and opportunities may vary and change with time and place.

2. *Communicating Across Cultures* – refers to the ability to traverse cultural boundaries to bridge differences and collaboratively reach common goals in a variety of ways: by becoming aware of the relationship between language and meaning in a societal context; by communicating and behaving effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations; and by understanding language as a vehicle that shapes cultural ideas and assumptions, contains cues of social communication and is inextricably linked with non-verbal behaviours and conduct.

3. *Analyzing Cultures and Valuing Diversity* – concerns the concept that the cultures we traverse in our personal, academic and professional lives exist in contexts, such as disciplines, departments, and institutions, but also cultural groups, social classes, or nations. The ability to analyze culture and value diversity includes the ability to compare how cultures are embedded in power structures, the capacity to respect multiple perspectives, a high degree of self-reflexivity, and an awareness of how place as well as historical legacies and ideologies shape the nature of knowledge, individual actions and interpretations of culture.

Figure 1.
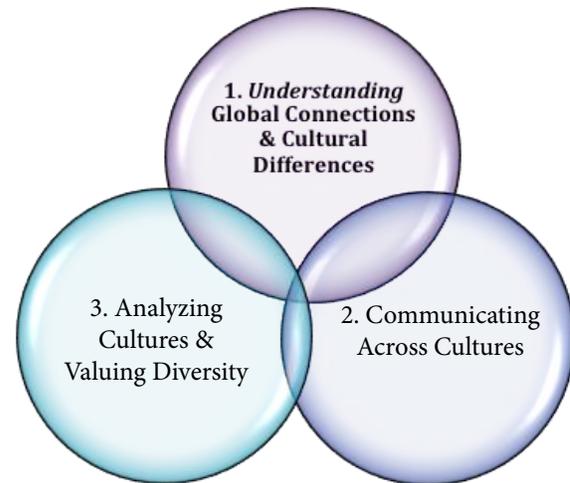
Competencies acquired by individuals in the organization will result in an institution in which cross-cultural competence permeates institutional processes, from academic units all the way to administrative levels throughout the organization.

Culturally Competent Organizations

The distinction between individuals and the organization is important, as organizational cultural competence includes individual and institutional-level commitment in support of developing and strengthening cultural competencies and capacity.

At an individual level, cross-cultural competence speaks to the ability to engage openly and authentically with others from different cultural backgrounds and linguistic groups. This encompasses sensitivities and sensibilities, a deepened awareness, and the ability to effectively communicate with individuals who span diverse cultural traditions, beliefs, perspectives, faith traditions, practices, and socio-economic backgrounds. To acquire the knowledge, temperament, and skills to engage with a globalizing world (American Council of Education, 2006), individuals require a transformative context. According to Cushner and Brennan (2007), transformative contexts provide learning spaces within which discoveries are made "while experiencing a cross-cultural encounter rather than acquiring information 'about' *others* in a predominantly cognitive and abstract way" (as cited in Seeberg & Minick, 2012, p. 1). Drawing from their own experience in higher education contexts, Seeberg and Minick maintained that:

> …socio-historical and socio-cultural knowledge of a multicultural globalizing world continues, despite transformative rhetoric, to be conveyed in traditional ways. Global learning is taught as an intellectual exercise, relying on course readings, for example, and has not been approached as a transformative exercise. (p. 2)

Cultural competence at an organizational level needs to permeate the *whole* curriculum and be anchored in the organization's fabric. At the organizational level, cultural competence typically refers to congruent attitudes, practices, policies, processes, and structures that enable members to work effectively in cross-cultural situations. Denboba (1993) asserted that:

At a systems, organizational or program level, cultural competence requires a comprehensive and coordinated plan that includes interventions on levels of:

1. policy making

2. infrastructure building

3. program administration and evaluation

4. the delivery of services and enabling supports, and

5. the individual

This often requires the re-examination of mission statements, policies and procedures, and administrative practices. (Curricula Enhancement Module Series, para.7)

Aligning to Denboba's assertion, UCalgary is focused on developing and strengthening learnable and teachable cross-cultural competencies that all members of the campus community should acquire. This includes:

- Clearly articulating a vision regarding the importance of diversity and inclusion to the organization

- Anchoring cross-cultural competencies within the university curriculum (making it part of the attributes that different faculties require their students to have acquired by the time they graduate) and as part of curriculum mapping exercises

- Systematically cross-referencing cultural competencies with related policies and university documents, such as Aboriginal policies, policies on equity and diversity, as well as faculty-specific documents outlining professional standards

- Assessing and increasing the opportunities for individuals and members of groups to internationalize their profile, experience, and cross-cultural competencies

- Offering ongoing education, mentoring, and evaluation throughout the organization to enable faculty, students, employees, managers and administrators to acquire the skills necessary for developing a culturally competent organization

- Linking expectations and success to performance management and evaluation systems to create accountability for cross-cultural competence.

Elaborating on Three Key Cross-Cultural Competencies (UCalgary)

To address and support the development and strengthening of cross-cultural competencies, UCalgary has further defined the three aforementioned key competencies (see aforementioned *Figure 1*)

1. *Understanding* Global Connections & Cultural Differences

- Understand interdependency of worldwide systems (natural and built)

- Analyze power structures across time and space

- Discern cultural differences in local and global contexts

- Recognize inequalities and injustices related to gender, race, nationhood, religion, age, class

- Assess human impact on worldwide systems

2. *Communicating* Across Cultures

- Compare hierarchies and inequalities embedded in culture

- Respect multiple cultural perspectives

- Understand cultures as existing in contexts

- Engage in critical self-reflection regarding one's own culture

- Understand cultures as constantly changing

- Grasp historical legacies shaping knowledge, individuals, and values

3. Analyzing Cultures & Valuing Diversity

- Appreciate relation between language and social context

- Recognize linkage between language and non-verbal behaviours

- Bridge cultural differences to reach common goals

- Appropriate intercultural communication

- Traverse cultural boundaries

- Understand language as shaping values and beliefs

All members of the University of Calgary community need the capacity to meaningfully engage within and across cultures, and the ability to place their own and other perspectives in historical and political contexts in order to reach common goals. The three cross-cultural competencies help to define a process through which all members will become informed, open-minded, responsible, and attentive to diversity across a wide spectrum of differences, seeking to understand how their actions affect local and global communities, and how pressing problems in today's world can be best addressed collaboratively.

Varying Roles and Responsibilities

A culturally competent institution involves the engagement and commitment of everyone on campus. As an institution, we are committed to building culturally safe environments inside and outside the university. This requires a certain

level of competency from every member of the university. The majority of the campus community will develop a basic level of CCCs (*Awareness*). A smaller group will acquire intermediate competencies in two or more areas (*Engagement*). Another group of individuals will develop expert or advanced competencies and act as leaders and mentors across campus (*Leadership*). This combination of proficiency levels will support the institution's efforts to internationalize its students, faculty, staff, and administrators.

Developing cross-cultural competencies is not a "one-off" event. Working towards this goal is ongoing and multifaceted, and requires multi-level processes and initiatives. Faculty, students, administrators and staff will be supported to acquire cross-cultural competence cumulatively – through students' entire university career in curricular and co-curricular programming, through faculty mentorship opportunities to manage diversity as part of their research networks and class composition, and through staff training to communicate within an increasingly diverse campus community. Working towards this goal requires permeating the university's academic curricula, faculty and staff professionalization. It is also paramount that performance metrics be developed to determine effectiveness.

Next Steps

After the Internationalization Task Force on Cross-Cultural Competencies (CCC) completed its initial report, the task force proposed that a space for dialogue be created within which faculty and non-faculty from across the campus community would be invited to share experiences and perspectives, and to identify priorities for developing and strengthening cross-cultural competence. It was decided that a half-day session would provide this space for engagement and dialogue. All faculties and schools across the university have been invited to send two or three representatives to participate in this dialogue, scheduled to occur early this year (2015).

Objectives to guide the dialogue:

1. To support meaningful dialogue and engagement related to Goal 2 of the University of Calgary's International Strategy: To improve global and cross cultural competencies within our campus communities;

2. To recommend priority areas and strategies to enhance cross-cultural competencies across the University of Calgary.

Designed to engage members of the university community more broadly and deeply, the authors believe that this type of engagement will lead to a commitment to action and contribute to a culture of collaboration in support of internationalization.

Dialogue session design. Guided by and adapting design elements of a "World Café" (Brown & Isaacs, 2005; Prewitt, 2011), the following activities will shape and inform a three-hour dialogue session:

- Collaboratively explore questions in small table café conversation

- Rotate through café conversations and mix groups

- Build upon each other's ideas

- Table hosts stay at table to record and summarize key ideas

- Large group discussion to debrief, identify, and prioritize themes

The following three questions will guide table discussions:

Question 1: What are we already doing that works? What are we currently doing to support and enable cross-cultural competence at the University of Calgary? What successes can we build upon? What existing strengths and areas of expertise can we leverage?

Question 2: What gaps and new opportunities exist? How do we further enhance global and cross-cultural competencies at the University of Calgary? What else needs to be done?

Question 3: What three priorities would you like the Internationalization Task Force on Cross-Cultural Competencies (CCC) to focus their efforts on, moving forward?

Participants will be invited to move from table to table, at specified time intervals, in order to benefit from a broader sharing of experience and perspective. After priorities are identified and voted on (using "dot voting" strategy), participants will be asked: "*What actions can be taken to address our priorities? In the priority areas, what strategies can be implemented to enhance cross-cultural competencies at the University of Calgary?*"

Opening the "Space"

Faculties and schools unable to send representation will be contacted after the dialogue event. This will ensure the inclusion of broader expertise and perspectives. Data gathered will be analyzed by the chair and co-chair and shared with members of the Internationalization Task Force on Cross-Cultural Competencies (CCC). CCC will then recommend specific processes, procedures, and initiatives to support the development of university-wide, cross-cultural competencies.

A detailed plan to roll out the full report to Deans, Councils, and other executive teams across the university will also be formulated. This plan will include prioritized recommendations, timelines, and resources needed.

Summary

In this paper, we the authors hold that cross-cultural competencies are learnable and teachable for individuals and organizations. In support of this assertion, an *Internationalization Task Force on Cross-Cultural Competencies (CCC)* at the University of Calgary was formed to explore and define competencies to address *Goal Two* in the university's *International Strategy* (2012). Goal Two referred to "Improv[ing]

global and cross-cultural competencies within our campus communities" (p. 8).

After much dialogue, debate, and deliberation, the following three, specific cross-cultural competencies were defined by CCC to address this goal:

1. *Understanding Global Connections and Cultural Differences* refers to an understanding of the complex and overlapping worldwide systems (both natural and built), which operate in observable patterns and often are affected by or are the result of human design or disruption. Cultural difference includes the ability to recognize the roots and impact of one's own cultural heritage along with its limitations and its effects on other societies and cultures, including, but not limited to, understanding race, ethnicity, gender, nationhood, religion, and class.

2. *Communicating Across Cultures* includes verbal and nonverbal communication strategies to effectively talk, listen, and adapt to cultural others in order to negotiate a shared understanding and establish cross-cultural relationships and mutually beneficial action.

3. *Analyzing Cultures and Valuing Diversity* includes the commitment to learn respectfully about the cultural diversity of other people and to traverse cultural boundaries to bridge differences. It also encompasses the important skill of comparing and analyzing how cultures can be marked and assigned a place within power structures that determine hierarchies, inequalities, and opportunities, which can vary over time and place. Analyzing cultures and valuing diversity results in a deep understanding of multiple worldviews and experiences and an adjustment in one's own attitudes and beliefs.

These three competencies were then further explored, defined, and detailed in an extensive report generated by members of the Task Force. In this report, each competency was broken down into additional sub-competencies that spanned *basic* through *more advanced* levels of knowledge, skills, and abilities (Awareness, Engagement, and Leadership). This combination of proficiency aligns to and supports roles and responsibilities of students, faculty, staff, and administrators at the University of Calgary.

Spaces for dialogue and to gain feedback on the aforementioned competencies have been created to include a cross-section of community members at the university. In addition to gathering feedback, participants will be asked to identify priorities and recommendations in support of moving forward to develop and strengthen a culture of cross-cultural competence. Generating a plan of action to address priorities and recommendations will follow.

Due to the ever changing, complex, and evolving nature of human interactions, we recognize that developing and strengthening cross-cultural competence across our campus is an ongoing, iterative process. In keeping with this belief, the journey ahead will present numerous challenges as achieving cross-culturally competent knowledge, skills, and abilities can never be fully realized nor measured in finite terms.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ♦ ACÉÉA

Untangling Disability and Race—A Dialectic: "Dangerous", "Different", and "At Risk"

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a case study encompassing a student's story in N.B., Canada. The student's disability once disclosed is confronted with negative attitudes and contempt—leading to her mental health discomfort with the educational system in general. However, the narrative suggests an alternative approach to disability, that in this case, has led to the student's well-being and academic thriving. The case study goes further by presenting a case about a racialized student in the same school that is negatively approached by the school officials on the grounds of racial profiling/discrimination. The paper seeks to find connections as to how the small bodies of the "other" can be a threat to the White and able-bodied preference of the educational system at a micro-scale, and the nation at the macro scale. The paper suggests that a dialectic—as opposed to correlational or cause-and-effect methodology—should be adopted to untangle the ways in which disability and race manifest themselves in the educational system's attitudes toward disabled and/or racialized students. This paper offers a Critical Disability lens to seek an answer to why disabled students are perceived as a threat to the body of our schools; and a Critical Race Feminist theory to dismantle the "racialized othering" of Black and Brown bodies in our educational system.

Untangling Disability and Race—A Dialectic: "Dangerous", "Different", and "At Risk"

"Since the passage of the Education of All Handicapped Children Act (P.L. 94.142) in 1975, students with disabilities have been guaranteed a free and appropriate education in the least restrictive environment. Yet, nearly 30 years after the passage of this law (now referred to as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, or IDEA), many students with disabilities remain in educational settings separate from their non-disabled peers. Furthermore, Black students are overrepresented in 9 of 13 disability categories and are more likely than their White peers to be placed in highly restrictive (exclusionary) educational settings (Losen, & Orfield, 2002)." (Ferri & Connor, 2005)

This paper is an attempt to unravel the ways in which disability and race intersect/interact/interrelate in our educational system through a Historical-Materialist reading of human differences and the dialectic relationship between those differences. To do so, I will invoke the relevant literature to set a Marxist theoretical framework drawing upon Critical Disability Studies and Critical Race Feminist Theory to foreground my analysis of two real-life stories that have taken place in an elementary school. This research paper's methodology is ethnography. I will draw on two different cases to analyze the ways in which difference is constructed historically and materially within generative public spaces, such as schools. Consequently, I will analyze the narratives to extract salient themes that can explain how student experience violence in their schools solely on the grounds of their "difference". I argue that this paper could present crucial implications for the social justice implementation in our educational system at micro and macro levels.

Wanda Pillow's (2003), post-structuralist analysis, for instance, which is inspired by Foucault, is focused on the local/specific situations that fail to consider the historical proliferation/propagation/continuities/discontinuities of apparently-similar educational policies that are fully efficient in constructing marginalized groups in schools, such as LGBTTQI, physically and/or cognitively disabled, disabled racialized, and working-class racialized. I argue that to map historical trajectories that have a dialectic relationship with the outcome of educational policies, we need a materialist reading of Disability and/or Race in the constantly "normalizing" context of our schools—which as Foucault reminded us—are without a doubt the most powerful state apparatuses in place. Basically, this paper puts forth that the materialist and ideological construct of 'disability' are both, not only in a dialectic relationship with other differences, but also mutually capable of constituting those differences,

such as class, sexuality and race, within the exploitative conditions of transnational capitalism.

A Dialectic: "Dangerous", "Different", and "At Risk":

I aim in this paper to unsettle the already-interwoven narrative of 'normalcy' by reframing it into a transnational historical analysis; a history that comes back to haunt Brown and Black bodies in our schools even after all these years of slavery and indentured labor have elapsed. No choice in ever personal but, mediated and determined by historical, social, and economic relationship extended from the past. In this paper, I wonder what happens to racialized bodies in our schools? Why do they end up in segregated classrooms—that often lead to alternative schooling, and from there, on to become school-drop-outs before getting alienated in prison or ghetto neighborhoods? Michel Foucault, as a post-humanist/post-structuralist believed that inclusion of certain bodies doesn't mean anything except having cut them out and subsequently having tried to stitch them back. Foucault pointed out that ex/inclusion means nothing but assigning places to people who are perceived as needy of getting "fixed" and giving them their own place by "quarantining" their bodies in segregated spaces; this is not rejection, he believed, but "inclusion" (Foucault, 1964).

Anna[1]'s Narratives

Anna is 72 years old female who was born in Atlantic Canada. Anna was born with one eye, however, now, she has no vision. This is her narrative of being bullied in school on the grounds of her disabilities, and the prejudice her Black friend experienced on the grounds of his racial difference—whose voice we 'only'[2] hear through Anna. When she started school at the age of five, she had a very serious speech impediment. Upon looking into it, the medical system agreed that it was, physically, nothing wrong with her; so the problem was probably emotional. But she really was self-conscious (i.e., being hyper-aware of your difference from others has been extensively discussed by Sara Ahmed [3]and Patricia L. Price[4]) and always embarrassed about it. However, the teachers at that time (and we are going back several years now) would say: "Oh, Anna! Would you like to stand up and tell the class [whatever]"; and then of course when she would turn red, stutter and stammer, they would all laugh; then the teacher would move on and ask someone else the same question.

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1   This is a real life story but a pseudo-name has been used for confidentiality purposes.
2   Here I emphasize that the Black boy's voice is *still absent*, even though we can hear him through Anna. Basically, the second narrative/case-study is told through Anna's story, as opposed to having his very own voice. This, I argue, is still poignant, since it per se communicates the Black voice's absence. If Anna were not conscientious enough to have noted her Black classmate's sufferings, we would not have heard his story at all. So again I emphasize that the Black voice still reaches us because the *White voice wants so.*
3   (Ahmed, 2000)
4   (Price, 2012)

The prejudice was very subtle. She not only had the speech impediment, but also she was blind in her right eye. She often would bump into things on her way in-and-out of the classroom and she would get yelled at for being clumsy, even though she wore glasses and they were fully aware of her situation. Also with the speech impediment, the prejudice was very subtle. It was not necessarily a nasty thing verbally, but it was like semi-concealed smiles; the teacher would send Anna class to class to see if somebody had found something and then she would just sit down on the stairs because she was so embarrassed; she almost sensed nothing but shame. Anna was raised in a fundamentalist protestant home and she was not allowed to participate in gym or any recess activities because she was not allowed to wear gym clothes or any form of pants, so when other kids were at the gym, the teacher had to sit in the room with her, so she could study or read. Anna would look up and the teacher would be glaring at her, making faces while smiling. All she wanted was *to be with other kids and not to feel very isolated—very left out.*

Anna never figured out what it was all about. When she was in grade five, there were about 35 kids in her class. But in that school, one third of the kids were black and the other two thirds were white. One seat beside her and one back, there was this one black boy who was quite large for his age, because he had to work—physical work, to help feed his family. When the teacher got tired of tormenting her, she would go back, take her strap and pound on the Black boy's back. Anna remembers looking back and seeing the tears running down his cheeks; and she would get so angry, but she couldn't say anything because then she would be thrown out of the room. Besides, she couldn't talk well enough to protect him, or herself, but the Black boy wasn't able to protect himself either. Because even though the Black boy could speak very clearly, he did not dare to look up or complain to a White woman. So that created even more anger, more shame for Anna because she couldn't speak up for him; and she felt ashamed of her race for humiliating another human being.

In grade five, Anna was very fortunate; she remembers that her teacher really took an interest in her in the sense that she became aware that Anna was very interested in words. She did a lot of reading because as you can imagine that was Anna's only escape and so the teacher used to really encourage her with her words, her English, her definitions and vocabulary etc.. Towards the end of the year, the teacher asked her: "Anna! What is your favorite word?" and Anna looked at her with a big smile and very clearly said "my favorite word is idiosyncratic" and the big smile that came on the teacher's face from ear to ear was more than a one million dollar cheque to Anna. She felt like somebody had given her a big hug and that "Hey! Maybe I can talk straight after all". By the next year, Anna's speech impediment had disappeared completely.

As the story suggests, Anna's experience of violence as a child in the society and a student in a generative public space like school is shaped by the attitudes of people surrounding her, such as teachers and classmates. Anna's impairment

disappears once afforded an alternative attitude, which is explainable through the Social Model of Disability as opposed to the Medical Model (Oliver & Colin, 1997). The medical model or the medicalization of disability, gives healthcare providers, particularly doctors, the power to have control over the lives of people with a disability, because often disability is confused with illness (Oliver, 1992).

As a result, doctors constantly try to get disabled people normal and return people with disabilities to the condition of normalcy (Titchkosky, 2005). This is a highly stigmatized issue in our society, since instead of accepting every person the way they are, society tries to normalize them (Oliver, 1992). The medical model, as Bircher states, is based on cure or prevention and closeness of individuals to the state of normalcy; also healthcare providers identify an independent person as someone who is able to self-care, but not necessarily someone who has control over his physiological as well as psychological life (2000).

On the other hand, Paul Abberley (1987) argues that disability is embodied, and impairment is social. Some scholars also believe that mental illness is a social construct, meaning it does exist in the outside world to a limit but beyond that limit all that exist in the DSM[5] (Eisenberg, 1988). Even though the social model of disability appears to be the most righteous discourse in disability studies, there are still opponent scholars who think the social model of disability fails to address mental disability thoroughly. A disability scholar—Essya Nabbali (2009) states, "critics of the social model of disability claim that this framework is not able to fully embrace the entire intersections that are created as a result of the juncture between disability and other constructs, such as age (Zarb & Oliver, 1993), gender (Smith & Hutchinson, 2004), class (Williams, 1983), age-of-onset and/or type of impairment (Chappell, 1998; Hughes & Paterson, 1997; Tew, 2002)" (Nabbali, 2009, p. 5). She also suggests that Mad people's voices have not been expressed in this model, which should have if it was an inclusive model (Nabbali, 2009).

Anna started school as a White girl from a religious and conservative home with two visible disabilities. Anna was marked as different and she was *conscious* of it. This real-life story happens in 1960s, when many educational reforms had not taken place and implemented in Canada. Nowadays, we might not find a teacher with strap who overtly punishes her/his students; however, I argue, the covert 'othering' process of students with a disability still occurs in our schools. The 'othering' process happens through alternative schooling, segregated classrooms, isolated immigrant families, destructive assumption (*she cannot do this, he cannot do that*).

To historicize the 'othering' process of disabled and/or racialized bodies, we should always remember, historicize, and politicized the Freak Shows, Plantation Slavery, Indentured Labour, Jim Crow, and etc. Anna is treated horribly as

a disabled student, and simultaneously, she wants to protest against another terrible scenario that is taking place behind her. Why doesn't the Black student confront his teacher? Anna believes that she was not articulate enough to defend her classmate, but what about the black student? What was preventing him from speaking up? Anna believes that he could have never raised his voice when speaking to a White woman? An important question that should be asked is what has changed since 1960s in the Canadian educational system? Teachers are most likely to get charged with child abuse, if they use physical punishment; but what about the attitudes, subtle behaviors, and semi-concealed smiles? What are teachers and administrators to do if a disabled and/or racialized child experiences subtle ableist and racist gazes? How often do we take action against these subtle behaviors that can devastate a child for a life-time? What would happen if Anna was not White, or the Black boy was also disabled?

A quick look at the political economy of disability reveals why the transnational capitalist system is in favour of *producing disability* as it has always been in favour of producing racialized subjects to exploit them as laborers for less exchange value (Young, 2009). Labour power in the capitalist system is purchased for an exchange value—the lesser the exchange value, the higher the profit. During plantation slavery, the exchange value for Black slaves was much less than the status quo payment for the same job carried out by White bodies (Young, 2009). The same discrimination has been applied to disabled bodies, because the capitalist economy purchases the labor power of a worker with impairment for less, and by doing so, produces disability/difference amongst workers in the global contexts (Erevelles, 2011). To enabling a transformative body politic, we need to first analyze the social relations that produce disability in the historical context. As Tanya Titchkosly has insightfully observed: "the meaning of the body resides between the bodies, between those who live through them, in them, and those who bring them to mind" (Titchkosky, 2005, p. 664).

Disability is not a private problem (Erevelles, 2011). Disability is a public issue and certainly a state issue. People with disability once in the society experience staring, belittling gazes, attitudes, or even charity/pitying looks (Garland-Thomson, 2009). Disability is not just a curb-cut and ramp issue. Disability is not a just a building construction problem; instead it is our problem it is a collective issue—our issue. According to Foucault, biopower (Foucault, 1964) is a technology, which appeared in the late eighteenth century for managing populations. It incorporates certain aspects of disciplinary power (1983). If disciplinary power is about training the actions of bodies, biopower is about managing the births, deaths, reproduction, and illnesses of a population (Foucault, 1983). Foucault believes that power is not a thing but a relation. Power is not simply repressive but it is productive (Foucault, 1963). Power is not simply a property of the State. Power is not something that is exclusively localized in government and the State (which is not a universal

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5 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders by American Psychiatric Association

essence), but is rather exercised throughout the social body (Foucault, 1983).

Another problem in our educational system that has been reinforced after 9/11 is the fear of Brown bodies as being affiliated with "terrorism". Jasbir Puar in her work "Terrorist Assemblage" explains how any contradiction to the American way of secularism and rationality is considered a deviation from the standard code of being in this neoliberal world (2007). Puar identifies this procedure as a way in which the Mad/sexualized/exception 'terrorist' is produced as a racialized 'other' (2007). Luangphinith calls it polarities and binaries that enable the exercise of Power, and therefore she suggest that the (re)thinking of Madness help to 'unsettle' the colonizer (2004). 3000 people were killed in 9/11 catastrophe. However, I would like to ask how many people have been killed as a result of the retaliation for 9/11? The answer is unknown, and that is enough to conclude the *invisibility* of the innocent racialized people whose lives do not matter to the West as much as the Americans who died in the 9/11 attacks (Erevelles, 2011). Lindsey German argues that modern wars are fought against civilians, and in fact, war weapons are designed to target the masses (German, 2008).

Nowadays, any terrorist attack anywhere in the world is ascribed to Muslim people who are perceived as less than human/uncivilized/savage, or to people with mental disability, as if no other violent non-Muslim exists in the West. So in this set of circumstances, *race and pathology* are the number one victims of imperialistic ideology and political agenda. Hijab and any traditional religious clothing in Western Europe and North America are perceived as outdated and non-modern practices (German, 2008). So what happens to the mental health and well-being of Brown/Middle-Eastern immigrants' children who are perceived as outdated "terrorist" threats to our "White" and "able-bodied" educational system, in particular, and to our nation, in general. If a Brown teenager—who wears his ethnic/religious clothing[6] to school every day—is called "Osama Bin-Laden" by his peers, and none of school's staff does address this bullying practice; does the child have any other choice than *eventually becoming "Osama Ben-Laden", or in the best case scenario, ending up with a mental health concern/disability/issue in an institution getting "fixed" by chemical medications* produced by gigantic pharmaceutical powers who benefit from his illness/disability.

James and Wu (2006) raise a salient question in Disability Studies: if race and disability are used interchangeably to foreground the commonality of inequality/discrimination, then how do we explain the failure in exploring the complex ways in which "the categories of ethnicity/race and disability are used to constitute one another" (James & Wu, 2006, p. 4)? The research results from the U.S. have demonstrated that the experience of discrimination based on disability, race, class, and gender can be internalized by the victim, and eventually get pathologized by the medical system as a "*mental health*" problem rather than a social issue created by social relations.

To contextualize what Patricia Monture calls *epistemic privilege*, it should be noted that knowledge is always gendered and raced (Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010); and I would add here that knowledge is always also abled and from an ableist perspective, since the acquisition of institutionalized knowledge is only possible through attending to Neo-liberal political economy of higher education[7]. Patricia Monture—as a Critical Race Feminist theorist and an Aboriginal academic—insightfully observes: "it is not clear to me that we can confidently say there has been a recognition that the Canadian education system has been widely acknowledged as 'unrealistic and paternalistic,' or as racist and colonial" (Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010, p. 26).

Malinda Smith expresses interest in 'disruptive storytelling' that is able to qestion the glass structure in which we operate and unwritten rules which we are expected to abide by. She boldly argues that if the social majority is encouraged to look at the world from the majority perspective, then that story is not just an anecdote, but also *power that disrupts the hegemonic Whiteness and bestows space to the invisible with an embodied future* (e.g., disabled, racialized, Aboriginal, LGBTTQI). Culturization of human differences and seeing them as a separate and distinguished phenomena has serious unethical implications for the discourses of social justice. Culturization of deviancy from "normal and the practice/appearance of normalcy" pushes the minority population (e.g., people with disability, racialized, immigrants and refugees, working-class, women of colour, LGBTTQI, indigenous people) to the margins where they *become* invisible, and perhaps, eventually erased by system (e.g., police brutality) (Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010).

Anna grew up in a White conservative protestant household, in which girls were not allowed to wear pants. Anna's parents did not even approve Anna's casual conversation with a Black child, let alone any closer human interaction, such as friendship or dating. On the other hand, Anna was student in a school, where her teacher was being overtly racist encountering the Black boy in her class whose body was slightly bigger than other kids (or perhaps, he looked bigger because he was black; this is how race and pathology constitute each other and that is how nowadays Black bodies are seen as athletic and unintelligent).

How does Anna—as a White future of her generation—stand against racism and ableism or any other social injustice—while all she learns in both educational spaces of home and school is racism and ableism; so, the reproduction of social injustice happens through the educational system as part of how children learn to maintain, rather than disrupt, the status quo of racially segregated schooling both within and across schools.

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6   Turban

7   The discussion of higher education and its political economy is beyond the scope of this paper, however it was mentioned here briefly to illuminate the ways in which access to knowledge is only possible for a certain social class and not for all.

Intertwined Histories of School Desegregation and Special Education

To understand the interaction between race and disability, they should be looked at first of all, as two interactive social constructs, as opposed to, two biological identity markers (Ferri & Connor, 2005). Disability and race have historical roots. The roots of both issues are embedded in the unequal power structure that should be politicized in order to be deconstructed and analyzed. Ferri and Connor (2005) argue that the problem of overrepresentation of Black students (and other students of color) in segregated special education classrooms—as a (de)segregational exercise is connected to the discourses exclusion. How does disability constitute race and race constitute disability?

If the White supremacy is articulated, examined, acknowledged, and eventually deconstructed and replaced by social justice for all, then many people would lose their current sense of superiority. Therefore, if there is access to full participation in society for disabled and racialized populations, then an equally-accessed job market would be generated as well (Ferri & Connor, 2005); however, that will result in undermining the capitalist system which can exist only on the basis of exploitation of some people by some people (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Another force that is necessary for durability and sustainability of the neoliberal system is regeneration of resources through war and the 'reconstruction contracts' that create jobs for the invading nation states (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Alternative schooling for racialized and disabled may have been abolished on paper; however, the overrepresentation of Black, Brown and disabled bodies in special education or academic tracking[8] can tell us that the status quo is being preserved by different means and under covert racism and ableism (Ferri & Connor, 2005).

Our society excludes people of color (as well as any person who deviates from the status quo), pathologizes them, and finally sends them to institutions. Therefore, I argue, in order to rectify this vicious cycle, racism should be targeted—not the individual who is the victim of it. According to Critical Race Theory, among White people, those who have a perception of self-importance might experience discomfort when interacting with racialized people (Brown, 2003). Racial terrorism and subtleties of hegemonic oppression give the opportunity for racialized people to get frustrated; however, they are not allowed to express that anger. The anger suppression becomes a health problem, as it was during the slavery period. *Denial of anger, on the other hand, becomes the status quo behavior expected from racialized people* by White people. This can lead to passivity, inward self-destruction, false affability, and being reserved (Brown, 2003). I used real-life accounts from people whom I deeply respect. I chose real-life narrative to articulate my counternarrative argument against the practice and dominance of

"normalcy". Some might say that my approach is personal; but they surely forget that as Parin Dossa (2008) states: "Our role as researchers then is to provide broader contexts to see how the personal is indeed historical and collective (testimonial). It is at this level that we can discern the parameters of alternative and demedicalized spaces, evoked by the narrative."

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8   Human difference is measured by the technologies of exclusion, including ability testing, tracking, labeling, and special education (Ferri & Connor, 2005) as opposed to being celebrated as diversity.

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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Addressing 21st Century Learners - A Comparative Analysis of Pictures and Images in Programs of Adult Education Providers in Canada and Germany

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ABSTRACT

The analysis will compare visuals in programs of adult education providers in Canada and Germany. The method of 'program analysis' will be applied. It explicates similarities and difference between two countries. The outlook will discuss future perspectives for indepth research on the role of visuals in adult education.

The context: Living in a world after the iconic and visual turn

Visuals seem to be of increasing importance in our contemporary societies after the so-called iconic or visual turn. Adult education should reflect on the ways it presents itself to the public and especially to potential learners. How is lifelong learning constructed not only by written discourses, but also by images and pictures (Dörner et al 2010, Dörner 2011)? What kinds of learners, groups of learners and ways of learning are addressed? What is missing or who is underrepresented? The analyses of different kinds of visuals can be also an important approach for adult education research. (Nolda 1998, Dörner 2012, Jubas 2013)

Programs in adult education serve as a hinge between potential learners and the provision of learning offers. Programs mean nowadays a wide variety ranging from huge printed catalogues, leaflets, webpages, downloadable pdf documents or databases in the internet. Programs contain written and visual materials. Thus, programs can be seen solely as everyday documents or as temporary marketing tools in order to encourage people to participate. Programs and the connected program planning are much more than that despite a partly ignorance for program planning of contemporary adult education research. (Käpplinger/Sork 2015) Historical, intercultural or international comparisons of programs make clear that programs are an expression of contemporary perceptions of what education or 'Bildung' is or what it is considered to be. This becomes obvious when

looking only at these images used in programs in Germany and Canada in the past and present:

Source: Disselhoff 2012, p. 75 · Source: Peel School District Board

The image to the left is from the city Dortmund in 1952. It is placed on the cover of community learning centre (*Volkshochschule*). The core message seems to be "progression" since three people (one female and two male silhouettes) walk steps upwards. Education will help to move upwards. In contrast, the picture to the left displays three women who are sitting in front of computers. Books and a seemingly world map are in the background. One woman is looking straight and smiling into the camera. Both images seem to be in many respects specific for their time, although I will discuss later how images are also transformed over time. This is especially valid for the motif of "progression". Especially by historical comparisons we become aware of changes and specialities. Similar holds true for international or cross-cultural comparisons, which make us more aware of the boundedness of our perceptions to the contexts we are familiar with.

Data and Methods: Analyzing images in adult education via program analysis

For this analysis, data was mainly collected via internet from almost 80 adult education providers in Canada and Germany[1]. The sample of the Canadian providers was obtained with the help of eight regional experts[2]. The experts were asked for homepages from a wide variety of providers ranging from vocational training to liberal education. The experts were asked to choose providers which they considered as "somehow typical for the field". The resulting rather heterogeneous sample consists out of university-based programs, community learning centres, commercial training agencies, literacy providers and vocational education providers. Programs of in-company training are not represented. (c. Schrader 2003) Different content areas are covered. The sample is of course not representative in a statistical understanding, but it is relatively big and it should give at least a good overview. The provided webpages of the providers were then searched and analysed with the help of my student assistants[3]. They copied and saved all available 176 pictures, images and icons from the websites and programs of 43 providers. This could mean to copy visuals from the website or from the heading of a written program catalogue.

30 providers from the cities Berlin, Dresden, Mainz, Munich, Kiel and the region Kassel in Germany were then chosen. The selection was oriented on the Canadian sample, which means regional differences were considered and it was intended to find similar types of providers like in Canada in order to increase the comparability and to reduce the risk of constituting a differing sample by choosing different types of providers[4]. 412 visuals were copied and saved. The quantitative differences between the Canadian and the German sample can be explained by the high number of icons and pictograms in German programs. The websites in Canada and Germany follow often a rather different logic[5], which required in Germany to go to a lower level on the websites in order to find images and then there are many images present. Overall, both samples are comparable, but the structure of adult education provision is overall very different in both countries[6]. Thus it is impossible to make an identical sample of providers for both countries. This limits the comparability. But it does not inhibit the analysis.

Based on the well-established and so-called method of 'program analysis' (Gieseke 2000, Nolda 2010, Käpplinger 2008) visuals of providers of adult education in Canada and Germany will be analyzed. The method of program analysis is differently applied, but the shared approach is that a program of an adult education organization and its many different materialized artifacts are an expression of contemporary perceptions of what education or 'Bildung' is or it is considered to be. A program is a hinge between supply and demand in relation to education. (c. Gieseke 2000) Thus, a 'program analysis' offers the chance, to know more about the interrelatedness of demand and supply before a course starts. People are addressed as potential learners by programs. The educational organization wants to attract potential learners by its program and its public representation. Of course, it is not a simple marketing tool, course descriptions can indirectly want to fulfill the wishes of third party financiers and the course reality can differ substantially from the envisaged scenarios as described in program texts and suggested by images. Program analysis has methodological pitfalls, which have to be kept in mind. But this is valid for any other method as well. For example, interviews describe also only parts of the 'reality'.

'Program analysis' is making use of different social science methods of content or document analysis (Nolda 2010, Käpplinger 2008). Like adult education research in general, it is predominantly focused on the analysis of written texts. Nonetheless, the analysis of images, pictures or even videos or movies has become increasingly popular in recent years. (c. Dörner et al 2010, Kade et al 2014, Jubas 2013) Technology like the internet and lower costs for videography makes this much more easier. It seems to be also sensible to pay more attention to visuals especially after the iconic and visual turn. Program analysis oriented on visuals is not very frequently done, but there are some works available (c. Disselhoff 2012, Nolda 1998, Schrader 2003), but which are often reduced to the analysis of a few images and pictures of few providers. It is likely that this research will intensify since material is easily available via the internet and processing images has become much easier in recent years.

The comparison between Canada and Germany offers the chance to highlight the influence of social-political contexts on program planning, but by a different approach than analyzing case studies. (Cervero/Wilson 1996) The guiding research questions were: Which differences but also similarities can be observed when analyzing Canadian and German programs in adult education? In which way diversity, individualism or credentialism are addressed in different societies? Which expectations are raised by images? Comparative analysis contains the chance to better understand the own context, when leaving the familiar terrain.

The paper will discuss implications of the analysis for both theory and practice. Which new insights can be drawn from the analysis of visuals in programs of adult education? What is the value of a program analysis in general since this method has not been - as far as I know -used in Canada. What is important when informing and supporting people

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1   Same programs were also personally collected during a field trip to Vancouver in summer 2014.

2   I am very grateful to Kaela Jubas (Calgary) Peter Sawchuk (Toronto), Tom Sork (Vancouver), Christine Durant & Leona English & Patricia Gouthro & Jim Sharpe (Nova Scotia) and Thomas Michael Power (Montreal & Quebec).

3   I am very grateful to Elise Glaß and Ulrike Genth.

4   We have chosen regional Volkshochschulen, chambers of commerce, private language schools, university-based programs, etc.

5   This could be also an interesting research topic. The analysis here is not focused on the exact position, where images or pictures are placed in the programs and the webpages.

6   It was interesting for me to learn from the Canadian experts that there are rather rarely nationwide or even regional public databases with adult education providers (e.g. http://ns.literacy.ca/), while public financed databases have become popular in Germany in the last two decades. Examples: http://kursnet-finden.arbeitsagentur.de/kurs/ or http://www.iwwb.de/ or http://www.wdb-suchportal.de/

in planning a program and choosing adequate visual representations for adult's learning?

Results

The many different visuals were based on a partly inductive and partly so-called iconografical approach (c. Dörner 2011, p. 295, Panofsky 1955) grouped as following:

1. Pictures of people

2. Pictures of objects like buildings

3. Images like icons, symbols, drawings, etc.

The first group consists of pictures of individuals and groups of people or people assumed to be learners. One woman or one man is often displayed in Canada (see only some examples of many in figure 1):

Figure 1: Individual women

Source: Canadian programs

Figure 2: Individual men
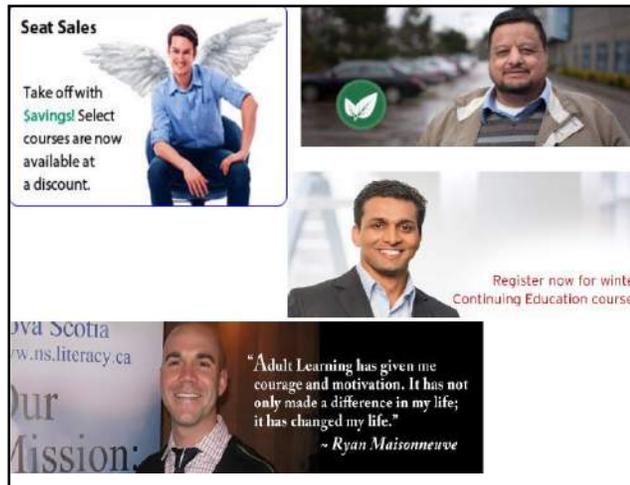
Source: Canadian programs

The pictures are often combined with motivating text messages like here "learn more", "the worlds needs you", "invest in yourself" or "continuing education – good thinking". Partly can be found testimonials "adult education has given me the skills I need to continue my education and eventually find a job". Similar pictures can be also found for male individuals (see figure 2), although women are overall more frequently displayed than men in the whole sample of images. Such a combination of individualized addressing with key messages can be rather rarely found in Germany. To discover this substantial difference was most striking and most obvious after the first screening of all images from both countries.

Then there are pictures of groups of people (see figure 3 and 4):

Figure 3: Groups of people – diversity

Source: Canadian programs

Figure 4: Groups of people - diversity

Source: German programs

These groups are mostly looking rather "artificially" arranged. Many compositions stimulate the interpretation to display explicitly diversity in relation to ethnicity, gender, age and different intersections. Such compositions of diversity are more frequently in Canada than in Germany. Diversity in Canada seems also to be more related to ethnicity and gender, while gender and age are focused in Germany. This might be partly caused by the different socio-demographic composition of the populations of both countries, although this is not enough as an explanation since Germany has become multicultural or at least this is acknowledged nowadays by the wider public and official policies.

The environment can be often not identified in the former pictures. Actually, a substantial number of pictures would perhaps not assigned to education by an independent observer if no additional information is provided where these pictures have been found. This is rather different to the next groups of pictures (see figure 5 and 6):

Figure 5: Groups of people at work

Source: Canadian and German programs

Figure 6: Groups of people practicing

Source: Canadian programs

The pictures in figure 5 display work situations. It seems to be signalled where the acquired knowledge or competences might be applicable. Out of a gender perspective, rather traditional assignments of vocations to specific genders become visible, although sometimes non-traditional compositions especially of women in formerly male-dominated, technical vocations are displayed. Men in formerly female-dominated vocations have been only rather rarely found. There seems to be often an encouragement of women into so-called male-dominated professions/vocations, while the opposite can only rarely be found.

Other group situations (see examples in figure 6) are made during different learning exercises, but without any teacher or instructor identifiable or being absent. Although they might be of course also arranged to different degrees by the photographer, they give rather the impression of 'natural' impressions out of everyday learning by doing or by practicing. These pictures differ a lot from so-called stock photos with their rather artificially atmospheres, although these might be invoke the impression of 'professional' images.

The next groups (figure 7 and 8) focus on teachers, tutors or their interaction with learners:

Figure 7: Groups of people – educating

Source: Canadian programs

Figure 8: Groups of people – educating

Source: German programs

It can be classically the tutor in front of a class or the teacher in one-to-one interaction with a learner. This composition is frequently supported by the hand or fingers directing to something on a board, paper, a book or a computer display. It was overall striking that these 'pedagogical' compositions could be quantitatively more often found in German programs than in Canadian programs.

Figure 9: People and symbols

Source: Canadian programs

Figure 10: People and symbols

Source: German programs

The next iconografical groups (figures 9 and 10) consist out of a mixture of pictures with people but mixed with symbols. It can be a hand holding a diploma, a hand with the thump upwards or a runner jumping over a hurdle. The dominant invoked impression is progress, success or achievement when seeing these compositions. Images like the thumb upward can be found in both countries, while the academic diploma or hat is almost missing in German iconography. Contrarily, the German iconography in adult education seems often to prefer to refer to sportive connotations for success.

The next groups (figures 11 and 12) are not displaying humans. This can be pictures from school buildings, the nature, organizational icons as institutional representations and symbols for learning and its benefits. The sky or water might symbolize joyful learning environments. Specific learning content or course sections are characterised for example by food for cooking courses or flags for different language courses. This can reach as far as using solely pictograms for the content (e.g. a globe for languages or a conference table for courses for social skills). The sprouting plant signals personal growth. The compass reminds to the idea of finding a direction. The missing jigsaw piece suggests that learning 'fulfills the picture'. The bunch of money wants bluntly to give a direct hint towards a financial profit out of learning. Some compositions seem to be photoshoped by moving different people on dices with characters which form the word 'career'. Other formerly popular images used in adult education in the past like the owl (c. Nolda 1998) or an open book (c. Disselhoff 2012) as a symbol for wisdom seem to be rather outdated nowadays. The actual buildings in which the adult learning takes place are only rarely photographed. This is very different to other educational sectors like universities or primary/secondary schools, where (prestigious) premises often displayed or generally the institutional context of teaching and learning seems to be liked to be strengthened. Adult education providers do not focus on this. This might be the case perhaps because of very different reasons.

Figure 11: Symbols and icons
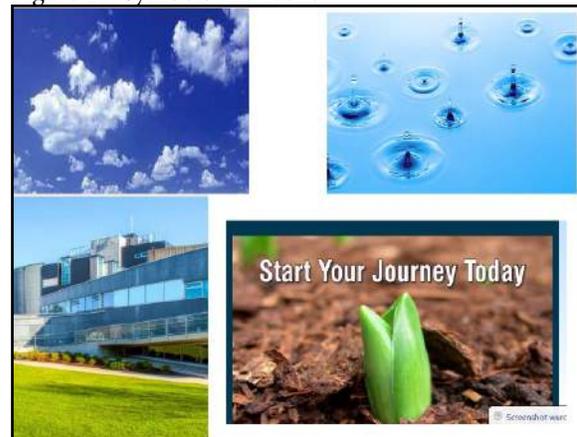
Source: Canadian programs

Figure 12: Symbols and icons

Source: German programs

Finally, the world moves on and pictures are already often replaced by videos, which can be started directly on the homepages of providers. The single picture is replaced by motion pictures. Curiously, we even found in our relatively rather small sample the identical photo in a Canadian and in a German program. It is perhaps a stock photo. Especially by globally available so-called stock photos it is easy to use almost globally pictures, where you have access to databases via internet.

Figure 13: Videos

Source: Canadian and German programs

Figure 14: Identical photographs in both countries
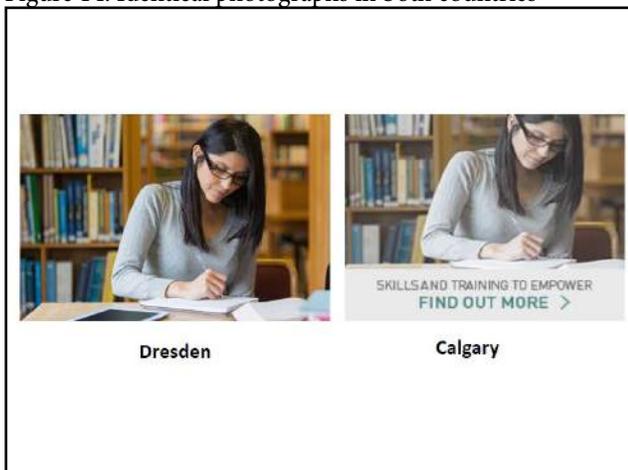
Source: Canadian and German programs

Unfortunately, we did not find a provider which is active in both countries. It would have been interesting if a provider active in both countries uses the same visuals in both countries or if different visual representations are used out of the experience that learners in Canada and Germany might be addressed differently.

Conclusions

What can be drawn out of this iconografical approach? First of all, this overview and systemizing makes sensible for the huge amount of images used in programs of providers in order to address adult learners. Researcher should be

aware about this plurality. When analysing just one image researchers should be sensible about this and explain why they have chosen this image for an in-depth analysis out of a huge stock of visuals available in adult education. Images and pictures are generally sensitive for manipulation. Researchers should reflect in-depth about the own reasons for their choice. It is so easy to find an image which might be judged being problematic. This is a rather easy exercise. Scientific analysis should be also able to provide analysis of well-chosen images, although the definition of 'well-chosen' and 'badly chosen' visuals might be arguable and connected to the different perspectives of observers. Out of a theoretically constructivist perspective we have to be sensible that what we interpret out of a visual might be tell more about ourselves than about the visual and its general reception. Visuals are opening wide fields of interpretations in relation to our personal biography and our own aesthetic knowledge and preferences, of which we might be even not cognitively aware of.

Secondly, despite these serious methodological remarks certain patterns can be identified. Just when strolling around the images in Canada and Germany out of a comparative perspective, it becomes clear that there are different tendencies in both contexts how visuals are applied. The Canadian programs are using often commented visuals of individuals and there are more often women than men. Group pictures are often paying respect to diversity in relation to ethnicity and gender in Canada. In contrast, German programs make often usage of symbols and icons, while the individual learner is rather rarely addressed. The German images are much more often displaying educational situations in the sense of a direct interaction between teacher and learner. Contrarily, the assumed educator or trainer seems to be rather invisible in most Canadian programs. The benefits of learning are in both countries explicitly or implicitly a frequent element. Despite some similarities, our iconographical patterns seem to differ interculturally in some essential parts. This is a fact of which we should be very aware. A picture might tell more than 1,000 words as a German saying says, but is nonetheless dependent on different contexts and perceptions. Pictures might be even seriously misleading especially in intercultural contexts.

Thirdly, numerous in-depth analysis of this visuals could be imagined. Analysis of each group of iconograficals and their contexts might be possible. It would be very interesting to analyze which types of providers like to apply which kinds of images. Visual analysis has become popular in media analysis and we could draw on a huge amount of specific methods (each with advantages and disadvantages) in order to analyse these images. This could be very fruitful in order to understand these images much better than it was possible to describe here in this rather brief overview and one way to systemize it. It was an intentional goal not to go here into interpretations, but to remain here mainly on a descriptive level. It is intended to continue this research and then to go more into an analytical interpretation. It would be also an approach to interview the responsible people,

which have chosen the visuals. Why did they choose these visuals? What was the reasoning behind it if they spent intensive reasoning on it? What did they assume what could be attractive for learners in seeing these visuals? What kind of public image would they like to create for their organization between being rather exclusive or inclusive? Which benefits of learning to they want to invoke? A different approach would be to present these images to potential learners and target groups similar like it has been already done in fruitful so-called milieu studies (c. Barz/Tippelt 2007). How do they perceive these images? Which images are attractive for which group of learners or social groups? Where do the providers intentions in choosing an image match with the perceptions of potential learners? Where are harmful or – rather paradoxically – fruitful misunderstandings? What can we learn out of this in order to educate program planners (c. Käpplinger/Sork 2015) in order to choose 'good visuals' for their programs? The method of 'product clinic' has been used here already (c. von Hippel 2008). How relatively important are visuals really? Are they crucially important? Or visuals are rather peripherally perceived by potential learners? Is it crucially important that program planers have to be very sensitive which kind of visuals they choose out of an huge stock of pictures? Which rather hidden knowledge does exist in the learning organisations or by the individual program planers out of their successful and failing daily experiences? There seems to be a need for much more research in-depth about the importance of visuals in adult education. I hope to have contributed a bit to this and made curious for this endeavour.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Using Democratic Deliberation in an Internationalization Effort in Higher Education

Hilary Landorf and Eric Feldman

Florida International University is a relatively new North American public research institution located in the vibrant, diverse and globally connected city of Miami, Florida. Miami is home to the highest concentration (58.1 percent) of foreign-born residents in the U.S. (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). It is a center for major international trade and tourism, and serves as a gateway to South and Central America for more than 1,100 multinational corporations (The Beacon Council, n.d.). Since its founding in 1965, FIU has always aspired to respond to the needs of its diverse community and has been on the forefront of providing a quality education to minorities and working, adult learners. When FIU opened its doors in 1972 to 5667 students, it was an upper-division only institution that served a non-traditional college population. The typical student was 25 years old and attended school full-time while holding down a full-time job. Today, the average student remains Hispanic, an older student, a first- or second-generation American citizen, has a full course load and a full-time job, and is usually the first of his or her family to attend an institution of higher education.

FIU's location at this global crossroads, as well as its status as the fourth largest university in the nation serving a minority population, imbues it with a special responsibility to prepare all undergraduates to live and work successfully the highly diverse and fluid settings of our fast changing globalized world. In order to do so, FIU has enacted large-scale curriculum and co-curriculum as part of a university-wide initiative known as *Global Learning for Global Citizenship*. The following is a case study on the implementation of this initiative and how the principles and practices of democratic deliberation allowed FIU to include the voices of all stakeholders and community members not only in the development of the initiative, but as a core educational strategy to increase students' global awareness, perspective, and engagement.

Internationalizing/Globalizing Education

Due to the proliferation of interconnected knowledge networks, a traditional liberal education, once deemed global because of the breadth of exposure students received in discrete disciplines, no longer suffices. In order to gain knowledge, skills, and attitudes appropriate for citizenship in an increasingly globalized world, students need an education that "prepares them to deal with complexity, diversity, and change" (AAC&U, 2007). As such, internationalization is now an essential goal of institutions of higher education around the world. The most common definition for the internationalization of higher education is "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 11). This definition is inward looking. It pivots around the actions that an institution takes to infuse its own work with international perspectives. Internationalization of higher education may be outward looking, following the American Council on Education's definition: "...a strategic, coordinated process that seeks to align and integrate international policies, programs, and initiatives. It positions colleges and universities as more globally-oriented and internationally-connected" (American Council on Education). This approach extends beyond systems to allow the institution to contribute to the shaping of the emerging global knowledge and learning ecosystem (Hawawini, 2011). Depending on an institution's purpose for internationalizing, the definition it chooses to use may vary, as will the target areas of the internationalization endeavor. Institutions often use the term 'global learning' as a catch-all description for their internationalization efforts, encompassing everything from study abroad, international partnerships, cross-cultural online learning, to international internships, international research, and the infusion of international components in the curriculum and co-curriculum. We discuss our definition of global learning briefly in

the subsequent section, and then provide the details of how it is implemented on our campus.

Global Learning at FIU

At FIU, we believe that we have a responsibility to provide students with an education that is explicitly focused on the global and the local. Students must be able to understand global issues that bind and fragment humanity and that transcend borders. They must also be able to understand local ideas, values and practices that are associated with diverse cultures and geographies. Given that Miami is a transnational city, the local and global are more immediately interconnected than perhaps in most other US geographies. That "Miami" is a harbinger of things to come for most regions and cities of the US is almost a cliche.

The borderless, multidimensional issues facing our inter-related local and global communities shape our approach to learning about and solving these problems. We embrace global learning, which we define as the process of diverse people collaboratively analyzing and addressing complex problems that transcend borders (Landorf and Doscher, forthcoming). The global learning strategies we implement, in courses and activities at home and abroad, enable our highly diverse student body to engage with each other and to find connections between divergent perspectives on local and global problems. These strategies develop students' capacities to create equitable, sustainable solutions.

Democratic Deliberation

One of the most important concepts and tools used in global learning at FIU is that of democratic deliberation. It is defined by De Vries, Stanczyk, Wall, Uhlmann, Damschroder and Kim (2010) as a process that has "equal participation, respect for the opinions of others, the adoption of a societal perspective on the issue, and reasoned justifications of one's opinions" (p. 1891). In another view, Halpern & Gibbs (2013) summarize Habermas' conceptualization of democratic deliberation as an "interchange of rational-critical arguments among a group of individuals, triggered by a common or public problem, whose main focus or topic of discussion is to find a solution acceptable to all who have a stake in the issue" (p. 1160). Democratic deliberation has been used to help FIU respond to the needs of its interrelated local, international, and global communities. As will be discussed below, democratic deliberation was used both to develop the overall framework and design of the global learning initiative at FIU, and as an integral learning strategy in global learning courses and activities.

Case Study

On a basic level, our global learning initiative, *Global Learning for Global Citizenship*, is a two-course graduation requirement for all undergraduates. Students take a global learning foundations course as part of their general education sequence and a second, discipline-specific global learning course in the context of their major program of study. Foundations courses are thematic, problem-centered, and interdisciplinary, include an integrated co-curricular learning experience, and are placed in categories throughout the general education curriculum. Examples include "Artistic Expression in a Global Society," "International Nutrition, Public Health, and Economic Development," and "The Global Scientific Revolution and its Impact on Quality of Life." Discipline-specific global learning courses provide students with a global view of their major program of study. Through active learning strategies, these courses give students multiple opportunities to apply the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they gain in the foundations courses. Discipline-specific global learning courses range from "Hurricane Engineering for Global Sustainability" to "Geography of the Global Food System," and "World Nutrition." To date, there are over 160 global learning courses in 69 of 70 of FIU's undergraduate programs.

Democratic Deliberation for Program Development

When Drs. Hilary Landorf and Stephanie Doscher began their work as leaders of the Office of Global Learning Initiatives (OGLI), an interdepartmental development committee was grappling with complex questions such as: What do our students need to know and be able to do in order to be successful in a globalized world? What kinds of classes and activities will prepare students for these outcomes? Do these classes and activities already exist or will we have to create new ones? These were important issues to consider, yet Landorf and Doscher saw a larger, more critical issue at hand: the committee was wrestling with these questions in isolation.

As experienced educators, Landorf and Doscher ascertained that successful large-scale curriculum change could only be achieved through democratic deliberation. In adopting democratic deliberation as the mechanism and process for leading this institutional change, they quickly discovered that the university's stakeholders wanted, in Landorf and Doscher's (2013) words, "curriculum reform rather than reinvigoration," and instead of minor changes, "a paradigm shift would be required to achieve our goals" (p. 164). Landorf and Doscher felt that democratic deliberation could be used to great effect to not only help FIU find overlapping consensus concerning student learning, but also to help the organization develop the capabilities it needed in order to educate students for these outcomes.

When Landorf and Doscher began this work, the development committee had tentatively titled the initiative, "Adding an International Component to the Curriculum." Several subcommittees were researching ways to make an FIU education more international. Missing from this process was essential input from the vast array of people affected by the initiative, namely, students, academics, administrators, staff, alumni, parents, local businesses, and community members. Despite the use of the term 'international' in the title of the initiative, when Landorf and Doscher analyzed the subcommittee's working documents and meeting minutes, they noted the frequent use of 'global'. They brought this to committees' attention and facilitated an open dialogue concerning the meanings of the two terms and their relevance

to FIU. The deliberations were essential in shedding light on the differing viewpoints of stakeholder groups so that they could be addressed, moving the overall process forward. These discussions helped to resolve whether the initiative should focus on the word "international" or "global," as well as the meaning of the word "global" itself. For example, faculty associated global learning with a mastery of content and skills, while students associated it with action.

At the end of a full year of dialogue, democratic deliberation, and over 75 iterations, the university formally adopted the use of "global learning" and established a definition of the word "global" in global learning that includes the concepts of international (between and among nations), global (transcending national borders), and intercultural (referring to cultural differences at home and around the world). "Global" also emphasizes the complexity of our lives, implying expansiveness in thought and attitude. Moreover, "global" implies an ethical call to action, in line with the American Association of Colleges of Universities (AAC&U, 2002)'s argument that liberal education "has the strongest impact when studies reach beyond the classroom to the larger community, asking students to apply their developing analytical skills and ethical judgment to concrete problems in the world around them and to connect theory with the insights gained from practice" (pp. 25–26).

- These principles were further molded into three developmentally cohesive, interdependent global learning outcomes:

- Global Awareness—knowledge of the interrelatedness of local, global, international, and intercultural issues, trends, and systems;

- Global Perspective—the ability to conduct a multi-perspective analysis of local, global, international, and intercultural problems;

- Global Engagement—a willingness to engage in local, global, international, and intercultural problem solving.

In large part because all university members had a stake in developing these outcomes, they have proven to be dynamic enough to be used in courses in almost all academic departments, and robust enough to have become an exemplary model for global learning initiatives throughout the U.S. and the world (Green, 2012).

Global Learning Courses

Having utilized democratic deliberation to develop the global learning outcomes of *Global Learning for Global Citizenship*, Landorf and Doscher were faced with the challenge of incorporating those outcomes in the curriculum. This depended on providing global learning courses within the curriculum and recruiting and training faculty to develop new courses or infuse existing courses with global learning components.

It was determined that global learning courses include four required components: global learning course outcomes; diverse global, international, and intercultural content; active

learning strategies; and authentic assessments. A process was set up to create courses and bring them into the curriculum to be approved for global learning designation. The courses are proposed, developed, and, once approved by the Faculty Senate, they are taught by faculty members who have undertaken global learning professional development.

Since fall 2009, the OGLI has facilitated monthly workshops for over 500 faculty and staff redesigning or developing new global learning courses and associated activities. A significant part of the workshops is devoted to drafting course and activity outcomes and assessments. These address content that is specific to the discipline, but are aligned with FIU's global learning outcomes. Each semester additional courses are developed and/or revised, and approved for global learning. These interdisciplinary, interdepartmental workshops engage participants in active, problem-based learning strategies that can also be implemented with students, moving them towards new perspectives on effective content and pedagogy.

Every workshop begins with a reiteration of the democratic deliberative process in which the university engaged to determine FIU's definition of global citizenship and the global learning outcomes, and the open-ended questions, 'What is global citizenship? What must global citizens know, and be able to do?' Participants take some time to consider the answer to this question on their own, gather in small groups to discuss their thoughts, and then discuss findings with the group at large. Discussions are animated and sometimes controversial and contentious. The facilitator records all responses on a large poster and together the group identifies common, overlapping themes. Knowledge themes addressing complexity, interconnectedness, and diversity emerge, as well as skills such as critical thinking and problem solving, and attitudes associated with mutual responsibility and commitment. Since the groups are interdisciplinary, different terms are used to describe these ideas, but invariably, when facilitators code for themes with the group, they are able to demonstrate how they cluster around FIU's three global learning outcomes. The process supports the freedom of individuals to simultaneously articulate their visions and aspirations for global citizenship, while at the same time identifying overlapping consensus that lies beneath differences in language, discipline, and outlook. For many, this begins a paradigm shift in their conception of teaching and learning.

Using Democratic Deliberation as a Learning Strategy

The same deliberative process that was used to develop the global learning outcomes through the consideration of all voices and perspectives is used at FIU as a pedagogical strategy to advance global learning in the curriculum and co-curriculum. In many global learning courses, students work with case studies. They are assigned roles in specific social, political or economic groups and then asked to come to a consensus while considering the perspectives of all parties. An example of a real-life, complex scenario involving multiple stakeholders is the United States Supreme Court case *Church of the Lukumi-Babalu Aye, Inc. vs. City of Hialeah*

(508 U.S. 520), where a city ordinance banning the sacrificial killing of animals was challenged as an affront to freedom of religion (United States Courts, n.d.). In a global learning course exercise, students are assigned to groups including Supreme Court justice, church member, animal rights activist, city resident, and lawyers for both sides. When asked to play out their roles, students who are on either side are forced to consider perspectives that may not have been part of their original response to the situation. The use of deliberation as an educational strategy is supported by results of Harriger & McMillan (2007) who found that students who participated in deliberative exercises at Wake Forest University were more likely to imagine creative solutions and the power to implement them than their peers who did not participate in the deliberative programs, who reported a sense of voicelessness in the political arena.

Democratic deliberation is not limited to classrooms of FIU students. One signature co-curricular global learning program is the Connecting Countries Video Chat series. The OGLI Coordinator works with partner universities from around the globe to determine a topic of mutual interest to the faculty and students in both countries, and to facilitate a dialogue between the students of both universities, connected over a videoconferencing platform such as Skype or Polycom. Democratic deliberation is an ideal format for difficult conversations between diverse groups, because of its egalitarian nature, as evidenced by Abdel-Monem, Bingham, Marincic, & Tomkins (2010), who found in their research that students using this strategy become unaware of power dynamics among them. The diversity of FIU's student, faculty, and staff population enhances the importance of this strategy. Despite our majority-minority student population, White non-Spanish speaking individuals still comprise the majority of the instructional faculty (Florida International University, 2012). The power and privilege dynamics also shift from room to room and building to building. While in some deliberative discussions, students of Cuban heritage, of which our student population is dominated (Florida International University, 2014), may comprise the majority, this same group could find them in the minority at the Engineering Center, an equal participant in global learning.

Challenges in the Concept and Implementation of Democratic Deliberation

While democratic deliberation lends itself to being perceived as an ideal form of democratic and inclusive decision making, it also brings dialogic and participatory challenges and is often criticized for being unrealistic. Rienstra and Hook (2006) discuss Habermas' belief that participants in democratic deliberation must be "free, equal, and rational" (p. 3). They add that such a person, in their words, would "need to possess some remarkable qualities, not the least of which is an uncanny ability to scrutinize with great accuracy and humility, the complex relationships between a multitude of values and means-end relationships" (p. 316). Abdel-Monem, et al. (2010) point out that democratic deliberation has

been criticized for subscribing to dominant-group communication norms, such as favoring rational arguments over emotional claims.

Sometimes consensus will not be reached because participants have different cultural orientations or opposing values. James Johnson (1988) further explains why discussions of social issues cannot be resolved merely via rational discourse. Regarding some issues, citizens "subscribe to different worldviews" and in these situations, defending one's position requires "subverting the basic vision of the world that sanctions competing claims (p. 167)." This agreement to disagree is an important part of the process of democratic deliberation. From the viewpoint of Gaus (1997), parties involved in democratic deliberation need not give up their beliefs in order to honor their participation in the deliberative system. A facilitator can assist the participants in understanding it is acceptable to agree to disagree. The facilitator can also illustrate that in some cases argument is futile and unproductive. As James Johnson (1989) says "it is unreasonable to anticipate that deliberation will massively transform the preferences, capacities, or character of participants in normatively attractive ways, and that in any case, such a transformation would, at best, emerge as a by-product of deliberation aimed at attaining some tangible outcome" (p. 174).

At FIU we have attended to the challenges of the process of democratic deliberation, particularly in the classroom and professional development workshops. We use the learning experience to elucidate and examine the process itself as well as to discover and examine other challenges inherent to democratic deliberation. Our goal is to model the best practices of democratic deliberation so that students and faculty can take these practices to other learning situations or incorporate them in problem solving in their own lives.

Conclusion

Democratic deliberation has been an integral part of FIU's *Global Learning for Global Citizenship* initiative in determining the framework of the initiative, in administrative decision making, and as pedagogy in the curriculum and co-curriculum. Democratic deliberation has been a critical process in bringing together members of our FIU community, including learners from traditionally marginalized populations and adult learners, in order to learn about and take action on a wide variety of issues inside and outside of the classroom. The initiative has been in place now for five years and has received national attention for the depth and breadth of its curriculum, the seriousness of its assessment system, and the early success of students who have been immersed in the "new global" FIU.

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What's there not to like?:Perceptions and experiences with feminism and Facebook's "like" button

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ABSTRACT

This paper is part of a larger dissertation research project that explores ways women learn and enact feminism through Facebook. Specifically, this paper explores experiences of nine female feminists receiving and sharing likes on Facebook. I first discuss current literature regarding Facebook and social movement learning, women's Facebook engagement, and liking practices. I then, outline my qualitative interview methodology and participant information. I then, detail findings regarding ways participants perceived their feminist standpoint and experiences with Facebook liking practices. I conclude by discussing ways Facebook liking practices both reinforce and challenge feminist engagement and alternate gender representation online. I argue that this research indicates a need for nuanced analysis of ways feminist networks and communities are formed and feminism on Facebook is represented.

Introduction

Since emerging in 2004, Facebook has become a top social media platform and has shifted the way that the Internet is used for social engagement (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). These sites are best understood as interactive spaces on the Internet where users construct a public profile, list social connections to other users, and engage with other users (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). In addition to these features, Facebook also offers a number of communicative tools such as private messaging, groups, pages, pokes, and likes. Through this infrastructure, Facebook supports peer interaction and information sharing that may facilitate feminist engagement. This engagement may be further reinforced by peer feedback through supportive practices such as the like button (Brandtzaeg & Haughstveit, 2014, p. 260). As such, Facebook may offer a platform to support components of both online (Conrad & Spencer, 2006) and social movement learning (Hall, 2006) depending on the ways which users choose to engage with and shape online spaces.

Offering potential for "internet-based political activism" (Schuster, 2013, p. 9), Facebook can facilitate the sharing and constructing of transformative information and knowledges (Crane, 2012). While social network sites may enable critical dialogue and support feminist activism, users often rely on these sites for non-political communicative purposes (Boyd, 2008). Furthermore, when feminism is engaged with through digital platforms, activism can be overlooked, publicly contested, and commodified (Bennet, 2012; Schuster, 2013). This paper draws from my broader doctoral research, which explores ways women learn and enact through Facebook. This paper explores nine female feminists experiences both receiving and sharing likes on Facebook. In particular, it explores their interpretation of having content liked and reasons for liking other users' content.

Facebook and social movement learning

Feminist activism through Facebook supports social movement learning which is best defined as "(a) learning by persons who are part of any social movement and (b) learning by persons outside of a social movement as a result of the actions taken or simply by the existence of social movements" (Hall, 2006, p. 230). Hall (2006) argues that social movement learning is both informal and incidental and that the means of learning are contingent on the actors within the social movement. Social network sites such as Facebook have supported an increasing number of social movements (DeLuca, Lawson, & Sun, 2012; Langman, 2013) and increased participation in social movements has developed online informal educational spaces. As such, Facebook provides spaces where users engage with and critique social contexts. In the case of this research, learning occurs through constructing knowledge and interacting with others within feminist spaces.

Women and digital engagement

In 2013, Facebook released that "Facebook usage in Canada is higher than both the global and U.S. averages" (Oliveira,

2013, para 6). Furthermore, Statistics Canada (2011) found that "female users were more likely than their male counterparts to use social networking sites" (para. 12) and are thus engaged in digital knowledge construction (Hafkin & Huyer, 2006). Unfortunately, broader perceptions regarding effectiveness of social network sites view women's participation as "frivolous or problematic because of their association with youth and femininity" (Harris, 2008, p. 488). Their engagement online is thus not perceived as serious or legitimate. These perceptions belittle online feminism and threaten possibilities for feminist digital communities. Further deterring digital engagement, the Internet has been plagued with concern for women's safety when engaging online (Ybarra, Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2009). Specifically, users of social network sites perceive that young women are more likely to convey sexual behaviour through digital interactions (Moreno, Swanson, Royer, & Roberts, 2011) and meet sexual predators (Gannon, 2008) than their male counterparts. These threats to safety and reputation are thus used to justify restricted access to social networking sites.

Despite concerns for women's interactions on Facebook, research also shows that social network sites have facilitated socially transformative participation (Collin, 2008; Harris, 2008). This increased participation is manifest in online informal educational spaces such as social networking sites. In sites such as Facebook, users critique social contexts, contribute to changing discourses, and support alternate gender representations (Cohen & Raymond, 2011; Greenhow, 2010; Harris, 2008; Kehus, Walters, & Shaw, 2010; Kensinger, 2003; Tartoussieh, 2011). Furthermore, users are not just passive subjects of digital social pressure but can also actively re/construct digital and gendered social contexts through which they are interacting (Puente, 2011; Sassen, 2002).

Learning and reproducing gender online

Drawing on Butler's (1999) discussion of subversive bodily acts, the physical body is a site where cultural signification occurs within a wider enmeshment of discourse. It is through these discourses that gender becomes learned and regulated. More than a simple act of self-representation, gender performance is regulated through multiple and intersecting discourses of gender that further validates and determine acceptable gender representations. As such, "gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*." (p. 191). These acts for Butler are mundane or naturalized so that those who do not perform gender in accepted ways reflective of heterosexual gender binaries are othered. Such naturalized acts become enmeshed into societal norms and often taken for granted or unrealized yet reaffirmed through day-to-day activities. Liking can thus become another means of reaffirming and learning gender in an environment that promotes visibility of gendered subjects.

Posting texts that represent and thus constitute identity becomes part of a wider gender regulatory system as it increases dominant and public gendered texts and promotes feedback on such texts. As such, not only the viewer comes to learn gender, but the subject itself becomes evaluated and categorized. The ways in which this is done cyclically operates to re-produce popular gender representations and discourage alternate gender representations. In response to commodified representations of gendered and disabled subjects, Liddiard (2014) found that disabled communities are beginning to use Facebook as a platform to respond and shift representation. In developing groups for promoting alternative representation of gender and disability, these communities have created Facebook post images of disability that counter mainstream representation. In doing so, they attempt to educate the broader Facebook community about disability and shift what body representations that permeate Facebook.

Gender and liking practices

"Liking was put forward as a social activity that can be performed on most shared objects within Facebook, such as status updates, photos, links or comments" (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013, p. 152) in order to "replace short affective statements like 'awesome' and 'congrats'" (p. 152). Originally designed for marketing purposes, the like button allowed users to give instant, easy, positive feedback. Data is often collected from these buttons and used by companies for brand development and marketing (Roosendaal, 2011). Facebook likes have recently come into world news as Cambridge University researchers have developed algorithms to determine user personalities based on their liking data (Knapton, 2015). As such, interactions within Facebook are used as a means for collecting big data that can be distributed to advertisement agencies and used as a predictor for workplace hiring and university admission practices.

Within online interactions between users, Facebook likes "have become a vehicle for those who wish to inform others of what they perceive as desirable activities and to call forth a preferred presentation of the self" (Brandtzaeg & Haugstveit, 2014, p. 262) thus reaffirming and reproducing dominant ideology. As a result, Facebook users display their private lives in a public space where they are "subject to cultural pressure, social mores and individual desire" (Boon & Sinclair, 2009, p. 103) and as a result, "lead most, if not all, of us to create idealistic virtual re/presentations of our real world selves" (p. 103). They thus play into broader methods of hegemonic social control where users police and govern behaviour based on perceptions of surveillance.

Liking has been seen by Brandes and Levin (2014) as motivated by "a dominant wish to be both popular and perceived as such on Facebook, as manifested by the great importance attributed to the number of friends, comments, and support in the form of likes" (p. 748). They perceive likes as equating to girls' need for social acceptance and approval. Importantly, Brandes and Levin explore teenaged girls in their study and while the participants do mention their desire for receiving "likes" on Facebook, they do not unpack perceptions of what Facebook "likes" mean to the participants, nor to they explore why participants "like" other users Facebook content. Brandtzaeg and Haugstveit (2014) systemically

research ways Facebook users like content for humanitarian causes using a survey. In doing so, they uncover different ways that such users employ the like button as a form of civic engagement through supportive practice, deliberative practices, and collaborative practices (Brandtzaeg & Haugstveit, 2014).

Exploring diverse liking practices uncovers different reasons for using the like button. Aside from Brandzaeg and Haugstveit's (2014) broad survey of humanitarian liking practices, little research has explored perceptions of processes of "liking" Facebook content. Additionally, research has not yet explored liking processes and feminist activism using an adult education framework. As such, this research presented will fill in such gaps in current research and give further nuanced insight into feminist liking practices.

Methodology

The participants of this study are nine women from various locations across Canada including the North West Territories, Manitoba, Ontario, and Nova Scotia. They were recruited using snowball sampling through Facebook messenger and range in ages with the youngest being in their mid 20's and oldest being in their late 50's. The findings of this paper focus solely on the intake interviews of the broader dissertation research. These interviews were general qualitative, semi-structured interviews (DeVault & Gross, 2012) and conducted through Skype, telephone, and meeting face-to-face. Interviews lasted between one and two hours. Questions began with the participant's understandings of feminism and Facebook and then extended into their experiences using Facebook to support and learn about feminism. Definitions of Facebook use and feminism were left open for participant interpretation. As this research is in progress, participants have not chosen pseudonyms and as such will be referred to using researcher allocated numbers.

Findings

Through their interviews, all participants described their positionality within feminism differently. These positionalities influenced the ways that they chose to interact with feminism online, however, they described their process of liking posts as an important part of their online engagement. Specifically, they described differences in posts that other people had liked, noting differences between posts that were politically focused and posts that were personally focused. Furthermore, participants described their reasons for liking other posts based on perceptions of the like button as symbolic validation. Extending beyond like as a form of consumer indication and digital tally, norms and expectations have emerged beyond its intended use.

Position towards feminism and online engagement

The participants described feminism in varying ways from a range of theoretical perspectives. In their descriptions, they spoke of the multitude of ways feminism can be represented and enacted. Most participants said that feminism

is a diverse and broad field that is thus difficult to define but ultimately focuses on working towards, advocating for, and believing in gender equality and gender rights. All agreed that both men and women can be feminists. They also agreed that typical representations of feminists focus on radical or extremist feminists that they did not see as an accurate representation of what feminism looks like today. Many agreed that "angry," "radical," and "man hating" feminists were popular albeit narrow representations of feminism. In their own lives, feminism worked differently ranging between second wave feminism where participants continued to challenge structural issues related to gender and postfeminism where participants supported freedom to choose feminine representations.

Despite different alignments with feminism, the participants agreed that they ways they align with feminism influences the ways that they interact online. This interaction ranged from organizing or frequently participating in women's Facebook groups to reading current events and peer posts regarding current issues related to gender. Despite engaging in ways as diverse as their feminist positionalities, the participants all mentioned that liking practices were a part of supporting feminism online and bringing visibility to and expanding learning of feminist initiatives.

Feminist liking practices

Participants discussed ways that they used the like button to show support and increase representation of social issues related to feminism. Understanding the ways that Facebook operates seemed to influence ways that participants strategically choose to engage online. For example, Participant 2 noted that if she liked a page or article, then it appears on her friends' news feeds. She claimed that this was a subtle way to engage politically online and encourage other people to read an article that she believed was important; "I think other people would be interested in that and [by liking it] it will show up in my news feed" (Participant 2). Other participants used the like button was a way of showing support to other feminists or politically engaged Facebook friends. Referring to watching Facebook friends become more politically engaged, Participant 6 says "I sometimes keep Facebook around to maybe feed that growth in someone." Participant 6 thus works to legitimize others' online interaction as a form of supportive engagement (Brandtzaeg & Haugstveit, 2014). Furthermore, through this supportive engagement, participants may encourage continued feminist posting and thus reinforce changing discourses online (Greenhow, 2011).

Similar to using Facebook likes to support others; participants also discussed ways that it was important to feel supported through receiving likes and positive Facebook feedback. As Participant 5 states,

> you definitely get feedback from other women
> who agree with things because a lot of things
> are kind of based around feminism and it's
> satisfying when you get people saying "yeah

I agree" or "love this article" or whatever. So yeah usually I get pretty good feedback- Likes.

For Participant 5, likes operate in ways similar to short affirmative statements (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013). Likes thus show agreement and may facilitate positive online climates for feminist engagement and interaction. However, with likes translating to positive feedback, absences of likes may be discouraging to online activism.

All participants recounted noticing a difference in the types of posts that are frequently liked and those that are not liked. All participants articulated that personal content such as pictures of their selves were more frequently liked than a post regarding contentious political issues. Participant 5 recounts her experience posting a feminist article in comparison with posting about a race,

> [The article] basically said in short the kind of woman who doesn't report a sexual attack is almost any normal, rational woman, and I thought that was a really interesting article so I shared it. Now I did notice that it didn't get any likes. It got no likes. However; I won a race last weekend and my picture of all of my different T-Shirts because I ran that race 6 times in a row and it has kind of the trophy in it got 29 likes and 8 comments.

Similarly, Participant 1 states,

> I get more likes for [personal] things… than I do my professional related posts. People and then my own personal updates that include photos so maybe we got the new dog last month, I'd have over half my friends like that and comment on that whereas I wouldn't have as much with the other posts.

In noticing differences in content that is liked on Facebook, users may feel pressure to represent their self and activities in ways that are desirable or popular (Brandtzaeg & Haugstveit, 2014). As such, participation online may become limited or regulated to reflect that which adheres to broader social norms in order to receive peer approval.

In understanding differences in content that is liked on Facebook, many of the participants believed that likes are not always an accurate representation of support. Reflecting on their own liking processes, Participant 2, Participant 5, and Participant 9 all said that they read other posts that are interesting and but do not always signify their support by liking the post. Participant 5 also empathized with those who like personal posts over political post by saying that there is a distinction between what is "safe" to like and what is not. She believed that many people are nervous to articulate or support strong or thought provoking posts. Additionally, Participant 2 considers her own reluctance to "like" a post stating that,

> I sometimes wonder if maybe it is a little bit of self-censorship based on the audience of the people who may see it. I may find that interesting but I might not like that because then they'll see I like that and I just don't want to start a debate.

Participants 5 and 7 described frustration with limitations of discourses around the like button and voiced concerns over the fact that there is not a "dislike" button. As such, liking practices were limited by Facebook's infrastructure. "There isn't a dislike button. So it's interesting that the ideas is that you like something or you say nothing" (Participant 5). Beyond broader social regulation, Facebook's infrastructure also supports similar censorship and conveys appropriate forms of online interaction. As such, online engagement should not be disagreeable and thus "dislikeable." Instead, engagement should be agreeable, non-disruptive, and thus "likeable."

Discussion

Contrary to literature that frames social media engagement as frivolous slacktivism where users are uncritical of their engagement (Harris, 2008), participant use of the like button was intricately negotiated. The image of a "thumbs up" representing "like" is used and interpreted to indicate approval and support for online shared content. Furthermore, the button is used to strategically increase representation of feminist content by encouraging continued postings and sharing content with personal social networks. The like button when taken up by feminist Facebook users becomes a means of feminist information dissemination. If liking data is used to influence corporate decision-making (Roosendaal, 2011), feminist liking practices may become a means of advocating for broader systemic change. This systemic change may operate in ways similar to that explored in Liddiard 's (2014) analysis of shifting disability representations on Facebook. Additionally, liking practices that facilitate sharing information online may further support representation and learning of feminist social movements online.

Disconcertingly, content most often liked reflected consumerist and gender normative representations online. The distinction between liking "safe" personal posts more than "unsafe" political posts represents ways in which gender is continually regulated online. In ways similar to offline gender regulation and performativity (Butler, 1999), Facebook may operate as yet another site where normative gender representations are learned, evaluated, categorized, and reinforced. Furthermore, feminist standpoints become discouraged through being perceived as "unsafe" topics and thus not suitable for online discussion. Users may thus deter from social movement learning online. This demonstrates a continued need for feminist engagement and learning online in order to disrupt notions of feminism as taboo.

In this research, the like button is read and interpreted in meaningful ways beyond its anticipated use. Interestingly, all the participants read the use of the like button similarly demonstrating a hegemonic understanding of such Facebook practices. As such, this research begins to uncover forms of feminist Facebook use that are learned within online social contexts. Furthermore, this research indicates a

need for nuanced analysis of ways feminist networks and communities are formed and feminism is learned on Facebook.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

A Comparative Analysis of Social Movement Learning (SML) and Transnational Feminist Studies (TFS)

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ABSTRACT

Transnational feminist activists (TFA) have been at the forefront of creating multilingual feminist knowledges in activist milieu for the past four decades. Over the past two decades in North American (NA) Anglophone scholarship "transnational feminisms" has emerged as a discourse, theoretical framework, emerging body of scholarship, and as a descriptive referent for TFA in more empirical research. However, specific TFA movement-based knowledge practices, which include activist research, activist theorizing, and activist pedagogies, and the important role of activist informal learning have rarely been addressed in either Transnational Feminist Studies (TFS) or Social Movement Learning (SML). This paper offers a comparative analysis of these two simultaneously emerging interdisciplinary frameworks with an eye towards how their integration might make TFA and activist knowledges more visible within both TFS and SML and shift scholarly orientations toward movement knowledges and activist texts. I examine social movement links, social justice orientations, theoretical influences, and scale.

Transnational feminist activists (TFA) have been at the forefront of creating multilingual feminist knowledges in activist milieu for the past four decades. Despite this fact, over the past two decades in North America (NA), "transnational feminisms" has emerged as a discourse, theoretical framework, body of scholarship, and as a descriptive referent for TFA in empirical research without sustained interlocution with TFA. TFA movement-based knowledge practices, including activist research, activist theorizing, activist pedagogies, and informal learning, have rarely been addressed in Transnational Feminist Studies (TFS). TFA and their knowledges have not fared much better in Social Movement Learning (SML). My doctoral research explores the gap between TFA and TFS, how this gap was socially and conceptually organized,

and suggests a synthesis of SML and TFS frameworks[1]. This paper offers a comparative analysis of these two simultaneously emerging interdisciplinary frameworks with an eye towards how their integration might make TFA and activist knowledges more visible within both TFS and SML. The interdisciplinary dialogue between TFS and SML that I suggest is prompted by the instructive focus in SML on learning and knowledge production in activist and social movement contexts, which might address this weakness of TFS. It is also inspired by affinities that these two sub-fields share. Below, I engage Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) Studies and Adult Education, or, more precisely, their two simultaneously emerging sub-fields, Transnational Feminist Studies (TFS) and Social Movement Learning (SML), respectively. Because very little work has been done at the intersection of TFS and SML, there is almost no literature on transnational feminists' informal activist learning and/or movement knowledge production practices[2]. Below I offer a preliminary a comparative analysis of TFS and SML as a first step towards a synthesis.

In TFS, a literature marked by nuanced, critical, theoretical work, there has been a surprising lack of attention to epistemological questions as they relate to knowledge production in social movement contexts and their relevance

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1   This paper presents part of my dissertation, "*Citing/Siting 'Transnational Feminisms': Academic and Activist Epistemologies*," which explores how it was that so little exchange with TFA movement knowledges transpired during the period of the emergence of TFS in NA universities, from the 1980s –2010. My findings suggests that North American-based transnational feminisms scholars might consciously recognize and shift our orientation to activist texts and to movement knowledge practices, by integrating insights from SML.

2   Janet Conway's work (2004, 2010, 2011, 2013), while it does not use the language of social movement learning, does accomplish this dialogue between academic and activist epistemologies. Her early work focused upon activist learning and knowledge production in Toronto-area social justice and anti-globalization activism and more recent work addressed transnational feminist activism at the World Social forum, while maintaining the focus on activist knowledge production practices.

for TFS. This is despite activists' work being characterized as inspiring and innovative (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p.1; Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, xvi). The importance of TFA contexts as generative of new knowledges has been acknowledged in work by Alvarez (1999, 2000), Conway (2011), Lunny (2006), and Blackwell quoted in Dubois, Tohidi, Peterson, Blackwell, & Rupp (2005). More recently, TF scholars Chandra Mohanty and Jacqui Alexander (2010) have directed scholars' attention to movements as other sites in which knowledge about the transnational is produced. Despite these fairly recent, scattered assertions, little has been written about how to "keep up with" TF movements (Blackwell in Dubois et al, 2005, para. 20). The present orientation of TFS when it comes to TF *activisms* is predominantly one of being inspired by or learning *about* rather than learning *from* social movements. SML has a unique focus on the learning, educational, pedagogical, and knowledge production aspects of social movements. TFS, closely linked with post-colonial feminist studies, a field known for its attention to epistemological questions in terms of scholarly knowledge generation, could benefit from such approaches as it begins to engage more consciously with movement knowledges.

Common Ground

SML and TFS share much common ground. Both are sub-fields/frameworks that have emerged across disciplines over the past decade or two, in the political context of neoliberal globalization, neo-imperialist wars, global environmental and economic crises, and the insurgencies that they trigger. Despite the interdisciplinary character of the two bodies of literature, each is shaped predominantly by a home discipline with strong links to issues of social justice and social movements. For SML this has been Adult Education, particularly critical and Marxist schools, and for TFS it has been Women's and Gender Studies (WGS), particularly postcolonial feminist studies. Both of these "home disciplines" have a history of social movement-engagement and have sought to produce scholarship that helps to resist oppression. Accordingly, both newly emerging sub-fields/frameworks draw upon pre-existing conversations across disciplinary and academic-activist divides.

Interestingly, both Adult Education and WGS imagine themselves as unique among disciplines due to their symbiotic relationships with social movements. North American (NA) WGS is understood to have emerged from the women's movement and to have remained in dialogue with feminist groups and movements, to some degree (Desai, Bouchard, & Detournay, 2010; Orr, 2012; Luxton & Mossman, 2012; Alexander & Mohanty, 2010; Nagar & Swarr, 2010). The field of Adult Education, on the other hand, is not linked to one particular social movement. Rather, Adult Educationalists see their field as symbiotically linked to many social movements in myriad ways. Adult Educationalist Leona English explains this pervasive understanding as follows: "Firstly, all social movements, to some extent, have an adult educational dimension.

Secondly, some adult education initiatives were or are social movements. Thirdly, to some activists, all about education, as they define it, is a social movement" (2005, p. 589).

My analysis of the literature indicates that the lines of inquiry in TFS are strongly influenced by the foci of its home discipline and citational acknowledgement of influential thinkers. IN SML, there is evidence of a central disciplinary concern with *education* and *learning* in Adult Education that guides and shapes the scholarship. Given the emphasis on questions of social justice in radical adult education, it is not surprising that SML evidences a preoccupation with researching the educational, pedagogical, learning, and knowledge production dimensions of social movements. Within Adult Education, this emphasis has been explained in terms of political commitments informing the relative success of SML in highlighting the learning and knowledge production. As Chovanec, Lange, and Ellis note:

> [e]mancipatory, liberatory, radical or critical adult education (terminology used interchangeably in the field) is a form of adult education that is generally a response *against* repression, poverty, oppression and injustice and a struggle for justice and equality. Critical learning attempts to foster an individual's consciousness of himself or herself is situated within larger political and economic forces and to act upon those forces for social change [emphasis in original]. (2008, p. 188)

Despite this argument for the political motivation behind the sub-field's focus on learning, I would argue that SML's *disciplinary focus* on learning and knowledge production practices also exert a strong influence that allows scholars to relate differently to activist learning and knowledges.

TF scholars generally see themselves as politically committed to the investigation of power, inequality, oppression and privilege, including *between women*. However, a keen interest in learning through struggle is not as evident in the *transnational* feminist scholarship as it is in WGS more generally. Feminist scholarship has emphasized the critical role popular education has played in local and national women's movements, with rare work done on TF movements (Manicom & Walters, 2012 is a recent exception.)

Differences

Despite the similar grounding in home disciplines with strong commitments to social movements, there are many differences between TFS and SML. These include: a) the theoretical traditions drawn upon, b) the movements studied, and c) questions of scale.

Theoretical influences.

The bulk of SML and TFS scholarship is aligned with conflict theory, an approach which begins with the assumption that inequitable relations of power exist in society and must be

resisted[3]. There are important differences, however, in the ways that: a) power discrepancies are understood to matter, and b) how power, oppression, and resistance are theorized in each field. Interestingly, one area that some TFS and SML scholars agree upon is the importance of work by feminist epistemologists and standpoint theorists (Choudry, 2008; Conway, 2004; Nagar & Swarr, 2010). Social location or positionality are considered important factors in knowledge production.

Much of the foundational SML work done by critical Adult Educationalists is avowedly Marxist and/or anti-capitalist, according class a central role in analysis, and Marx, Gramsci, Freire, and Habermas are amongst the most important theoretical influences (see for example Foley, 1999; Holst, 2002; Mayo, 1999). Though SML theory is informed by critical social theory and critical pedagogy, the lack of scholarly work that theorizes the relationship between critical pedagogy and SML has been criticized by Adult Educationalist John Holford. Holford asserts that, "Although key to the political project of critical pedagogy, social movements tend to be taken for granted as allies, rather than analyzed or theorized…Critical pedagogy, therefore, contains little resembling a theory or even a critical pedagogy—of social movements" (1996, p. 102). My own work addresses the pedagogical nature of TFA (Lunny, 2006).

The predominant theoretical influences on TFS are postcolonial, antiracist, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, poststructuralist, and Marxist feminist schools of thought. The postcolonial feminist commitment to addressing inequitable relations between women, including those that occur within relations of resistance and solidarity is a hallmark of intersectional feminist theory (Grewal & Kaplan, 2000). Intersectional analyses that address multiple axes of oppression are argued by some to now be foundational to WGS (May, 2012; Orr, Braithwaite & Lichtenstein, 2012). Intersectionality is a distinctly anti-racist feminist methodology, developed through the critiques of white North American middle class feminist thought by women of colour (see hooks, 1984, 1989, 1990, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). My own understanding and use of intersectionality is that it is a conceptual tool that enables us to see how: a) aspects of our identities such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and ability; and b) system of oppression such as racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, heterosexism, and ableism, mutually shape each other and our lived experiences, positioning individuals and social groups in hierarchically structured relationships of advantage (privilege) and disadvantage (oppression). TFS examines the intersection between sexism, racism, colonialism, nationalism, heteropatriarchy, and/or capitalism in order to provide nuanced analyses of power. TF scholars are far less likely than SML scholars to work with a model of discrete oppression/s. They eschew the "silo" approach to

thinking about systems of oppression: such as analyzing racism separately from sexism or capitalism. TF theorize the mutually reinforcing nature of multiple forms of oppression. This does not mean that all forms of oppression are always addressed. Conway (2011) notes that racism and colonialism are not central to certain feminist knowledges of the World Social Forum. However, in efforts at cross-movement dialogue and feminist movement building, intersectional analysis is increasingly found. Intersectional analysis has become a hallmark of NA anti-racist feminist scholarship, though non-feminist scholars interested in more complicated analyses of power, oppression, and privilege have adopted it[4].

Some SML work is intersectional in its analysis of power and oppression, though unevenly so. Choudry (2008) has done nuanced work that looks at the intersecting systems of colonialism, globalization, neoliberalism, and capitalism, but not sexism Shirley Walters (2005) demonstrates in an excellent case study of learning in South Africa how race and class intersect to produce very different sites of learning for poor blacks who learn through demonstrations, slogan and songs while middle class whites learn by attending workshops. Yet, to a feminist reader, the lack of attention to gender and the preponderance of male theorists are striking (see for example Choudry and Kapoor 2010a, 2010b; Hall et al. 2012). SML has not made an intersectional analytic foundational and gender is present at best unevenly. Social movements and systems of oppression are mostly covered in single issue/single movement approaches in these same volumes.

An effort to expand this narrower focus of SML has been advanced by Rachel Gouin (2009) who critiqued Griff Foley's (1999) seminal "learning in struggle" framework from a feminist and antiracist perspective (Gouin 2009). Questioning Foley's emphasis on capitalism as the definitive system of oppression, and drawing upon her own research with girls, Gouin seeks to extend Foley's framework intersectionally:

[a]ntiracist feminist theory within the Marxist tradition makes two contributions that inform the study of social moment learning. It theorizes the interdependence of systems of domination (Mohanty, 2003), and it offers a methodological approach that politicizes personal experience, particularly the experiences of the most marginalized, and uses it as a starting point for sociological analysis (Banerji, 1995). (2009, p. 163)

This type of acknowledgement of situated knowledge, positionality, social location and intersectionality distinguishes much feminist scholarship. Gouin suggests using experiences and learning as entry points for analysis but also stresses the importance of contextualizing such experiences within "a more nuanced social analysis" (2009,

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3   For an accessible overview of conflict theory, see Sears and Cairns (2010).

4   For a very recent rethinking of intersectionality see Signs special issue Summer 2013. Patil (2013) offers an exploration of intersectionality from a transnational feminist perspective. For an argument on the value of Intersectionality Studies as a field, see Cho et al. 2013

p.172). Her suggestion echoes Dorothy Smith's (1987) methodological suggestions around experience being used as an entry point and to provide direction, but always with an eye to analysing the broader social forces shaping social relations.

There is some momentum towards a more intersectional approach in SML. A 2010 symposium at the University of British Columbia sought to expand SML theory and methodology by exploring interdisciplinary methods, centering gender, considering race, using postcolonial and transnational feminist theory, and addressing oppression within movements (Butterwick, Chovanec, Palacios, Rubenson, & Walter, 2010). While such explorations are promising, I would argue that at this moment, much SML scholarship still operates with a less nuanced understanding of power than TFS, particularly in terms of advancing an intersectional understanding of the gendered, heteronormative, racialized, and colonialist aspects of social movements themselves. Gendered and other power dynamics *within* activist communities and contexts of struggle are not scrutinized to the same degree in SML as they are in TFS. An integration of these two approaches would offer mutual benefits. SML scholars not already well-versed in feminist critiques of power would certainly gain from the kinds of questions anti-racist and post-colonial feminists ask about assumptions of solidarity; power dynamics between putative allies; and sexist, racist, and colonial resonances in liberatory struggles.

Which movements?

Given the different theoretical roots and understandings of power and oppression that operate within TFS and SML, and the discipline-specific narratives of unique histories of social movement affiliation, it is not surprising that the particular social movements studied also differ. SML case studies cover many movements, though often approached separately. SML research has also been conducted on a wide variety of forms of organizing including, for example, refugee self-organization (Desai and Walsh, 2010), popular revolutions (Austin, 2010), and worker and union organizing (Novelli, 2004). In the comprehensive review of literature offered in the *SML Field Report*, compilers found that:

> Most of the scholarship in SML is linked to community development, the women's movement, the environmental movements, the labor movement and anti-globalization movements. [Whereas] Aboriginal self-determination, Gay and Lesbian movements, Peace movements and Anti-racism movements have little work done from an SML perspective. (Hall and Turay, 2006, p. 20)

While women's movements have been studied in terms of popular/educational practices in this literature, almost all of this work is at the local or community level, and often not from an articulated SML or transnational approach. Furthermore, as feminists have a longstanding interest in popular education, much of the feminist literature included in the *SML Field Report* is on nonformal education. Scholarship on feminist and women's movements from an explicitly SML perspective highlighting informal learning and or knowledge production is much rarer.[5] TF scholarship that does address activisms focuses mostly on women's, feminist, anticolonial, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalization activisms, but again, this work does not usually acknowledge activist informal learning or highlight movement epistemologies, even when movements are acknowledged as inspirational or important[6]. A convergence of SML and TFS approaches would be both complementary and mutually challenging in terms of the engagement of diverse social movements.

Scale

SML scholarship addresses a range of scales, but the preponderance targets the local and community level followed by the national level (Hall and Turray, 2006). Much of the early literature that explicitly uses a SML framework was published in Canada and on Canadian contexts. SML work on transnational movements is far less developed. For example, a close examination of the bibliographies in the SML Field Report (Hall and Turray, 2006) shows that scholarly work listed as international would have been better labeled allo-national, as it rarely addressed studies conducted between or across national contexts, and usually refers to work done in another (non-Canadian) national context, including the United States, and excluding Quebec. Choudry's (2008) work on the transnational dimensions of anti-globalization activism is a strong exception. Ziadah and Hanieh (2010) offer an excellent discussion of the processes of activist knowledge production in Toronto-based Palestinian solidarity networks/organizing, explaining locally-based forms of transnational solidarity in terms of principles that informed the knowledge generation, such as "keeping the Palestinian narrative central" and viewing knowledge as a "collective responsibility" (p.96). Choudry's (2008) dissertation was an early effort to think transnationally about conducting institutional ethnography within a framework that sought to highlight movement knowledge practices. Very recently, a new book and a conference began a preliminary exploration of approaches to expand SML scholarship to the international level[7]. It remains to be seen if an explicitly transnational approach will be articulated in SML, whereas in TFS work has been done on differentiating global, international, and transnational frames.

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5   See the bibliography appended to the SML Field Report. Notable exceptions include: Chovanec et al, 2008; Chovanec, 2009; Conway, 2012; Stromquist, 1994

6   Three 2010 TFS anthologies on TFA will be examined in detail in chapter 6.

7   See Hall, Clover, Crowther, & Scandrett (2012). In June, 2013, The Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning held a Conference called "Mobilities and Transitions: Learning, Institutions, Global and Social Movements," at Glasgow Caledonian University, in Scotland.

In TFS, interest in the transnational scale is definitive, though the transnational is often examined in relationship to local and national contexts. Scholarship that is explicitly transnational in its framing often studies feminist transnationalism in relation to specific national contexts, such as can be seen in the collection of case studies called *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminism and Transnational Activism* (Roces & Edwards, 2010). Research conducted on TFA tends to focus upon international conferences and gatherings (see, for example, Conway, 2010, 2011; Hewitt, 2011). I concur with Suzana Milevska (2011) who notes that *regional* TF organizing has not been widely studied and has much to offer TF theory. Some exceptions include *Solidarities Beyond Borders,* by Dufour, Masson, and Caouette (2010) which centers its exploration of transnational feminism around the concepts of place, space and scale. Three articles in the 2011 online conference proceedings sponsored by *Feminist Review* entitled, "Feminist theory and activism in global perspective" have a regional focus.

SML research on *transnational* feminist or women's movements is particularly sparse. Research has been done on local and national contexts. Stromquist (1994), Barndt (1991) and Chovanec (2009) have focused on political education in Latin America, though only Chovanec's research on the Chilean women's movement uses an explicitly social movement learning frame. A recent special issue on "Feminism, women's movements and women in movement" of the online journal *Interface: A journal for and about social movements*, published in 2011 contains two articles that could be said to address transnational feminisms and social movement learning (Conway, 2011; Hewitt, 2011). Choudry and Kapoor's (2010) otherwise excellent anthology contains only one chapter (of fourteen) that addresses gender and transnational issues. In the same volume, indicative of the status of gender-sensitive research within SML, Rodriquez (2010) manages to offer a critique of expertise and NGOized knowledge in the context of migrant issues in the Philippines without addressing gender, though the majority of Filipino migrants are women. Janet Conway's *Edges of Global Justice: The World Social Forum and Its 'Others'* (2013) is the first and only book-length example of what a dual emphasis on TFS and TFA knowledges can accomplish from a critical anti-racist and postcolonial stance. Lyndi Hewitt's (2009) dissertation on TFA focuses more directly on learning.

A Promising Interdisciplinary Dialogue
Despite their coeval emergence, the shared social justice connections that have shaped their home disciplines, and their complementary approaches, a mutually beneficial exchange between SML and TFS is not yet underway[8]. Given the roots of NAWGS programs in the NA feminist movement; postcolonialist feminist concerns about the

role of knowledge production, education, and learning in colonization and de-colonization; and the use of the term "transnational feminisms" -- to refer to a) a conceptual framework, b) an emerging sub-field, and c) cross-border activism -- it might seem reasonable to expect that TFS scholars would be interested in transnational feminist movement-generated knowledges and learning. However, TFS's focus on power inequities between differently located women, also indicates caution in trans-border political alliances. A combined TFS/SML perspective might help to address this tension.

Empirical studies of learning and knowledge production *in* and *through* TFA would attend to gaps in TFS and SML. By integrating a SML perspective into scholarship on TFA that takes seriously the TFS intersectional analytic, the learning and knowledge production processes in TFA contexts can be taken as an entry point to explore social relations between different groups of women. As Alexander and Mohanty (1997, p.xiii, xxviii, xlii) assert, decolonization and feminist praxis both have pedagogical dimensions. What might be called the coloniality of pedagogy in transnational feminist organizing is a concern because assumptions about who knows and who needs to learn particular analyses and strategies follow colonialist lines. Purportedly counter-hegemonic struggles are infiltrated with hegemonic ways of knowing and being that constitute a re-colonization through certain forms, moments, and knowledge practices of activism. A SML/TFS framework would enhance a focus on activist learning and knowledge, and explore how colonial dynamics are playing out in women's cross-border advocacy. How do the processes of learning and knowledge production reproduce or challenge social relations between groups of women? How are ruling relations manifest within relations of resistance? In co-optation and institutionalization? This unromantic exploration of power relations between putative allies would bring more nuance to SML, which has at times used a movement-NGO binary. More studies of the actual practices of learning and knowledge production in TFA contexts would generate an empirically grounded account of the tensions and convergences of NGOs and movements (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013; Bernal & Grewal, 2014). This concern with NGOization is shared by feminist activist-scholars (Sangtin Writers, 2010) and by TF activists[9].

I want to suggest that conceptual tools and principles drawn from SML can be useful in orienting TFS differently: towards deeper engagement with movements and their knowledges, particularly TF movements. This would address the gap between TFA and TFS epistemologies. Conway's work has been exemplary in integrating engaged, critical feminist perspectives with movement-generated theoretical contributions (2010, 2011, 2013) but its singularity is a problem. Above, I have offered a preliminary discussion of the similarities and differences of SML and TFS, and where they might productively supplement or challenge each other. I suggest approaches that facilitate recognition

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8   A search of EBSCO Academic Search Complete on July12, 2012 for variations on the terms "transnational feminis*" and "social movement learning" found between zero and five sources per combination (See Appendix A.)

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9   For a critique of NGOization from a Bangladeshi woman activist, see http://alalodulal.org/2013/05/28/ngoization/ Accessed June 27, 2013.

of, learning from, and comparative and relational research on the epistemological practices of various forms of TFA organizing, such as NGOs, transnational advocacy networks, and social movements.[10] A SML-inflected empirical study of the learning and knowledge production in TFA milieu is a virtually unexplored approach that promises to shed light on the specificities of transnational feminist activist knowledge production, pedagogies, and learning and their social relations.

A specific focus by TFS and/or SML scholars on learning from and in dialogue with TFA would move both fields in new directions, possibly creating a sub-field that could innovate methodologies for documenting and disseminating transnational feminist movement knowledges. Rather than arguing for a new sub-field per se, I believe that a commitment to new habits of interlocution and reading are needed to bridge the gap between differently-situated and articulated understandings of transnational feminisms. This paper suggests a need for more dialogue between people who speak different languages, literally and figuratively. My argument echoes calls to transcend academic and activist "divides," but proposes a different route to such interlocution for scholars. A synthesis of TFS and SML suggests a conscious effort to shift scholarly orientations to, and usages of, activist intellectual practices and texts. Both interdisciplinary scholarship and sustained equitable exchange between academic, activist, NGO, advocacy and grassroots constituencies, are necessary.

Search terms	Results
"transnational feminis*" and "social movement learning"	0
"transnational feminis*" and "social movement" and "learning"	0
"transnational feminis*" and "social movement" and "education"	3
"transnational feminis*" and "activis*" and "learning"	1
"transnational feminis*" and "activis*" and "education"	4
"transnational feminis*" and "social action" and "learning"	0
"transnational feminis*" and "social action" and "education"	1
"global feminis*" and "social movement learning"	0
"global feminis*" and "social movement" and "learning"	0
"global feminis*" "and "social movement" and "education"	0
"global feminis*" and "activis*" and "learning"	0
"global feminis*" and "activis*" and "education"	0

Search terms	Results
"global feminis*" and "social action" and "learning"	0
"global feminis*" "and "social action" and "education"	0
"international feminis*" and "social movement learning"	0
"international feminis*" and "social movement" and "learning"	0
"international feminis*" "and "social movement" and "education"	1
"international feminis*" and "activis*" and "learning"	0
international feminis*" and "activis*" and "education"	5
"international feminis*" and "social action" and "learning"	0
"international feminis*" "and "social action" and "education"	1

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10   This dual emphasis on comparative and relational analysis is consistent in and work by Alexander and Mohanty (1997, 2010).

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION/
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PAPER PRESENTATION

Adult Education and the Road to Freedom

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"Is not the secret aim and underlying motive of history to seek to explain the present?" (Fernand Braudel, 1984, p. 619).

Introduction

The contention of this historiography is that the essence of adult education, since its origins in the early 18th century Western Europe through to today, is themed by the search for 'the good life' through the axioms of salvation, liberation, and freedom. It will demonstrate how this theme originated during the period of Early Modernity in Western European when a symbiotic relationship developed between capitalist's economic social theory and liberal social theory. Despite adult education not being an identifiable social structure during Early Modernity it was in response to events of this period that adult education had its origins and it is there that this paper begins.

Modernity – Capitalism and the Prospect of Liberation

During the period of Early Modernity – generally regarded as 17th century Western Europe – a potent socio/economic change arose as Western Europe transitioned from a feudalist's agricultural based economy to a capitalist's industrial based economy. It was a transition with broad and far reaching implications. In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault (2008) outlines a shift of governmentality that occurred in Western Europe in response to this shift from a pastoral governmentality (also known as a feudal socio/economic structure) to a capitalist inspired governmentality. During this period of Modernity the sovereign's civic responsibility transitioned from protecting the souls of the citizenry – by offering eternal salvation – to protecting the body corporeal of the citizenry – by offering the good life on earth. It is Foucault's contention that the cause of this paradigm shift in the sovereign/citizen relationship can be found in capitalism's

integration of the theory of liberalism into its own emerging paradigm.

Capitalism emerged during the 16th and 17th century Western European as a force that disrupted the social structure and governmentality of the period. It altered the fundamentally nature of social mobility by changing who could become members of the ruling elite. In the feudal state the prospects of social mobility were limited as citizens tended to retain their social positions based upon birth and family. The sovereign's role in this social milieu was to allow for redemption and eternal salvation for citizenry through their ascension into heaven.

Using critical realist Margaret Archer (2007) as a guide, Pre-Modernity was culturally and socially morphostatic: "repetitive situations, stable expectations, and durable relations" (p. 49), everyday life followed a path of contextual continuity. Then along came capitalism disrupting this morphostatic world in two closely related ways. First, capitalism created conditions of social mobility through the accumulation of wealth, thus through hard work and toil the poor could become rich, climb the social ladder and find the good life (no longer inheriting the earth by becoming part of it). Second, inspired by new avenues of social mobility put in place by capitalism, a new ruling or social elite emerged thus allowing capitalists to become the new architects of governmentality.

The drive of capitalism saw the institutionalization of the secular state, weakening the authority of the church and the monarchy that had been an important part of feudalism. With this change everyday life lost its contextual continuity and, in Margaret Archer's (2007) terms became contextually discontinuous or morphogenetic. Although capitalism guided the move to the secular state the oppressive relations and the contextual discontinuity it created problematized it. Braudel (1984) provides this clever description of the relationship capitalists have with the rest of society: "I may

exploit you, but from time to time I may do you a favour" (p. 250). The favour that capitalism could offer was new-found social mobility through monetary accumulation, it just needed a regime of justification to make itself socially palatable. Thus, it was during Early Modernity that capitalism climbed into bed with the theory of liberalism.

Liberalism emerged during Early Modernity as a philosophy dedicated to creating conditions for human freedom and liberation through rational scientific enquiry. Foucault (2008) provides that "liberalism formulates simply the following: I am going to produce what you need to be free. I am going to see to it that you are free to be free" (p. 63). At its core liberalism is a search for social justice in which all people are to be considered equal, secure, and free to seek the good life. This sentiment is seen in the work of John Locke (1869,1967), "men being… by Nature, all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this Estate, and subjected to the Political Power of another, without his own Consent" (p. 348).

The ideal of seeking the good life, according to the theory of liberalism, can be attained by limiting the role of the state to providing security for the populace and by recognizing the right of each person to be considered free. The original liberty envisioned by the theory of liberalism is one of emancipation from traditional social bonds of the feudal order and the allowance of social mobility, a previously highly unattainable liberty within feudalism.

This relationship between liberalism and capitalism was a largely symbiotic relationship. Liberalism provided capitalism with an ideology for a new system of governmentality. Where traditional forms of governmentality would have suppressed capitalism's drive for profit liberalism crafted a rationale for profit by linking it to social mobility. Capitalism provided liberalism with secure conditions in which individuals could search for self-determination as traditional governmentality tied a citizen's freedom to the mechanisms of the state and church.

Classical Modernity and the Emergence of Adult Education

"Education of adults did not begin with the nineteenth century. But they derived a new stimulus from social and intellectual ferment which accompanied the break-up of the old regime" (The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction, 1956, p. 164).

In their review of the history of adult education *The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction* (1956) identified that adult education emerged in Britain during the early 1800s as it showed "sufficient continuity and power of self-renewal to entitle it to be regarded as a permanent characteristic of our society" (p. 161). To this we can add Wardle's (1970) comment that, "educational systems…reflect contemporary notions about social organization, the nature of knowledge, the possibility of human improvement, the function of government and so on" (p. 1).

This leads to the question: What was being reflected in the social milieu of early 1800s that led to the activation of adult education?

By the 1700s capitalism, in particular industrial capitalism was leading the charge across the socio/economic landscape of Western Europe and America, with many international spurs that were precursors to globalization. Capitalism was redefining the fundamental relations of the social fabric by compelling citizens to move from their rural communities (where their lives were guided by familiar social norms and contextual continuity) to work in urban factories (where their lives were guided by unfamiliar social norms and contextual discontinuity).

Mabel Tylecote (1957) provides a clear description of the social circumstances in Britain during the late 1700s and early 1800s:

> The social conditions which followed in the wake of the changing character of indus-trial organization aroused not only fear but also widespread concern of a philanthropic kind; for the concentration of manual workers in the new industrial towns afforded a spectacle of mass deprivation, as well as an opportunity for large-scale agitation. (p. 26)

It was from these conditions that adult education as a 'permanent characteristic of our society' emerged.

The Christian Churches were among the first to take on the challenge of educating adults. Though the Cross had lost much of its influence by the early 1800s it still carried considerable social authority and wrestled with capitalism and the liberal secular state for social governance. Churches were a source of social contextual continuity for many as they held connections to the social relations of Pre-Modernity when the sovereigns were responsible for the salvation of souls. By their very nature churches have always utilized a regional ontology to educate adults within the narrow range of religious doctrines that seeks redemption and salvation. Seeing the havoc that industrial capitalism was creating in society church leaders stepped in to educate and save the souls of the masses. Along with their long history of relief programs for the poor, in eighteenth century Britain churches branched out into more formalized education, such as literacy programs, to save the souls of the increasing number of poverty ridden citizens.

Other social reformers heeded the call to help the poor. Prominent social reformer and philanthropist of this period, Robert Owen (1813/1972), reflected the opinion of many others concerning the need to educate the poor, "either give the poor a rational and useful training, or mock not their ignorance, their poverty, and their misery, by merely instructing them to become conscious of the extent of the degradation under which they exist" (p. 154). While the religious leaders used adult education as a means to save souls, social reformers went one step ahead by providing public voice to the concerns of the impoverished. Both sought to allay the

potential of social discontent created by the oppressiveness and contextual discontinuity created by capitalism. It is in this milieu of poverty and social unrest that adult education is deeply rooted.

While the Christian Churches and social activists were opening up new avenues for adult education in the milieu of poverty, capitalists and the scientific advancements were opening up avenues of adult education in the milieu of the potential riches of technological advances. *The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction* (1956) notes, "if one source of educational effort is to be sought in the desire to supply religious instruction which might prop the established social order, another sprang from the new scientific discoveries by which that order was being undermined" (p. 168). This new 'educational effort' was the training and education of the industrial worker who now had to contend with unprecedented advancements in the workplace due to revolutionary technological and mechanical progress.

Learning societies emerged to help the workers and citizens deal with and embrace these changes. In her book *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851,* Mable Tylecote (1957) describes learning societies as local associations "based upon popular interest in science and combined with recreational interests" (p. 2) in 18th century Britain. These societies, parochial assemblies with narrow mandates, faded away but led to the creation of Mechanic's Institutes with broader mandates. This was ground zero for Plumb's (1999) observation of *Adult Education in a World on Speed*. The demands of changes in the work place picked up by the development of educational structures such as the *Mechanics Institutes* had a new message; the carrot was not eternal salvation but freedom through social mobility in a liberal society.

With the dissolution of traditional governmentality through the symbiotic relationship of liberalism and capitalism the average citizen had an opportunity to have a voice in the new governmentality. Citizens were now able to advocate for their rights by seeking a better life through active political engagement. Politics, as described by Foucault (2008), is the art of government and the average citizen could have an impact on government through social organizations that used adult education to inform its members. Returning to *The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction* (1956), it is noted, "Co-operation, Chartism, and Trade Unionism [three formative social organizations of Britain], each paid a tribute to liberal education as a social ideal" (p. 175).

In this period of modernity adults needed guidance to help them navigate through a rapidly changing world. For the disadvantaged the guidance was in the form of protection and security to find eternal salvation or become part of the capitalist economy and find security and freedom through technical knowledge and anwealth accumulation. So far research has found little concerning adult education for the 'advantaged' citizen. This comment, although sounding glib

is important as it places adult education within the context of liberal theorization that is dedicated at aiding the marginalized of society.

The early eighteenth century shows us that adult education had become an integral part of the growth of capitalism and liberal. Interestingly, while liberalism provided capitalism a regime of justification for its advancement, liberal theory was also used as a critique of capitalism. Unlike the Church dogma and radical movements, such as the Luddites, liberal critique did not strive to change the capitalists system instead it tried to create a more equitable system.

A Snapshot of Adult Education in the Early Twentieth Century

> "And what a peculiar definition of freedom when the price of a job requires workers to leave home, heritage, culture, tradition, language, and the community of friends and family" (Eric Kierans, 2007, p. 309).

By the early twentieth century adult education was caught up in the shifting social demographics caused by capitalism economic growth and geographic expansion. In this milieu adult education influenced by liberal theory was working on two main and somewhat contradictory fronts. On one front it was used to mitigate oppressive class relations wrought by capitalism. On another front it was used to advance the growth of capitalism.

In *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past*, Mike Welton (2013) captures the development of adult education in Canada as capitalism's growth and expansion impacted the lives of more and more Canadians. Welton's historiography creates a picture of adult education in Canada themed around education for citizenship. Arguably all education initiatives are concerned with forming citizenship but many of the adult education initiatives as presented by Welton tended to be tied to the goals of liberalism: securing economic conditions for the pursuit of freedom. Adult education was caught up in a broad process for the legitimization of emerging social processes.

The religious aspect of eternal salvation was also present but took on the form of the social gospel as Welton (2103) states, "Religion was flattened out along the horizontal plane". The Churches were becoming less antagonistic to capitalism as can be seen in the work of Father Jimmy Tompkins and his involvement with the Antigonish Movement. Tompkins actively married the Church's doctrine of salvation to the liberal doctrine of wealth accumulation and even a bit of Marxism as he prodded the working class to unite in order to control the means of their production. This is seen in his work with the lobster fishermen of Little Dover, NS, who, under his mentorship, began to process and sell their own catch (Welton, 1997). The adult education initiative offered by Tompkins provided security and freedom on earth for the fishermen.

Although liberalism was an influential ideology in capitalist based economies their symbiotic relationship started to weaken during the nineteenth century. The civil strife instigated by antagonistic class relations caused by capitalism was becoming mitigated by the onset of the welfare state. The welfare state and the rise of socialism began to push liberalism to the back burner.

According to Waller (1956) WWI had a great impact on the development of adult education. Waller describes how the British Government gave formal adult education strong consideration to help integrate returning soldiers back into society as the social fabric had been fractured by the millions of men and women who fought, died, were physically and emotionally injured during the combat.

Waller (1956) also describes the considerable optimism adult education for socio/economic development at the end of WWI as technological progress could lead to great human possibilities. Adult education could be used to expand the horizons of human development. Liberal ideology continued to seep into the adult education discourse, by justifying each individuals search for freedom in the material world. Unfortunately the optimism quickly faded and world events – the Great Depression and the rise of Totalitarian State – led to another world war.

The Metamorphosis of Liberal Ideology

> "It would be much truer to say that money is one of the greatest instruments of freedom ever invented by man. It is money which in existing society opens an astounding range of choice to the poor man, a range greater than that which not many generations ago was open to the wealthy" (Hayek, 1945, p. 93).

As noted above the Great Depression eroded the base of capitalism. This along with the events that had lead to two world wars had political leaders debating the merits of liberal social theory. Capitalism inspired liberalism was no longer able to provide the security and freedom of the modern Western Society. With WWII winding down government and economic leaders of the chief industrial countries wanted to ensure that history would not be repeated. This sentiment is seen in Friedrich Hayek's (1944/2006) *Road to Serfdom*, "we can learn from the past to avoid a repetition of the same process" (p. 2). During this period two conferences were held in order to develop an economic structure that would better provide both security and freedom. The first conference, which became known as the *Bretton Woods Conference*, was thematized around a socio/economic ideology developed primarily by John Milton Keynes. Keynes' economic philosophy was linked to the ideals of social welfare and advocated monetary stability and greater government involvement in the market to ensure social security.

The second conference, which became known as the Mount Pellerin Society, followed a socio/economic path guided by the work of Friedrich Hayek. In Hayek's view the social welfare ideology of Keynes represented an authoritarian regime restricting human freedom and security. The Mount Pellerin Society members envisioned a rational socio/economic structure based on a revamped theory of liberalism arguing that government could provide security and freedom by providing favorable market conditions in which businesses could grow. After great debate the economic philosophy laid out by John Milton Keynes was chosen to guide the economic structure of the Western world.

Although liberalism lost hegemony in socio/economic affairs to Keynesianism it did not die. Instead it metamorphosized by separating itself from classical liberalism through it's increased emphasis on the economy as the source of personal freedom. This metamorphosis began at the London School of Economics (LSE). Keith Tribe (2009) explains that liberal thinkers such as Hayek moved to the LSE during the 1930s and from this base they mustarded an attack on socialist planned economies. The rise of Nazism and the events of WWII provided fodder for their attacks and led to new liberal philosophers theorizing the best economic structure for the West once the war ended.

It was during his time at the LSE that Hayek wrote *The Road to Serfdom*. In this book Hayek lays out a new liberal doctrine principally by disparaging the social welfare state, equating such systems with serfdom. Hayek ultimately suggests that a new theorization of the role of the state needed to be in place to allow for individual freedom and security to be best met.

Van Horn and Mirowski (2009) contend that Hayek emerged as the central figure in the reformulation of liberalism during the 1940s and 1950s. Along with his involvement with the Mount Pelerin Society he also was invited to the United States where he helped found the Chicago School of Economics free market research with private funding from the Volker Fund (a right wing foundation).

So while the Keynesian economic approach held hegemony in Western governmentality the revamped liberals waited for a crisis of capitalism when they could push for socio/economic reforms based on their ideals. A crisis of capitalism began to emerge in the late 1960s and became a full-blown crisis in the early 1970s when a condition of stagflation set in. At this time capitalists were accumulating monetary capital but were unable to find suitable investment opportunities for their money as they had fully exploited the marketplace and were stymied in their attempt to gain access to new markets. As the well-known historian of capitalist development Fernand Braudel (1992) observes, capitalism suffers from a basic paradox: for capitalism to function money needs to be accumulated but money also needs to move through the market. Profits can only be reaped if capital constantly circulates throughout the market. To amass money, capitalists constantly look for new markets to exploit. In the 1970s, the only way for capitalists to find new markets to get their capital moving was to attack the very Keynesian ideology that had served their interests in the decades following the Second World War.

In their efforts to solve this crisis of capitalism the global financial elite adopted the economic principles shaped by Hayek and his cohorts. Once again liberalism (now in the form of neoliberalism) and capitalism entered into a symbiotic relationship for mutual growth. The appeal of neoliberal ideology for the economic elite was it's reconstitution of governmentality in regards to the marketplace as it calls for the government to dissolve obstacles that get in the way of continuous economic growth. One of the more effective and pernicious strategies was the privatization and subsequent commodification of the common resources (Patel, 2009). This along with a host of other strategies such as the breaking of union power and authority (Harvey, 2005) and the encouragement of personal monetary debt (Graeber, 2012) broke the Keynesian welfare economic structure. The demise of communism in the late 1980s provided the rationale and moral imperative for neoliberalism to become a truly global force for socio/economic development.

A Snapshot of Neoliberalism and Adult Education

Within the dogma of neoliberalism, education is seen as an economic investment controlled by a simple equation: money invested in education programs should yield more money (plus, there is a lot of money to be made by the provision of education). Milton and Rose Friedman (1967), influential theorists and advocates of neoliberal theory, viewed education of adults in terms of human capital development. They considered "vocational and professional schooling" as "form of investment in human capital precisely analogous to investing machinery, buildings, or other forms of non-human capital. Its function is to raise economic productivity of the human being" (p. 100-101). To soften this comment, they continue "the individual is rewarded in a free enterprise society by receiving a higher return for his services than he would otherwise be able to command" (p. 101). They do preserve the liberal concern with freedom and liberty but plant it firmly within the preserve of capitalism.

Adult Education and Neoliberal Incongruity

Donovan Plumb (1999) observed, "in epochs of disjuncture, things once taken for granted often appear in startling new ways" (p. 141). This world of global capitalism guided by neoliberal ideology is presenting lifeworld disjuncture at a pace and geographical scale never experienced before. Where does adult education fit into a world where contextual continuity and discontinuity are being replaced by contextual incongruity? Where people are confronted with the paradox of the unfamiliar becoming the familiar? Where does it fit in the neoliberal ideology of 'what is good for the economy is good for society'? Contextualized as an economic resource, the only path to freedom that adult education can offer is an economic one. Perhaps Hayek was right and humanity is moving towards serfdom – but it has been largely liberal and later neoliberal ideology is getting us there.

As highlighted by this brief historiography adult education evolved as both a proponent of capitalism and a critique of capitalism. As a proponent of capitalism, adult educators need to reinvigorate a liberal stance that deals with adult education's economic conflation by moving it toward an equitable and moral economy. As a critique of capitalism, adult educators must come together to develop a united voice for all who are disadvantaged by capitalism. By providing instruction on how to find equality or to escape the confines of the capitalist economy, adult education can help get society moving along the road to freedom.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

Health Outcomes of Literacy Acquisition on Women in Egypt

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study seeks to uncover the effects of literacy acquisition on Egyptian women from their perspective, with a specific focus on health outcomes. Focus groups were conducted with current learners, graduates and educators all associated with the Freirean-based Caritas Egypt adult literacy program in Cairo, Alexandria and Assiut. The women credited literacy and health knowledge with enabling them to follow medical instructions and administer medicine. The learners became increasingly aware of the importance of cleanliness and sanitation and eagerly adopted hygienic health measures. Reproductive health sessions were particularly popular. The practice of female genital mutilation was openly discussed and challenged. The ability to read public signs helped the women commute to medical facilities located outside their neighborhoods. The impact of literacy on health outcomes seems to have been greater in rural areas than in urban areas.

Introduction

In the wake of the revolution in Egypt in 2011, there were many informal debates among educated Egyptians concerning the right of non-literate adults to vote. Some argued that non-literates were too naive to select the right candidates in the upcoming elections. While I believed in the right of all citizens to vote, I wondered about the impact of literacy on people's lives. I was particularly interested in the views of women who acquired literacy through an adult literacy program. How did acquiring literacy affect their lives? How did they use literacy on a daily basis?

The Egyptian women who participated in this study reported that literacy acquisition improved many aspects of their lives including: self-perception, ability to supervise their offspring's education, their chances of pursuing formal education, family relations, spatial mobility, gender equity, income generation, civic engagement, health awareness, maternal health and child health. In this paper, I will only focus on the health outcomes of literacy acquisition from the perspective of the participants.

Adult literacy in Egypt

There are 16 million Egyptians who are fifteen years or older who cannot read or write a short simple statement on their everyday life. While 80.3 % of Egyptian men are literate, only 65.3% women are literate (UNESCO-UIS, 2012).

The impact of literacy

The impact of literacy on individuals and nations has been a hotly debated topic. In a landmark study, Scribner and Cole (1981) hoped to uncover the cognitive effects of literacy and schooling among the Vai people in Liberia. Contrary to the commonly held assumptions of the time, they found that the cognitive effects of literacy could not be generalized and were limited to improved performance in skills practiced repeatedly. Graff (1987) examined the relation between education on one hand, and employment and remuneration on the other in 19th century Ontario. He found that, "Literacy did not benefit all who possessed it, nor handicap many who did not" (p.172). He referred to the enduring belief that the acquisition of literacy leads to increased income generation, cognitive enhancement, economic development and democratic practice as the literacy myth (Graff, 2011). This myth is expressed frequently in the media, and is shared by the proponents of the autonomous model which Street (1984) contrasted with the ideological model. The autonomous model viewed literacy as a neutral skill that was independent of context. Literacy was expected to transform those who acquired it, and bring about cognitive, economic, social and political benefits. The ideological model, on the other hand, emphasized the social and contextual nature of literacy and "posits that literacy is social practice, not simply a technical or neutral skill; that is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles and that

it takes multiple forms" (Roger & Street, 2012, pp.12-13). Maddox (2007) critiqued the ideological model for setting theoretical limitations that hindered the recognition of the effects of literacy on the production of agency, identity formation, social change and the relation between the local and the global. He believed that the recent emphasis on situating literacy (Barton & Hamilton, 1998) has helped resolve this limitation. While social context, ideology and power dynamics influence literacy practices, people use literacy in innovative ways to assert themselves and achieve their goals. Bartlett (2007) added that the opportunities provided by literacy depend on the type of literacies taught, type of literacy program and the meaning learners attach to literacy.

Health outcomes of literacy in the developing world

Several studies have investigated the relationship between female literacy and maternal and child health in the developing world. It should be noted that it is extremely difficult to distinguish the effects of education, literacy, schooling, healthcare access, and socio-economic class from each other (St. Clair, 2010; UNESCO, 2005). Nevertheless, a study in India singled out female literacy as the most likely pathway to improving children's nutrition and general health (Golkhar, Kanade, Rao, Kelkar, Joshi & Grigosavi, 2010). Another study that compared data from different sub-Saharan African countries found that female literacy correlated with use of maternal health care and concluded by recommending female education as a way to improve maternal health (McTavish, Moore, Harper & Lynch, 2010). Schnell-Anzola, Rowe and LeVine (2004) cited several studies they had conducted in Mexico, Nepal and Zambia to explore the link between women's schooling and reproductive health. Findings of these studies as well as data collected from surveys conducted in Morocco, South Africa and Guatemala, show a correlation between maternal schooling, and maternal and child health. The authors proposed female literacy as the most plausible pathway to explain the mechanism of the relation, and introduced a conceptual model which they tested in Venezuela. They found that female academic literacy correlated with better maternal and child health. While the participants in this study had learnt literacy at school, the authors expressed the belief that literacy learnt in adult education programs could lead to similar results.

Indeed, a number of studies sought to investigate the impact of adult literacy programs on participants (UNESCO, 2005). One of the outcomes of a functional literacy program in Ghana was increased health awareness especially with regards to family planning, hygiene and child care (Aoki, 2005). Sandiford, Cassel and Sanchez (1995) compared the health of Nicaraguan children born to: non-literate mothers, literate mothers who had acquired literacy as adults, and literate mothers who acquired literacy in primary school. All women and children belonged to the same socio-economic class and lived in same community. The authors reported that child survival was significantly higher for children of literate mothers than non-literate illiterate mothers.

Surprisingly, children of women who became literate as adults were healthier than children of schooled mothers.

In Egypt, a study was conducted to measure the effects of the Integrated Health and Literacy Curriculum which emphasized maternal and child health, on adult literacy teachers, female learners and their family members. It found that health knowledge increased by 197% for teachers, 92% for learners and 46% for members of the households of learners. Learners tended to share information gained with twice as many women than men, indicating lingering timidity between genders in discussing health issues. Modest attitudinal gains were also reported. Both teachers and learners overwhelmingly supported the inclusion of the new curriculum in literacy programs (American University in Cairo Social Research Center , 2003).

In conclusion, female literacy acquisition does seem to improve health awareness, health knowledge, and maternal and child health. However, it is important to note that increase in health knowledge alone does not necessarily lead to changes in behavior (Robinson-Pant, 2001).

Female literacy and the reproductive role

There is a clear tendency within policy and public discourse to relate female literacy to the woman's reproductive role. Often, the expense of an adult education program targeting women, is justified on the ground that educated women have fewer, healthier and better educated children. While the welfare of children is important, there is no mention of the women's welfare or their right to education. In addition, this discourse ignores the role of the father as a parent and lays the responsibility of childrearing on the mother, and thus serves to enforce the traditional role of the meek and self-sacrificing mother (Agnaou, 2004; Luttrell, 1996; Robinson-Pant, 2004)

Methodology:

As mentioned before, the purpose of this study was to uncover the perspectives of newly-literate Egyptian women on the effects of literacy on their lives. I chose to conduct semi-structured, open-ended focus groups rather than individual interviews, as I was conscious of the perceived power difference between myself and the participants, due to my privileged position as an Egyptian upper-middle class educated woman, compared to their position as unschooled women belonging to the low socio-economic class. I was worried that the women would tell me what they thought I wanted to hear, especially that I had gained access to them through the NGO that provided services within their community. Focus group interviews can reduce the researcher's power by making the context appear more natural especially if the participants know each other beforehand and the focus groups take place in locations familiar to the participants (Eder & Fingerson, 2002).

The focus groups all took place on premises associated with Caritas Egypt, the NGO providing the adult literacy

programs, in three different geographical locations: the slums of the coastal city of Alexandria and rural Assiut in Upper Egypt, in the months of November and December 2012. The participants included twenty- eight learners, twenty-one graduates, twenty-six educators, all associated with Caritas Egypt. The participants in the focus groups appeared to be at ease as they were all familiar with each other and with the place. I had two main questions: "What do you read and write?" and "How has learning to read and write affected your lives?" I should note here that there is no equivalent for the word literacy in the Arabic language. Once the discussion got started, I tried not to intervene except to ask for clarification or elaboration (Eder & Fingerson, 2002; Seidman, 2006). All interviews were audiotaped and I translated and transcribed them myself. I also examined texts written by learners and graduates, which appeared in a section, in a periodical published by Caritas Egypt titled *The Effect of the Program* in which the learners and graduates wrote short personal testimonials.

I analyzed the data according to major themes often mentioned in the literature (St. Clair, 2010; UNESCO, 2005), but noted the emergence of other themes specific to the Egyptian context.

Caritas Egypt basic adult literacy program

Based on Freire's ideology, Caritas Egypt has been offering adult literacy courses in Egypt for the past forty years and was recognized by UNESCO as one of the best nine adult literacy programs in the world (UNESCO, 2006). Caritas Egypt has never had trouble attracting or retaining learners as there is high demand for its programs. The educators emphasized the importance of dialogue and encouraged the learners to express their concerns, share experiences, discuss and act to improve their situation. The course also covers topics such as health awareness, family relations, general knowledge, human and civil rights (Caritas Egypt, 2011a) . The widely practiced tradition of female genital mutilation (FGM) is openly discussed and challenged. Recently, the organizers have added a political awareness component and basic economic advice.

In 2000, Caritas Egypt launched the libraries in communities and villages where it is well-established to provide post literacy services such as the provision of reading material, vocational and leadership training. The libraries are truly "a meeting place to launch into community service" (Caritas, Egypt, 2011b, p.1). Members meet to discuss community problems and suggest solutions such as organizing community service events or lobbying the local authorities for services.

Egyptian women's perspectives on the health outcomes of literacy acquisition

Following medical instructions. Women often told stories of the difficulties they once faced in following medical instructions. In fact, it was these unfortunate incidents that often prompted them to attend a literacy class. Over and over, I heard stories of how they had given the wrong medication, the wrong dosage, one that had expired, gave it for too long, or not long enough. Upon reflection, I realized that the administration of medicine is quite a complicated task that involves a lot of literacy. The first step is to read the label, determine if it is suitable for adult or child and check the expiry date. Next, one has to read the instructions that are written on the box, a prescription or the inside pamphlet and figure out the dosage and the times. Then, one has to keep track of the duration the medicine should be taken. Finally, special storage instructions need to be read and followed. The women were very pleased that they had learnt how to read medical instructions and safely administer medicine to their loved ones.

General health awareness. The instructors said the women generally benefitted from lessons on hygiene, sanitation, nutrition and disease prevention. The instructors in Upper Egypt often told stories of how the appearance of the learners and their children visibly changed over the course of the program. At first, the learners would turn up to class straight from the field, looking dishevelled and unkempt, but they gradually became conscious of personal hygiene and their appearance. They washed before class and put on clean cloths. Indeed, the women I met in the village literacy class all looked very neat. The women also became more vigilant in cleaning and decorating their homes. Some classes even launched neighborhood cleaning campaigns. This transformation was not just about hygiene and preventing disease. It was also an indication of increasing self-esteem and the assuming of a new identity, that of the literate woman.

While the learners and graduates spoke a lot about issues relating to the administration of medicine, they only mentioned hygiene and sanitation briefly. This may imply that these topics did not impact them much, but it could mean that they were too ashamed to admit that they were negligent and unclean before. It could also mean that they got so accustomed to practicing hygiene that they did not think it is worth mentioning.

Reproductive Health. The reproductive health sessions are especially popular as sex is considered a taboo topic and the women lacked scientific knowledge. The educators told me that this topic attracts many women to class: not only the learners, but other women from the community who ask for permission to stay and listen. One educator, who was also a graduate of the program said, "We are all mothers here but did not know how pregnancy occurs".

One young mother in Assiut told me, "Before, when a girl started menstruating, she was too embarrassed to ask her mother. She would ask her friend who may give her a wrong answer. Now that I have been educated, I can tell my daughter." It was obvious that this woman was speaking from personal experience. Not only was she pleased that she now understood, but had already made up her mind that this was not going to be a taboo issue with her children.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Whereas FGM falls within the domain of reproductive health, I have chosen to

introduce it on its own because of its prevalence in Egypt. In fact, the 2008 Demographic Health Survey reported that 91% of Egyptian women aged between 15 and 49 had been subjected to it (UNICEF, 2013). In 2008, the practice was declared illegal and the numbers are in the decline, but it is still major issue. (IRIN, 2010)

Educators, graduates and learners all had something to say about this topic. Several educators mentioned that they almost got kicked out of the village when they started addressing the topic. One teacher discovered - the hard way- that challenging the practice head on does not work. Instead, she invited the learners to tell of their memories of the day they were subjected to it. As they explored their true feelings, they become convinced of the barbarity of the practice. Another instructor proudly recounted how she stood up to her own mother-in-law and even threatened to report her to the authorities if she circumcised her granddaughters. She then said that she now tries to convince other "open-minded" women saying, "Look at my girls. They are not circumcised and they never do anything wrong". It is interesting that while she was sincerely opposed to FGM, she still did not feel comfortable telling everyone that her daughters had not been subjected to it, but only shared her views with the open-minded women.

In Alexandria, the learners spontaneously told me that their teacher, who was a very conservative Muslim, taught them that while the practice is wrong, it is sometimes medically necessary. When I asked the teacher to elaborate, she responded defensively saying that only a good gynaecologist could decide.

Another graduate from Assiut told of the suffering she endured because of FGM. She vowed to fight the practice. She said, "I tell my relatives that I personally will report you to the authorities. Many people were angry with me. I also spoke to the girls and raised their awareness. I told them to notify me if they suspected their parents were planning it."

A very animated discussion took place in the literacy class in Alexandria. When the topic came up, one learner said that she would still subject her daughter to it because she wants her to be chaste. Several of her classmates disagreed with her. One shouted, "This is how God created her. You should not meddle with God's creation". Another cried, "Don't you remember this day?? It creates a psychological trauma. It is also a direct cause of divorce". Still another said, "This will harm her daughter in the future. It can cause problems in the marriage."

The educators all declared that the practice is on the decline and had virtually disappeared in some villages. It must be noted that Caritas Egypt did not only rely on the educators' efforts in fighting this practice. They organized seminars for the whole community in which Muslim sheikhs, Christian priests and doctors all spoke against it. The educators all agreed that the religious leaders had the most influence. They also added that the reported deaths of a few girls, as a result of complications after the procedure, scared many parents

Reading Signs and Finding their way. The ability to read signs in public places facilitated the women's mobility. They could now commute on their own and reach their target destination. While this may appear to be unrelated to health, most of their stories about commuting had to do with trying to reach a medical facility. Women from the lower socio-economic class do not venture out of their neighbourhood on their own, unless it is absolutely necessary. In a short article in the Caritas Egypt periodical, Aly (2011) wrote,

> I took my mother to the doctor and we couldn't reach the clinic. We looked for it and it was right in front of us but neither my mother nor I could read the sign. Unfortunately, some people gave us wrong instructions. By the time we reached the clinic, the doctor had left. That day I realized the importance of education. He who cannot read and write is a blind person

This story could be contrasted to successful trip stories such as when a relatively novice learner proudly told how she managed to take her mother to Assiut General Hospital and follow the signs to the right department and right clinic. Another told of how she was able to read the sign outside a clinic and figure out the doctor's schedule. The increased spatial mobility and the ability to read signs also meant increased access to healthcare.

Rural vs. Urban. There was general agreement among the women that literacy improved their ability to look after health-related issues. However, women in rural areas spoke about it a lot more than women in urban areas. The conversations revealed that urban women had easier access to both literacy mediators and healthcare facilities. Literacy rates tend to be higher in urban areas than rural areas (UNESCO, 2005; Adult Education Agency, 2008). Women in Alexandria told stories of asking a family member or a neighbour for help with reading a prescription. They also mentioned walking to the nearest clinic or pharmacy to ask for advice. These options are not as readily available to women in rural areas.

Conclusion

The women, who attended Caritas Egypt adult literacy program, credited both literacy and the health knowledge gained, with improving their capabilities to look after their health and that of their children. They learnt how to administer medicine and follow medical instructions. They became more aware of the importance of hygiene and sanitation and changed their behavior. They were particularly interested in learning about reproductive health. The practice of FGM was openly discussed and challenged, and some women began to actively oppose it. The ability to read signs helped the women commute independently to medical facilities, and access the healthcare needed. The program seemed to impact rural women more than urban women as the latter had easier access to both literacy mediators and healthcare providers.

The newly literate Egyptian women did not just benefit from learning to read and write, but they actively sought the information they needed, and used their newly acquired skills and knowledge to improve different aspects of their lives including health. They exercised agency, took initiative, and in some cases campaigned against traditional practices. Their conversations revealed their awareness and appreciation of the ideology of Caritas Egypt. They especially appreciated the teachers' caring and respectful attitudes. They learnt how to speak up and express their opinion. They became more assertive and confident. In agreement with Bartlett (2007), the impact of literacy acquisition depends on the types of literacies taught, the type of the program, the context of the learner and the way the learner chooses to use literacy.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

Place, Self, Power, and Agency Shaping International Students' Lives

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ABSTRACT

In the past few years internationalization has become one of the biggest missions of Canadian post secondary institutions. Although international students move to Canada with the hope of an untroubled social/academic life, they experience many social and psychological upheavals, usually resulted from a lack of sense of belonging, discriminatory policies/attitudes, lack of support and prejudice. Since internationalization of higher education centers around students, it is important for researchers and policy makers to be attentive to international students' life experiences and their well-being. In this paper, I review and elaborate on some key concepts, such as place/space, home, self, power, and agency, to show a picture of how researchers can understand and analyze the life and experiences of international students. Benefiting from the case of Iranian international students, I argue how such an understanding can help to promote a space in which international students feel safe and supported in their lives in the new country.

Introduction

In the past few years internationalization has become one of the biggest missions of Canadian post secondary institutions. Thus, the number of visible minority and international faculty members and students has grown significantly in Canadian Universities (Altbach and Knight, 2007). In 2010, international students represented approximately eight percent of full-time undergraduate students in Canada, approximately 18 percent of full-time master's students, and 23 percent of full-time PhD students (AUCC, 2011). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the year-over-year increase in foreign students studying in Canada averaged 11.5 percent from 2008 to 2011, up from an average of 4.3 percent from 2001 to 2008 (CBIE, 2012). In Canada, the majority of these students come from Asian countries (including Middle East). Among these Asian countries some send far more students other than other. Iran, for example, with a nearly 20% increase from 2010 to 2011, with 3,892

students (1.63% of total IS population in Canada) sits in 9th place in the top 10 sender countries.

Chaichian (2011) attributes Iran's brain drain to socio-economic and political context of the country. However, he believes that it would be naive "if we assume that decisions by both individuals and government/institutional agents in the sending country are made independent of global forces, as the latter often put limitations on and dictate the course and direction of migration in the periphery" (p. 32). Although the increase in the number of brain drain from Iran seems steady in the recent years, the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) predicts that the recent decision by Canada's government to suspend diplomatic relations with Iran (September 7th, 2012: embassy closure in Iran) may have an impact on future mobility (CBIE, 2012). This is while currently, Iranian students in Canada are affected in different ways because of the limited political relations between the two countries (Pinch, 2012).

Despite the fact that international students move to Canada with the hopes of a better education and life compared to their home countries, they face social and psychological challenges due to some reasons, such as lack of support, discriminatory policies/attitudes, and prejudice. According to a BBC World Service poll taken on 2012, only 9% of Canadians have a positive view about Iran, and 81% express a negative view. Such a negative attitude toward their homeland, along with policies and actions that exert pressure to their lives makes Iranian students struggle for their well-being in Canada.

According to the findings of "The 2011 University of Alberta National College Health Assessment" among a random sample 1600 U of A student, among which 12% were international, "18% of students agree or strongly agree that they feel socially isolated at the U of A. A higher proportion of international students (25.4%) report feeling socially isolated at the U of A in comparison to their Canadian counterparts

(13.5%).” (p. 18). This is while, according to this report, 52.4% of international students felt things were hopeless, 73.7% felt overwhelmed by all they had to do, 79.8 felt exhausted (not from physical activity), 62.2 felt very lonely, 64.5 felt very sad, 44.4 felt very depressed that it was difficult to function, and 1.2 attempted suicide (University Wellness Service, 2011, p. 19). To explain the reasons of such statistics among international students, basing upon the Social Identity Theory, Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue that experiencing prejudice and discrimination will have damaging effects on self-esteem. Moreover, during the acculturation process, experiences of discrimination are major factors contributing to stress and pressure while having negative impacts on psychological well-being (Berry and Sam, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006).

Thus, even though the outcomes of limited international relations may not be considered important in international students’ lives in the first place, it is essential for educational policy makers, who promote internationalization of higher education, at least to reflect on the social and psychological challenges that such a context create for international students. Policy makers need to consider that internationalization is not all about recruiting the “best and brightest international students” (AUCC, 2012, p. 31) to promote Canada’s economic profits, but it should be about providing a safe space in which international students feel safe, supported, and integrated. Considering the importance of being attentive to the international students’ lives, the question that remains can be “how can researchers, educators, and policy makers help international students’ social and psychological well-being?” I believe the first step in getting a proper response for such a question is to ask “How do international students *experience* life in a new country/place such as Canada?” This question will take us to the very lives of international students, their social interactions and experiences which shape who they are and how they think. In this paper, I will elaborate on some key elements which can be helpful for the researchers to analyze the life and experiences of international students.

Place, Home, and Self

Thinking about experience will make us consider different aspects of such a notion. The word “experience” may remind us about the *places/spaces* in which our lives’ incidents happen, the *relationships* and *interactions* we have, the *time* of our lives’ events, our *feelings*, and generally our *everyday life* and routines. Thus, experience is a “cover-all term” for the various modes through which a person knows and shapes his world (Tuan, 1975, p. 151). The relationship of experience, place, space, and time is, then, apparent. All our life experiences happen in a specific place/space in a specific time.

In his book, place and placelessness, Ralph (1976) identifies three components of place: physical setting, activities and meanings. He believes that among these components, “meaning” is the most important, though very difficult to

grasp. This is while Canter (1997) believes in four constituents for place as he calls them facets of place:

1. Functional differentiation: distinct characters and characteristics

2. Place objectives: different aspects of the goals of a person in a place. The distinct constituents each lead to a proposed distinct element, ie., individual, social and cultural.

3. Scale of interaction: the issue of environmental scale. home as a place vs. city as a place

4. Aspects of design: form (or style) of a place

Although Canter, sees place as a `technical term’ and believes that Relph’s notion of place is “romantic” (Canter, 1988, p. 10), Ralph’s theory of place is much helpful in understanding the problem of “identity crisis” in people of diaspora or international students.

As we live in a globalized world, we perceive the importance of the role of having a sense of place in our lives. While globalization promotes removing the boundaries and seeing the whole world as one united place to live, we are witnessing how people around the world strive for finding a place to which they feel attached and belonged. Although Massey (1991) believes that in today’s globalized world there is a need to have a “global sense of place,” people of diaspora and those who have to leave their home country always face with the questions of whether their new place belongs to them and if it is safe and secure enough to be called “home.” This is because people are emotionally engaged with a place with boundaries they call home. Tuan (2004) explains : “Home is where [people] grew up, where their sense of self developed along with their sense of place, the integrity of the one meshing with the integrity of the other in the subtlest of mutual influence” (p. 54). Heideggar also describes home as “ an overwhelming, inexchangeable something to which we were subordinate and from which our way of life was oriented and directed, even if we had left our home many years ago” (As cited in Vycinas, 1961, p. 84).

Therefore, home is foundation of our identity as individuals and as members of a community, “the dwelling place of being” (Ralph, 1976). Holloway and Hubard (2001) argue that the attachment of meaning to new places can be thought of as a way of bringing places into the realm of human understanding: “making a place meaningful makes it belong to us in some way, simultaneously, meaningful places become part of who we are, the way we understand ourselves and, literally our place in the world” (p. 71). This means that our meaningful relationship with places we live in play significant role in the construction of our identity. Locating himself in what he calls an interstitial space, a space in between a Palestinian colonial past and an American imperial present, Edward Said (1986) sees himself as “other” whose identity is much affected by the place he lived in:

> Identity—who we are, where we come from, what we are—is difficult to maintain in ex-

ile…we are the 'other', an opposite, a flaw in the geometry of resettlement, an exodus. Silence and discretion veil the hurt, slow the body searches, soothe the sting of loss. (As cited in Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 2001, p. 3)

Said argues that, identity is not static. It is indeed, something that "each age and society recreate". He adds that identity is constructed "over historical, social, intellectual and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions" (Said 1995, p. 332). Ashcroft and Ahluwalia (2001) point to Said's belief, arguing that the "exclusion of others" is the key point in the formation of identity: "all cultures spin out a dialectic of self and other, the subject "I" who is native, authentic, at home, and the object "it" or "you", who is foreign, perhaps threatening, different, out there" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 2001, p. 129).

International Students' Socially Constructed "Self"

International students experience transition from their home country to a new place. They try to make sense of new place and struggle to find bonds and ties to their new home. In the process of such a transition they meet new people, learn new things, and undergo a change of feelings. All these experiences shape who they are at a moment and how they think. So for them place and identity, like place and time, are co-constitutive, because self and place are essential to the being of the other (Anderson & Jones, 2009; Sheehy & Leander, 2004). Without a place one cannot go through experiences and shape his/her "self" and without people and their experiences places have no meaning. Such view is aligned with social constructivists' view emphasizing that people's communication with one another in specific places/spaces not only conveys meanings but also pertains to who they are relative to each other and the nature/quality of their relationship (Stone-Mediator, 2002; Eyle, 1989). This means that for these students, self is socially constructed through the mediation of powerful discourses and their artifacts (Holland, 2001). From the moments they decide to move to a new country to the end of their study in the new place they have to go through a specific process and be in line with policies and laws in the new university and generally in the new society.

As I mentioned, when applying for studies in Canadian universities, Iranian students need to be informed of the new post-secondary policies that are affected by international relations between Canada and Iran. Moreover, if they can go over all the prescribed process and get into a Canadian university, they have to accord their behavior/actions and relationships with policies and laws imposed from the dominant culture. As an example, I can point to the closure of Iranian students' accounts by TD bank (Zilio, 2012) or resistance of CIBC Banks to open new accounts for Iranian students (CIBC, 2013) as a response to the economic sanctions against Iran. Such polices for sure shape Iranian students' everyday life in Canada. Holloway and Hubbard (2001) as human geographers believe that in any society/place the common values come from the majority occupants. Thus, it is apparent that certain groups find themselves marginalized in wider system of space, able to inscribe their values only in certain locations (such as Persian community for the case of Iranian international students, for example).

International Students' Power and Agency

Jackson (1989) argues that as a result of unequal power relations in Western societies, certain values are incorporated as mainstream and others are pushed to the margins. So in examining the life experiences and everyday landscapes of any individual, it is necessary to consider the importance of the role of power, since it is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse (Foucault 1991; Rainbow, 1991). Sennett (1994) argues that while all societies/states need strong sanctions and norms to make individuals aware of and conform to a social order that is founded on certain values and interests, some societies or political groups succeed in imposing their values and rules over other societies or other parties with the use of complex process of domination and persuasion, i.e. hegemony. Gramsci defines hegemony as the supremacy of one group or class over other classes and groups. He believes that such supremacy is established by means other than reliance on violence or coercion (Fontana, 2008). Consistent with such a view, Edward Said talks about the ways in which the West exerted power over the Oriental world. Such definition can be used in explaining Western hegemony over Iran with the means of international economic sanctions. Although the exerted international power into a country might not be intended to affect all parts of societies, it is penetrated to the very life of vulnerable civilians, such as students.

While scrutinizing an Iranian international student's life would take us to the role of international hegemony and relations, it is also important to focus on the ways that power of the state (Canadian state) is spread into their lives and shapes who they are. As an example, we can focus on how educational settings, such as universities, are the sites of citizen making with the use of soft powers such as knowledge and institutionalized order. Moreover, in the time of conservative government, universities are becoming sites for economic profit-making. In such a context, curriculum is advised to be focused on the agenda aligned with the ideas of corporate capital. This means that those who are against such agenda and order are at the risk of being marginalized. From the Foucauldian perspective, power at universities/schools is used to normalize behaviors. This means that such institutionalized settings are designed to produce standard, normal, and civilized individuals. Such a view implies that, those students who strike against some policies which affect their lives, ruled by dominant party, may be considered as abnormal or even rivals.

Although it is important to notice the power of others and institutions in shaping the life of individuals, focusing all on this matter will prevent us to see the role of the power f individuals in constructing their own lives. Such view sees individuals only as victims and autonomous with no power to construct their own lives and identities (Eyles, 1989). This is while human beings are creative creatures who, to some

extent, have agency to decide how to live and think. Inden (1990) sees agency as:

> The realized capacity of people to act upon their world and not only to know about or give personal or intersubjective significance to it. That capacity is the power of people to act purposively and reflectively, in more or less complex interrelationships with one another, to reiterate and remark the world in which they live, in circumstances where they may consider different courses of action possible and desirable, though not necessarily from the same point of view. (p. 23)

Foucault (1988) believes that disciplinary power is submerged in human subjectivity that it is the embodiment of self-subjugation through self discipline. He argues that this power is productive and positive and subjects as willing selves and docile bodies give themselves up to existing forms of power-knowledge not because they are oppressed or repressed, but because they are capable of exercising power over themselves and others: "If I feel the truth about myself it is in part that I am constituted as a subject across a number of power relations which are exercised over me and which I exercise over others" (Foucault, 1988, p. 39). Thus, for Foucault power/knowledge/agency and identity are extremely interrelated:

> The individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus … on which power comes to fasten... In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals. (Foucault, 2000, p. 98)

The idea of human power and agency, then, implies that individuals are able to take action in discourses in which they get oppressed. In Foucauldian perspective, such power is embodied in the shape of resistance. He believes that power is everywhere in discourse and argues that, "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault 1979, pp.100-101). He believes that, like power discourses, discursive resistance appears to be everywhere: it transverses all power relations, it flows through its networks and it assumes a multiplicity of localized and distributed forms. For him, discursive resistance is ultimately a volitional act of refusal which allows those who our 'subjects' of power to act otherwise and reject their confinement and self-subjugation within predetermined discourses of power/knowledge (Caldwel, 2007). Like Foucault, Edward Said deeply believes in the culture of resistance and invites individuals to search for the sites of resistance in a power discourse. He believes that even with the pervasiveness and hegemonic nature of dominant discourse, there is capacity to resist because "no matter how apparently complete the dominance of an ideology or social system, there are always going to be parts of the social experience that it does not cover and control" (Said, 1993, as cited in Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 2001). This idea implies that "self" and life experiences can be constructed through any individual's endeavor to resist against imposed powers in oppressive discourses. In this regard Fanon (1967) says: "I am my own foundation...it is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self, it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world" (p. 231).

Conclusion

International students are "individuals with a range of personal histories and experiences, and a range of personal motivations and desires which have constructed the desire to become an international student" (Koehne, 2005, p. 104). While universities around the world promote internationalization and student movement, there has been a lack of attention to international students' experiences and way of life. This lack of consideration has made these students struggling with their identity and how it is shaped in the dominant culture. It is essential for any policy maker to inspect all the aspects of initiatives in order to prevent upheavals in civilians' lives. Although, as I argued, there are sites of resistance for any individuals in society, and of course for international students, policy makers and practitioners need to consider the role of the power of their policies, actions and discourses they offer in the life of international students as vulnerable individuals who struggle to find a bond to their new place to make it secure like home.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Writing Practices of Young Mothers Back to Training in *Ma place au soleil*

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The situation of young mothers without a diploma in Canada and in Québec raises concerns, as it does in many countries. Among these concerns, the difficult living conditions of these women and their child, the low intergenerational transmission of literacy and various barriers to participation to learning activities have been the object of researches and studies. Literacy skills or practices of young adults without a diploma, including those of young mothers within this group, are also the object of social and scientific worries. Research and studies on literacy practices or on writing and reading activities contribute to understand the realities these young adults go through in different educational contexts such as social and professional integration (e.g.: Bélisle, 2004), literacy education (e.g.: Desmarais, 2003) or in important moments of everyday life (e.g.: Barton, Ivanic, Appleby, Hodge and Tusting, 2007; Thériault and Bélisle, 2012), as well as in schooling contexts (e.g.: Chodkiewicz, Widin and Yasukawa, 2010). In particular, Lycke's study (2010) conducted in a schooling context shows young mothers without a high school diploma who maintain some literacy practices and change others from pregnancy and early parenthood as they direct these new literacy practices towards pragmatic goals, such as care or career focus activities.

At the same time, the review of scientific literature published in French or in English over the last twelve years shows that we still know very little about literacy practices of young mothers without a diploma going back to formal education. Thus, in the context of the *Ma place au soleil* (MPAS) measure, we have conducted a study asking what are the writing practices of young mothers back to structured training (formal or non formal education) in this measure.

In the province of Québec, the Action Plan for *Adult Education and Continuing Education and Training (Quebec Government, 2002) [Plan d'action en matière d'éducation des adultes et de formation continue* (Gouvernement du Québec, 2002)] targets this trans-sectoral measure to adapt the adult general basic education provision made to young mothers who wish to pursue their studies at the secondary level. This measure is part of the training provision offered by Emploi Québec and aiming at helping young parents without a high school diploma to complete their general basic education and vocational or technical training that helps them to enter the labour market.

Conceptual Framework

This study draws on a conception of writing as part of social practices. As Barton and Papen (2010), we refer to the concepts of writing and writing practices. Bélisle (2012) shows these authors return to these concepts and forsake, at least partially, those of literacy and literacy practices. In this study, writing practices encompass the activity of writing or reading not only letters but all language systems of graphic code on material support. In these practices, writing is conceived as a tool, in vygotskian terms, appropriate or in support to activity directed toward a goal. As in other studies (e.g.: Barton et al., 2007; Bélisle, 2012), this one conceives learning in terms of participation and as being an integral part of social writing practices.

Further, in this article, we talk about temporalities on which young mothers we met articulate their documented writing practices. Temporalities are "temporal frames" (Boutinet, 2004, p. 5) that people give themselves or that are imposed to them by their environment to organize their everyday existence. Temporalities accompany social practices, and the analysis of the latter can reveal the former (*Ibid.*).

Methodology

The general methodological strategy is an ethnographic case study. The study is based on empirical data produced during a school year field investigation (49 field sessions from October 2012 to May 2013). During this investigation, we followed a group of young mothers (n = 31) and young

fathers (n = 3) participating in MPAS in an urban franco-phone Adult Education Center (AEC). The following meth-ods were deployed during the field investigation: participant observation, informal interviews, photographs of the edu-cational setting, artefacts collection, semi-structured inter-views with young mothers (n = 13), with teachers (n = 4) and with a guidance counsellor. The field investigation con-cluded with a heuristic restitution of preliminary analyses.

The corpus of data was the object of an inductive and de-liberative thematic analysis. During the analysis work, the choice was made to designate the writing practices depend-ing on young mothers' goals or that of the institution to which these women adhere. The goal was observed in their transcribed talk during or about their activity or in their use or writing.

Temporalities were analysed from a polychronic tempo-ral model, which takes different forms: "things of the past currently remembered, things of the future currently an-ticipated, and momentary things currently experienced" (Boutinet, 2004, p. 44). Attention focused on verb tenses in discursive data has allowed to observe activities being con-ducted or completed and organizers of everyday existence in the past, the present or the future independently from past, present or future activities.

Results

Two general categories of writing practices stood out. The first includes the school writing practices, characterized by the school form of learning social relations (Vincent, Lahire and Thin, 1994). In these practices, writing decontextual-izes knowledge and constitutes it as a teaching and learning object. The second category includes writing practices for life purposes (Barton et al., 2007, Bélisle, 2012). These prac-tices go rather unnoticed. Writing is implicit in the activity. This study sustains the thesis that the documented writing practices articulate themselves on temporalities of the pres-ent or future moment and that some practices overlap these temporalities.

School Writing Practices

This study shows four school writing practices directed to-wards distinct goals. Respectively, these goals are modules completion, assessment, choosing an occupation and learn-ing to live together.

Writing Practices for Modules Completion

The young mothers we met have writing practices aiming at writing the exercises of the learning modules. These ex-ercises are gathered in a notebook, on loose sheets, or on an online tutorial. They may be accompanied by other activi-ties such as reading the answer key, reading a definition in the dictionary or use the calculator; sometimes on the cell phone; writing notes as reminders, for example.

Individual assistance from the teacher is central in these practices. This assistance often resembles a modeling of the writing or reading activity helping to learn by repetition. However, the teacher is not always available for individual assistance. Thus, learners turn to their peers. Most of the time, they turn to a young mother having the same school level or a higher one. This strong tendency in the data sug-gests that peer support allows the young mothers to position themselves in relation to others and that this may contribute to emulation of the learners.

Writing Practices for Assessment

The young mothers also have writing practices aiming at participating in what Torrance, Colley, Garratt, Jarvis, Pip-er, Ecclestone and James (2005) call assessment as learning. The official certification of learning to obtain the secondary school diploma [*diplôme d'études secondaires*] or the prereq-uisites to vocational or technical training entry creates the context that contributes to the adhesion of learners to this goal.

In these practices, writing also underpins what Torrance and his colleges call the exam training (Ibid.). Dominating teaching and learning, this training contributes to the guid-ance through the writing or reading activity towards assess-ment entangled in learning through the sequence: module's exercises, pre-tests, and exam. Interactions supported by writing progressively bring the explanation and elucidation of the rationale behind demands and expectations regard-ing the exam as well as help learners to understand them. In turn, this training leads to negotiations directing the activity of writing or reading through the contents deemed "useful" or "necessary" to be learned, thereby reflecting a utilitarian vision of schooling. This vision permeates the learners' and, sometime, teachers' talk and interventions on learning con-tents deemed "essential."

Writing Practices for Choosing an Occupation

The young mothers have writing practices aimed at the significance of a professional choice. Self-assessment grids and personality or interest tests are part of these practices as well as vocational exploration activities. Writing then oc-curs in many leaflets and informative or advertising articles; in individual interviews conducted by learners; and also in interactions between people, often without being the object of writing or reading. Later in the school year, writing is mo-bilized for exploring using an online educational and voca-tional information website.

Writing within the vocational exploration and during the writing of a knowledge integration text contributes to the self-mobilization. Writing helps the young mothers to invest themselves, to set professional goals and projects. Writing supports their reflection, helps them to bring order in the in-formation they have about themselves or their environment.

Writing brings a "more complete order in the universe," as Goody (1994, p. 196) writes.

Writing Practices for Learning to Live Together

The young mothers have school writing practices aimed at developing their ability to communicate, negotiate and work with others; this ability being mentioned in the Delors report (1996) as one of the pillars of education throughout life. In these practices, writing may help review and self-assess one's participation in MPAS and then serves as a starting point for group discussions. Writing then supports the reflection on individual behaviour or on group life. It may provide the means to regulate behaviour during tense situations, as written by young mothers on a poster prominently exposed in the classroom.

Writing Practices for Everyday Life Purposes

This study shows three categories of writing practices for everyday life purposes. Respectively, the goals of these practices are commitment – including registration in the social world and social participation –, household work – including what Eichler (2010) calls carework, plus housework – and self-regulation of affect – including comfort, arousal and appeasement.

Writing Practices for Registration in the Social World

The field investigation allowed to document that the young mothers have many registration practices that are far more than administrative proceedings. The goal of these writing practices is to signify, more or less consciously, one's adhesion to a measure, program or any activity by giving one's name or other information and to be statutorily recognized as a parent, a student, a worker, etc. Registration to MPAS is part of these practices, but there is also registration to exams, extracurricular activities, vocational or technical training, or online services, for example.

These practices, by the necessary steps they require, allow the young mothers to engage in the social world. Furthermore, the registration provides access to services that include other writing practices. Some of these practices are directly linked to womanhood and motherhood status, moreover, living under difficult life conditions, leading public or private authorities to target these women to register for various services.

Writing Practices for Social Participation

The young mothers also have writing practices aimed at supporting commitment or cooperation of people in social life: school elections, dancesport workshops, Christmas' celebrations, volunteering, for example. Writing is implicit in these activities that support the commitment of young mothers in the social life of the MPAS group or of the AEC.

In these practices, writing is sparsely visible when, as Bélisle has shown (2004), it is consistent with a logic of pleasure.

Writing Practices for Carework

The young mothers have writing practices aiming at looking after someone else or themselves in the domain of domestic life. They regularly read on websites or on other support to find information related to a disease, a condition, or to find out about the care (attention, nursing, treatment, etc.) they can give to their child, relative or themselves.

These practices sometimes occur in an early intervention context related to the care of the child and bring institutional demands to write or read, or the presence of a third party (Cardinal-Picard and Bélisle, 2009), such as a social worker or an educator, symbolically present in the use of writing to learn care tasks.

Writing practices for carework also affect relaxing moments such as reading novels or biographical accounts, or listening to a song in which writing supports what Eichler calls the "spiritual" dimension (2010, p. 68) of carework. Furthermore, data shows that in some of these practices, writing offers "norms of behaviour" (Lahire, 1993, p. 119) to some young mothers and serves as a moral guide for action.

Writing Practices for Housework

The young mothers have writing practices aimed at managing (calculate, plan, organize, coordinate) the activities of domestic life. Often occurring during classes or break times, these practices allow balance of school and family life. Making medical appointments, organizing transportation, meals, babysitting, etc., making calls or texting on the cell phone, but also drawing up the grocery or to-do lists are characteristic examples of these practices. Writing then becomes a tool that objectifies and sustains the memory of the young mothers as much as the organization of household work.

Within this writing practices category is the more or less complicated one of doing the household budget. On top of this practice are checking the bank account and paying bills through the bank voicemail or website. This practice of doing the budget is contrasted according to the household constitution. It is less prevalent among young mothers living in a household where someone else does the budget or exercises control over the income and expenditures.

Writing Practices for Comfort

The young mothers have writing practices aiming at keeping in touch with relatives or people around the young mothers and to reassure them or be reassured by them, to give them moral support or encouragement or to receive it from them. Texting with these people using the cell phone or Facebook messaging services is characteristic of these documented practices in the school and domestic domains. As

Broadbent (2011) says, a great deal of personal communications with relatives using numeric technologies can be seen as forms of comfort or encouragement.

Writing Practices for Arousal

The young mothers have writing practices aiming at staying stimulated when they feel the need to unwind, relax, get away from it all, pass the time or reward themselves. These practices meet arousal, as Andrade (2010) calls it, be the brain energy mobilized to remain awake. These practices were documented in the school domain, especially when individual teaching approaches are central. It can be reading the horoscope, an article or newspaper headlines; hockey statistics; a few pages from a novel or a website; or writing humorous or poetic sentences; lyrics; texting or watching a video on the cell phone for a brief moment before resuming schoolwork. These writing practices seem to help the young mothers to maintain mental balance through schoolwork. Somehow, stimulation by writing provided by an alternative task offsets the momentary end or lack of stimulation provided by schoolwork.

Writing Practices for Appeasement

Some young mothers have writing practices aiming at regaining emotional calm. These practices help them to manage their emotions in difficult moments. Writing or reading helps them vent their anger, frustration or sadness. However, writing, more than reading, seems to be an appropriate activity to regain emotional balance. The activity of writing or reading then resembles the incentive to self-regulation and appeasement, such as Thériault and Bélisle (2012) have identified among young adults without a diploma.

Temporalities

Data shows that the documented writing practices are based on two temporalities. The temporality of the present moment is carried by the register of simultaneity and immediacy. Within this temporality, we observe many overlapping writing practices. During observed classes or breaks, school writing practices and writing practices for housework, comfort, arousal or, occasionally, appeasement overlap and are articulated to this temporality. This overlapping of writing practices is partially explained by individual teaching approaches that are favourable to this phenomenon, by the affordance of the support on which writing is performed – especially by the affordance of the cell phone, unrivaled support for multiple writing practices almost simultaneously, by the more or less implemented AEC rules regarding the use of this support, as well as by uses of writing well anchored in habits the young mothers introduce during classes or breaks. The utilitarian vision of writing practices for assessment maintains many goals of school writing practices within the temporality of the present moment, without displaying their relevance for the future. At the same time, some writing practices, as those for modules completion,

assessment or housework are also articulated on the temporality of the future moment.

The temporality of the future moment is the temporal frame of the measure of MPAS aiming at providing young parents with formal education, to help them enter the labour market and to fight the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The planned events and the anticipated future are the two registers of this temporality. Besides articulating itself on these two registers, writing is a tool that helps to plan, organize events or anticipate the future.

Micro writing practices to set short-term objectives are articulated on the register of planned events. In these practices, writing helps the young mothers to organize the completion of the modules exercises: post-its or notes written in the margin indicating pages to go through before such a date. Writing practices for registration in the social world are necessarily based on the register of planned events by deferring in time participation in activities. Writing practices for housework are characteristic of this register as writing and reading help to organize household work; care tasks; appointments; meals; grocery or to-do lists; budget, etc. Writing then objectifies these tasks, their planning and organization. The young mothers we met have also experienced the register of planned events on which they articulate their writing practices, some for the first time, during their pregnancy, whether by making appointments for pregnancy care or by using writing to plan and prepare meals or to follow a diet during an episode of gestational diabetes, for example.

Concerns, needs or obligations that young mothers face as parents lead them to experience a register of the anticipated future. During important moments such as pregnancy and early parenthood, the young mothers we met engage in writing practices for carework they did not have before, and they articulate these practices on this register, somehow framing their everyday existence. They write or read to find out if a disease may develop or to know how their baby is developing or if s/he is growing well or to know what to expect about shared custody after a break-up, for example.

The registration and participation to MPAS are also articulated to the register of anticipated future as the young mothers we met imagine a better future for their child and themselves. Writing practices for assessment may be articulated to this register with more or less long-term objectives associated to symbolic moments deemed suitable to write the exam. Especially, writing practices for choosing an occupation progressively articulate themselves to the register of anticipated future. For these young mothers, writing becomes an appropriate tool to anticipate the future regarding schooling, vocational training or for an occupation they want to hold. Writing helps their thought to unfold this anticipated future. Gradually, writing helps these women to make this future imaginable.

To conclude, let's go back to one category of writing practices and to a temporality that seems to distinguish the young mothers among other young adults without diploma. We saw that important moments these women encountered

in domestic life lead them to engage, for the first time, in some writing practices for household work (carework, plus housework) as they get pregnant and become a parent. This study also shows that these practices are part of the household work these young mothers do, often during classes or breaks, thus balancing studies and family life. This case study shows as well that these women frequently use writing on their cell phone to do this work. These writing practices and the use of this support possibly differ from those of childless young adults without a diploma.

Furthermore, the register of planned events and the one of anticipated future to which the young mothers articulate writing practices for carework or housework are inseparable from their parental social role. This is possibly in relation to this role that such registers activated by young mothers are different from those of childless young adults activated about the future, as this parental role seems to be a major release of writing practices articulated to the temporality of the future moment. Only further studies with contrasted groups of young parents and young adults without a diploma could give us a better understanding of the distinctions between writing practices and temporalities among these groups.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Citizenship Regimes: The Stratification of Belonging and Recognition

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ABSTRACT

Compulsory integration measures and testing to delineate who can belong and who can become a citizen have become commonplace across Europe and the West. Lifelong learning has been mobilised, via citizenship and language education and testing, to address the perceived threat to national identity posed by an increasingly mobile global population and in particular, 'problematic' migrant values. This paper argues that since its introduction in 2005 the British citizenship regime has not only become increasingly restrictive, but that it draws on culturally biased and gendered notions of citizenship and civic identity which fail to recognise the citizenship identities of refugee/migrant women. Drawing on Home office data and empirical research it is argued that the regime stratifies belonging and has created an anxious liminal space of containment and exclusion, where some groups of migrants, and particularly women, are tolerated but remain symbolic non-citizens.

Introduction

Concerns about the extent and quality of cultural diversity in the UK have deepened and intensified in the last decade. Along with other countries in Europe, high profile debates have been taking place about integration, about values, about who can belong and claim citizenship, and who is to be excluded. Lifelong learning has been mobilised, via compulsory citizenship and language education and testing, to address the perceived threat to the social fabric posed by an increasingly mobile global population: migrants whose values are perceived to be at odds with British liberal and secular values, and who therefore fail to integrate into British (and European) society have come in for particular scrutiny. The harnessing of lifelong learning to address a perceived social problem is not new and can be seen to be part of a neo-liberal agenda which has shifted responsibility from collective or state responsibility to an individual level (e.g. Biesta, 2013; Griffin, 2002; Martin, 2003). Integration has increasingly become an identity issue for individual migrants, with the duty firmly placed on migrants to prove their willingness to integrate and to commit to the values and cultural traits of the host country.

In the UK the Nationality Immigration and Asylum Act (Home Office 2002) introduced the language and citizenship tests for immigrants who wish to apply for permanent settlement in the UK, or to become British citizens. In this regime lifelong learning has been positioned as an increasingly powerful tool to control who can gain formal citizenship and belong and who cannot; it has become part of the Government attempt to stabilize and secure collective identity in the face of rapid social change and growing public and media concern with immigration and Muslim 'extremism'. Underpinning the citizenship discourse is the assumption that there is, and always has been, a shared, uncontested British identity sustained by values which the citizens of all the nations making up the UK are signed up to. The threat to this identity and shared understandings comes from without: the more recently arrived migrants.

In the next section I will briefly summarise the changes to the British citizenship test. Drawing on Home office data and findings from an AHRC funded research project with women who have a refugee background in the UK[1] I will argue that the current citizenship regime acts as an exclusionary tool denying some of the most vulnerable migrants citizenship status. By drawing on an ideal of citizenship rooted in a secular, tradition and promoting individualistic values of personal sufficiency and independence, the regime fails to recognise the civic identities and participation of women from different socio-cultural traditions.

Restrictive Practices and the Denial of Citizenship

Since November 2005 all applicants[2] wishing to settle permanently in the UK (Indefinite Leave to Remain) or to become naturalised British citizens must successfully demonstrate English language proficiency and knowledge about British culture, institutions and traditions. When first introduced the Knowledge of Language and Life (KoLL) requirement could be achieved through completing the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) speaking and listening qualification at Entry levels 1, 2 or 3 using specified citizenship based teaching materials. Acquiring citizenship via this route involved demonstrating progression in learning English, rather than achievement of a pre-defined standard. Alternatively, the requirement could be achieved through passing the computer based *Life in the UK* test, based on an official handbook and set at an English level equivalent of Entry 3 (intermediate level). However, from 28 October 2013 the requirements for both settlement (ILR) and citizenship changed: the ESOL and citizenship certificate route was removed and instead all applicants must now pass the computer based *Life in the UK* test and must meet more stringent English language requirements, i.e. have a speaking and listening qualification in English at Entry 3 or higher (Home Office, 2013a). The citizen must now demonstrate that they can read and interpret English texts, not just 'hold a conversation on an unexpected topic, that is workable, though not perfect' (Home Office, 2004: 11).

The test costs £50 and comprises 24 multiple choice questions which must be answered within 45 minutes; 75% of questions must be answered correctly in order to pass. The third edition of the official handbook, *Life in the UK: A Guide for New Residents*, was launched on 25 March 2013 and requires considerably more knowledge of British culture, history and laws than previous handbooks and tests. In launching the new handbook and test the UK Home Office claimed that it aims to put 'British culture and history at the very heart of its revised curriculum' (Home Office, 2013b). The Immigration Minister, Mark Harper MP announced the new test stating:

> We've stripped out mundane information about water meters, how to find train timetables, and using the internet. The new test rightly focuses on values and principles at the heart of being British. Instead of telling people how to claim benefits it encourages participation in British life. (Harper 2013, cited in Home Office, 2013b)

Practical sources of information and support have been removed, and the values and principles of British society are

set out in much stronger, normative language (Morrice, forthcoming). There are no preparatory classes for the test, and the assumption is that applicants will have access to IT equipment and the necessary IT skills to enable them to practice using the online practice tests.

Recent Home Office data (Home Office, 2014) shows a breakdown of pass rates by nationality between 2009 and 2014 and indicates, not surprisingly, that citizens from non-English speaking, low income countries and countries with low literacy rates are disadvantaged in the test and have significantly lower pass rates. However, the data also shows that the recent changes to the citizenship test have affected citizens from some countries more than others. *Figure 1* sets out the monthly pass rates for three groups of countries between January 2013 and February 2014. During this time period the third edition of the handbook was introduced (25 March 2013) and the new test was implemented (28 October 2013). Countries have been selected for comparison on the basis of numbers of test applications, the wealth of the country (high, medium or low income as defined by the World bank), literacy rates and whether or not English was an official language. The three high income countries in group 1 are Australia, Canada and USA, the three medium income countries in group 2 where English is also an official language are Ghana, India and Nigeria, and the three low income countries in group 3 are Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Somalia. This latter group of countries also has some of the lowest adult literacy rates in the world 32% (Afghanistan), 58% (Bangladesh) and 38% (Somalia) (UNESCO, 2014). Although information on gender and pass rates is not available, female literacy rates are lower than male rates in all of these countries, and it is likely that women are even more likely to struggle with the language and literacy requirements of the test.

The countries with the highest pass rates are Australia, Canada and the USA. The average pass rate for these countries remained at 96% during the time period, a slight drop of just 3% was recorded. The pass rates were also relatively high for middle income countries up until the introduction of the new handbook in March 2013. The pass rates drop significantly over the period, although nationals from these countries still averaged 76% pass rate. However, of the low income countries the pass rate was predictably significantly lower: on average just 47% of Afghan applicants, 57% of Bangladeshi and 57% of Somali applicants passed the test between January 2013 and February 2014. The pass rate for both these latter two groups drop significantly after the introduction of the new handbook in March 2013. The pass rates improve slightly and then drop again with the introduction of the new test at the end of October 2013. Group 2 pass rates show a much smaller dip and quickly appears to pick up, whereas group 3 shows a continual decline in pass rate. Between January 2013 and February 2014 the pass rates for group 2 dropped by 21% and for group 3 by 28%.

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2   All adults between 18 and 65 applying for settlement, whether as main applicant or dependant are expected to meet the requirement. There are some exemptions, e.g. those who have a mental or physical condition which 'severely inhibits' their ability to communicate, spouses of British citizens who have been the victims of domestic violence and refugees. However, the requirement for naturalisation as a British citizen only exempts those over 65 and those with a physical or mental condition. All other individuals who wish to become British citizens must meet the requirements.

Figure 1 Knowledge of Language and Life in the UK test results from January 2013 to February 2014
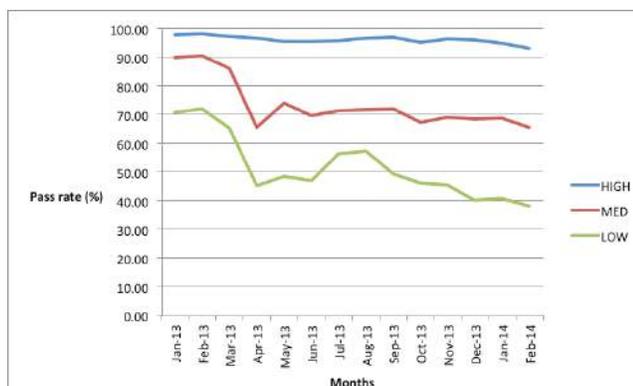
Source: Home Office (2014)

Information on immigration category and pass rate is not available, but each of the countries in group 3 is either a country in which partner migration is a significant share of settlement (Bangladesh), or has been a refugee-producing country in the recent past (Afghanistan and Somalia). These 3 countries were amongst the ten nationalities most likely to have relied upon the ESOL with citizenship route (Ryan, 2010). A consequence of all of these changes to the citizenship test and the language requirements is that the educative purpose enshrined in the original intention of the KoLL has been removed, and this has had greatest impact on the most vulnerable migrants and women.

Citizenship Identities Among Women with Refugee Backgrounds

A multi-method qualitative research project working with refugee women in the UK found that the introduction of KoLL was a major barrier to gaining formal British citizenship. The project, *Life in the UK: Exploring British culture*, consisted of a sixteen week programme of arts, cultural and reflective activities, focus groups and interviews, one of the aims of which was to explore how British cultural values and citizenship are experienced, understood and enacted by this group . Fourteen women who either had refugee status themselves, or had come to the UK/EU through family formation as the wife of a refugee, or were waiting the outcome of an asylum application, participated in the project. The women came from a total of ten countries of origin and had lived in the UK between 2 months and 20 years. Their backgrounds varied from urban to rural, from those who had relatively high levels of education, including two who had university qualifications, through to those who had had limited or no primary level education and very low or no literacy skills. Four of the women had acquired British citizenship through marriage prior to the introduction of the language and citizenship tests. Only one woman had acquired citizenship in her own right and that was through the ESOL and citizenship certificate. Another woman had acquired Dutch citizenship and then moved to the UK. Of the remaining eight women: 6 had been granted Indefinite

Leave to Remain (ILR) or settlement, and 2 were waiting the outcome of their asylum application so were not yet eligible to apply for citizenship. Refugees and those with humanitarian protection are exempt from the KoLL requirements for ILR or settlement, but are required to meet the KoLL requirements if they wish to become citizens. Although there might appear to be little difference between ILR and citizenship, for the women it had profound symbolic affect and was of practical importance; all of them aspired to become citizens which was felt to be a natural part of their plans to remain in the UK permanently.

The main reason for wanting formal British citizenship was that it was perceived as providing much greater security and protection than ILR which was felt to be uncertain and open to withdrawal at the whim of Government. This echoes Stewart and Mulvey's (2013) findings that fear of immigration rule changes and the desire for secure legal status was the main reason for refugees in their study wanting to acquire citizenship. Without citizenship the women said they felt vulnerable to future changes in immigration rules, particularly in the light of growing anti-immigration rhetoric. The other main instrumental reason the women sited for wanting citizenship was to acquire a British passport which would enable them to travel more easily and in safety. There is less bureaucracy involved in travelling with a British passport and there is the perception that it commands greater respect and protection than other passports.

Not having citizenship placed the women in a vulnerable position in relation to their families and confirmed their inequality. Often, their husbands had acquired citizenship, and their children born in the UK had British citizenship; having the same formal status and national identity as their husbands and children was felt to be important in terms of ability to exercise the freedoms and the rights set out in the handbook. This was particularly poignant for one of the women who for years had been taunted by her abusive husband that she could not leave him as she did not have citizenship or a passport. Although incorrect, the fear that she had lesser status and could possibly be separated from her daughter and be deported, was enough to keep her in the violent relationship. The controlling nature of the relationship also meant that she had not been able to attend ESOL classes to learn English, further increasing her dependence on her husband. She described gaining citizenship as 'my dream' and, having escaped the marriage, had started attending classes. But like the other women with little or no educational background, progress towards the required Entry level 3 in ESOL was painfully slow; for most it was taking at least a year to complete each level. Although the speaking and listening parts of the qualification were not considered to be too difficult, the reading and writing parts of the qualifications were proving more demanding.

For some, ESOL courses were unaffordable as either their husbands were in low-paid employment or they were themselves in part-time employment and therefore not eligible

for concessionary fees. These families were surviving on low incomes and the money to pay for courses was not considered a priority in the distribution of household resources. If the women were eligible for concessionary fees, the lack of childcare put them out of reach to those with pre-school children. Some of the women were able to attend Government funded ESOL classes which were typically delivered for 2 hours, twice a week, and some attended free classes run by a local voluntary group. Whether run by voluntary groups or by local colleges, ESOL classes were considered to be important spaces for participating in society; it was where the women could build cross-cultural understanding and friendships; they were a major source of information and support about living in the UK, and featured strongly in pictorial representations the women drew of their everyday lives. The group varied in their IT skills and levels of confidence with computers; not all the women had access to a computer from which to access the online test papers or the established study skills to use the official handbook to prepare independently.

Despite not having formal citizenship status the women did not have difficulty feeling British or claiming a British identity; they saw their futures here and had no plans to leave the UK. In a focus group on identity and belonging the women claimed multiple belongings and identities which could include country of origin, one or more countries they had lived in before coming to the UK, faith based identities and community groups or organisations they currently belonged to. They had a strong sense of loyalty and belonging to their family and to their ethnic community, which was usually, but not always, connected to a mosque or church. It was these communities and their extended families which provided the main support and set of relations which could be drawn upon when needed. Drawing on more collectivist understandings of self and social context, rather than Westerns values of personal sufficiency and individuality, caring for family and community were depicted as a moral duty of citizenship and constituted the main spheres of civic engagement for the women. Arranging and participating in social activities and community celebrations involving sharing food, music and dance, often centring on membership of a faith or ethnic group, were common place and were largely seen as women's responsibility. Similarly, the organising of community based activities for children such as Sunday school classes or Arabic lessons were important means for sustaining cultural values and bringing communities together. These, and the more spontaneous community services of coming together to help community members who were in need of support were an everyday part of daily life. The women did not considered such activities to be 'volunteering' or 'helping in the community', rather an everyday and inevitable part of living together. It is a mode of citizenship not recognised in the impersonal and secular model of volunteering for local charities and services set out in the citizenship handbook, reflecting the biased and gendered nature of what is presented as 'neutral' and unproblematic.

Civic identities located within ethnic or faith groups did not exist in opposition to a sense of British identity: it was quite possible to hold multiple citizenship identities, loyalties and senses of belonging at the same time; these different dimensions operated in different spheres and came to the fore at different times. This finding is supported by research drawing on the UK Government Citizenship Surveys (Heath and Roberts 2008) which concluded that while ethnic minorities tended to feel a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic groups, it did not exclude a sense of dual identity. Similarly, research drawing on the 2011 Census national identity question in England showed that ethnic minority groups identify more closely with Britishness than their white ethnic counterparts: in England 38% of the ethnic minority population describe themselves as exclusively British, compared to just 14% of the white ethnic population (Jivraj 2013). Interestingly, and given the current public and media focus on the Muslim community, 57% of Muslims report British national identity compared to just 15% of Christians. These findings challenge the perception that ethnic minorities and Muslims have difficulty feeling British, or that maintaining a Muslim identity is in some way incompatible with a British identity. When given the option of reporting British and English dual national identity, less than 10% of the population in England chose to do this; suggesting that the focus on ethnic minorities and new migrants might be misplaced and that there is a need for a much wider debate on Britishness within the UK and its constituent nations.

Lastly, it is important to note that meeting the language requirements and passing the citizenship test is the first stage to acquiring British citizenship and that the financial cost is also a barrier for many. Levesley (2008) in his research report for Lord Goldsmith's review of British citizenship found that the cost of applying for citizenship was the single most frequent obstacle to citizenship (2008: 36). The cost has increased substantially since its introduction, from £200 prior to 2007, to the current fee (April 2014) of £906 per person, plus £80 for the costs of the citizenship ceremony. This is a significant sum of money which is likely to discriminate against women and low income migrants.

Concluding Comments

Shotter (1993) has argued that it is not enough to be a 'routine reproducer' of the society in which we live, but that we should be able to engage in the 'reflexive arguments' of that society, 'that is arguments about what should be argued about, and why … to live within a narrative order not one's own is to live in a world not one's own' (Shotter 1993: 193 and 195). Having the ability to participate in debates and contribute to the construction of society is a key aspect of belonging, and yet, this is a debate which has increasingly been foreclosed in citizenship education. Instead the emphasis is on predetermined bodies of knowledge being acquired or 'banked' in Freirean terms. Education is reduced to an isolated and individual endeavour whereby the individual prepares for the computer based test via online materials or self-study books. Values such as freedom, equality,

tolerance and democracy are handed down with little acknowledgement that they can be understood and interpreted differently; democratic spaces for self-reflection and examination of cultural values and beliefs in relation to one another are missing.

The citizenship test has increasingly become a tool to control who can belong and has given rise to a stratification of migrants: there are those at the top who hail from the most privileged and wealthiest parts of the globe and who experience least resistance to becoming British citizens. Then there are the less-deserving migrants at the bottom who have the right to stay in the UK and are entitled to citizenship, but whose entitlement cannot be realised on the ground. These migrants remain in an anxious liminal space of exclusion and non-citizenship: tolerated but not rewarded with the coveted status of citizenship. These are the most vulnerable migrants from the poorest parts of the globe, who have had the least education and opportunities and whose social and cultural background has not prepared them for the cultural specific nature of the test and the rote learning of written texts. The regime has a largely unacknowledged gender bias which makes women particularly vulnerable to exclusion as they have the lowest literacy levels, are less likely to be able to access ESOL classes and have fewer financial resources.

The citizenship regime speaks to the fears and anxieties running through public discourses that British national identity is under threat from without, and in particular from growing cultural diversity. The discourse of Britishness is articulated by politicians and policy makers in an attempt to reassure a concerned public that action is being taken, that there a set of fundamental values and a shared civic identity that the long term settled population is already united around and that newcomers can be required to sign up to. Although the test is used as a political tool to unite a population around we have seen that there is no space for debate or negotiation around how these are interpreted and understood, or what they mean for individuals or for different communities. The forms of citizenship presented in the handbook reflect an unquestioned secular public sphere. The argument presented here suggests there is a need to recognise these contested understandings and to engage in debate, rather than overlay a veneer of shared understanding in an attempt to iron out social differences, divisions and inequalities. After all, the act of taking and passing a test does not guarantee that individuals will feel integrated, will not hold extreme views or that they will not feel alienated. It merely confirms that they have read and can reproduce under test conditions certain facts, ideas and modes of citizenship.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Telling the Story of "Set Our Spirits Free"

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ABSTRACT

The marginalization that African Nova Scotian (ANS) learners generally experience in their formal educational experiences nullify their histories, heritage, lived experiences and ways of knowing. As a result, many of them experience racial and cultural oppression in educational environments that threaten their sense of identity. Spirituality is known as an anti-oppressive agent, serving as a transformative way of knowing in the lives of persons of African descent. Community plays a significant role in the definition of spirituality for ANSs. Using African-centered storytelling as a research methodology, the research explores how embracing spirituality as an anti-oppressive agent within formal education may impact the formal education experiences of ANS learners. I implement Africentric storytelling, a deeply spiritual and relational African tradition which honors the voices, experiences, and knowledge of ANSs, as my methodology and method. Africentricity, post-colonial, anti-colonial and anti-racist theories validate spirituality as knowledge and storytelling as a culturally appropriate methodology.

Introduction

Numerous education reports tell the story of how African Nova Scotian (ANS) learners have endured alienation, racial and cultural oppression, and inequity in their formal education experiences over the years (BLAC,1994; Lee & Marshall, 2009, Parris & Brigham, 2010; Hamilton, 2011). Forced to borrow the dominant culture and its knowledge and denied the right to bring their histories, heritage, lived experiences and ways of knowing to formal education sites, these learners struggle in school environments that seldom acknowledge them as contributors, thereby threatening their self-image (Asante, 2012). The oppressive educational realities ANS learners face urgently demand that the formal education system engages them, their communities, and indigenous knowledges to generate innovative solutions to current challenges. To facilitate this process, the whole

"story" of African Nova Scotians, with a focus on their spirituality, must be brought to the centre of formal education spaces.

My exploration into the role that spirituality plays as a transformative, emancipative mode of knowledge production in the lives of *persons of African descent* (Wane, 2008; Dei, 2012) offers solutions to combat the oppression ANS learners generally experience in formal education. The stories shared by my participants affirm that for them spirituality is firmly rooted in community. Similarly to definitions espoused by others, they define their African-centered spirituality as a multi-dimensional, relational way of being in the world where they feel connected to their community, their God, cultural knowledge, history and their ancestry (Dei, 2012; Shahjahan, 2009; Bernard, Maddalena, Njiwaji, Darrell, 2014; Beagan, Etowa, & Bernard, 2012; Este &Bernard, 2006). A key coping strategy which serves as a reservoir of strength and resilience for African peoples (Ani, 1980; Richards, 1990; hooks, 2003; Este & Bernard, 2006; James et al., 2010), spirituality is action-oriented and transformative, empowering people to reclaim their identity and resist colonial and intellectual subordination (Dei, 2012). My research participants' stories are testimonies that spirituality has played this role in their daily lives. Including African-centered spirituality in the classroom could be a critical step towards dismantling oppression, using its knowledge to address issues of power, systemic inequities, alienation and social oppression (Dei, 2012).

Theoretical Framework

My research is informed by Africentricity, anti-racism, postcolonial and anti-colonial theories, all of which validate the spirituality of African people as legitimate knowledge (Merriweather Hunn, 2004; Dei, 2005 ; Chilisa, 2012; Dei & Kempf,2006). These theories all prioritize the centering of marginalized peoples, their knowledge and their lived

experiences as the focal point of research (Asante,1998; Dei, 2012; Dei & Johal, 2005). However, Africentricity specifies that persons of African descent must be positioned at the center of analysis as subjects rather than objects, so that their culture, history and ancestry become the focal point of research (Merriweather-Hunn, 2004). Africentricity challenges the right of the dominant culture to legitimize knowledge and those who construct it (Merriweather-Hunn, 2004). Similarly, by rejecting the dominant knowledge systems and perspectives that rule the world, postcolonial theory encourages marginalized peoples to question what counts as legitimate knowledge, who has the authority to define and produce this knowledge and why (Chilisa, 2012). Postcolonial theory prioritizes the interests of colonized peoples, resisting the suppression of their ways of knowing and providing a space for them to speak for and represent themselves (Gandhi,1998;Young, 2003). Anti-colonialism, which also emphasises the resistance of colonial imposition and control over all systems of knowledge, takes the agenda further by acknowledging the need for local knowledge, originating from collective experiences and actions, as necessary for empowerment (Nabavi, 2006, p. 187). Accordingly, anti-colonialism values collective or spiritual resistance by local movements as the producer of social change (Nabavi, 2006, p.175-6). Anti-racism theory, "places the minoritized at the center of analysis by focusing on their lived experiences and the 'simultaneity of [their] oppressions'" (Dei, 2005, p.2). Primarily aimed at ending institutional and systemic forms of racism, anti-racist theory views local peoples as creators of knowledge, living and producing theory, rather than simply research subjects (Dei, 2005). These four theories advocate for a critical analysis of the normalization of certain knowledges, while validating spirituality as a form of indigenous knowledge.

The Research

I chose African-centered storytelling as my research methodology and method. A deeply spiritual and relational African tradition, African-centered storytelling honours the voices, experiences, and knowledge of ANSs. Engaging adult ANS learners as my participants, I provided a space for them to tell stories about their experiences in formal education, their communities, and everyday lived experiences, through three Talking Circles. These individuals shared their experiences as learners with one another, engaged in dialogue and in so doing, validated each other's stories. Sixteen First African Nova Scotians (FANS), 6 men and 10 women, between the ages of 18 and 50 and from three historic ANS communities were recruited as the storytellers, the knowledge holders, and the experts on their experiences. I define "First African Nova Scotian" as descendents of the original settlers of African descent who have a long and continued history of residence in Nova Scotia. These ANS are descendents of enslaved Africans (1686-1808), Loyalists (1775-1783), the Maroons (1796), and the Black Refugees (free and enslaved) from the War of 1812 (1813-1816) (Pachai & Bishop, 2006).

Participants took part in Talking Circles in their home communities of 1)Upper Hammonds Plains, 2) North Preston, and 3) North End-Halifax. Six sessions were held at the community centre in each of these locations, with weekly meetings lasting approximately two hours. An additional dimension of the research was workshops on various art forms which demonstrate diverse ways that African peoples have historically told our stories. I recruited local community artists of African descent to present on 1) African drumming and dance, 2) storytelling, 3) quilting, 4) spoken word poetry, 5) visual art, and 6) music/singing. Through these workshops, participants were immersed in African-centered culture in a way that would not have been afforded them during their formal education experience. The workshops also illustrated how African-centered spirituality could be implemented in adult learning and education at all levels, validating it as knowledge and as legitimate as any other kind of knowledge.

During the second half of the Talking Circle sessions, participants connected the content of the workshop with the telling of stories related to one of six significant themes. These themes included 1) Spirituality, 2) Formal Education, 3) Informal Education, 4) ANS Culture, 5)Racism and Oppression, and 6) Community. I engaged the participants in conversation by asking prompt questions and we journeyed together sharing stories and creating a spiritual space.

African Centered-Storytelling

Storytelling has traditionally been a social phenomenon for African peoples, therefore using it as research methodology in "Set Our Spirits Free" emphasizes the significance of spiritual and relational knowledge production to my work. Historically, storytelling consisted of the griot - storyteller - who was respected as oral historian and who told stories to other community members (Banks-Wallace, 2002, p. 412). The griot held an honourable role in traditional African society as this person was responsible for ensuring that the connection between the cultural and historical past and present continued (Banks-Wallace, 2002). The relationship between the griot and other community members is important to the stories that were being produced by this union. Likewise, my participants established trusting interdependent relationships with each other, exhibiting the Ubuntu worldview that "I am because you are" which gives African-centered storytelling its relational significance (Mucina, 2011) . Their stories established connections between the past and present as we shared experiences related to formal education, informal education, and community. Generally, African peoples relate to each other through stories and as Mucina (2011) says, storytelling helps us to engage in a sincere way, a manner that reflects the spiritual nature of our connections to each other in our daily lives.

Telling the Story of Communnity: It Takes a Village

Africentric principles which honour spirituality permeated each Talking Circle session through the prominent theme

of "Community". Through many stories, my participants articulated that community is paramount to their worldview, ways of being and knowing, and value systems as ANSs. Stephen equated community to a "principle", a fundamental system of beliefs or behavior that guides those connected to ANS communities. Emphasizing the relational aspects of community, other participants defined it as, "togetherness", " where you feel like you belong", "where you feel comfortable", "What you identify with and who you identify with" (Melissa, Erin, Roxanne, Jeressa, Archy). "Community is anybody and everybody who wants to be attached and connected", said Nadia. Others shared the sentiment that community refers to people working together towards the same goal. Such elements mirror those of Africentric spirituality which sees the individual and the community as indistinguishable: as one (Merriweather-Hunn, 2004).

However, stories shared by participants suggest that their expressions of community were many times unwelcome, disrespected, or seen as ominous in formal education institutions. They reported instances where public school administrators suspected a group of Black students of being up to ill will, simply because they were "hanging out" in the hallway. Dean shared an experience of being kicked out of math class for a week for helping classmates understand their work . After the teacher asked him not to help his classmates several times in front of the class, Dean expressed confusion given his "A" average. Such stories exemplify how ANS learners are generally bi-cultural and have a spiritual/ relational way of living which eludes many practitioners in formal education. Little attention is paid to the reality that learners of African descent likely prescribe to a different worldview from the dominant Eurocentric population (Merriweather-Hunn, 2009). In the case of Dean's experience, the teacher did not align his African-centered community world-view with his desire to assist his classmates. The administrator in Myles' case seemed to be unaware of the importance of community identity to these students. Such stories clearly demonstrate how the metanarrative of formal education denies ANSs the expression of their African-centered spirituality. Sadly, reflecting on their public school education, participants in all three Circles expressed annoyance over the fact that the only time their spirituality - their community - seemed to be welcomed was once or twice a year in February during African Heritage Month.

Noting the collective work and responsibility associated with Africentric ideas of community one participant drew the following comparison:

> [W]hen I s[ee] community, I think a village. It takes a village to raise a child. It takes a village to make a well. It takes a village to make a road. It takes a village to make a house. So it takes a village to raise our children. So that's what I think about my community... It takes a village to do almost anything. (Chriselle)

The "village" way of being, knowing , and seeing, demonstrates that in ANS communities, community success is inseparable from individual success. Wendell agrees: "It takes a whole little village, and it's like, you help each other out. And someone can do this for you...people have different skills and...you work together. And that's what it should be." From the village perspective, preparing for and working towards the communities' future are valued. The idea of the future being important was also explained by Nadia, a North End - Halifax participant: " It's more like the connections and relationships and the development of relationships and nurturing those relationships to continue and ensuring that those relationships go into the future." Therefore, although the physical aspects are an important part of the definition of community for some, as Archy explains, "It is the person, the place, and the thing", all inclusively intermingled and working as one.

Community as Quilt: Survival & Oppression

The quilt provides the ideal depiction of the process of knowledge making through the sharing of stories in each Talking Circle. Our quilting workshops led by East Preston quilter Connie Glasgow-White inspired the participants to see the quilt, not only as a metaphor of storytelling, but as a representation of ANS community which stands as a symbol of resistance to oppression. Demonstrating the unity reflected in the quilt, Archy explained:

> [Quilts] were all individual pieces together...sewn together for a purpose: 1) to keep you warm and 2) to tell a story. So because we're so united as a community, even though a lot of times we feel disconnected, that quilt woven together for me shows unity.

For my participants, the quilt represents the stories of ANS community because of the communal process in which many of these quilts were made in a group setting, with shared and ingenious collection of materials including scraps and fabric cut-out from old clothing. There was also a shared duty and responsibility towards a common end-goal: the creation of a warm and beautiful quilt. Circle members see quilts as serving the important role of protecting ANSs against the harsh elements of cold weather since most ANS homes were not insulated. Quilts tell the story of survival and resistance to oppression during difficult times.

The idea that community is crucial to survival and serves as a buffer to oppression was evident throughout participants' stories. The word community is derived from the term "commune", meaning "to come together in fellowship as a concept of oneness, dealing with issues of oppression and survival" (Dean). Similarly, other participants described community as a defense mechanism to resist subordination: "[Y]ou know, if it came to divide and conquer, Mulgrave Park and Uniake Square would combine to fight against the masses before we let outsiders... come in and take away what we value in our community" (Nadia). Specifically as it relates to formal education, North End participant Chriselle speaks to the necessity of solidarity to fight against oppression. "[W]hen you're in the community, people try to

suppress you, but it's the community that sticks together and try to do better." Participants in all three Circles lamented the reality that individualism seems to be infiltrating Black communities in Nova Scotia, affecting their spiritual way of being. However, some saw this shift as a result of oppressions faced by ANS communities:

> [O]ur communities,...are...different because of the oppression. We are such an oppressed society. When we're all together it's easier to see. Some people on the outside would say that there's no oppression or whatever. But I mean if you look at the schools, the education system here, the five worst performing schools are all located in Black communities in Nova Scotia! I'm sorry but there has to be more to it than we don't want better for our kids, right. It's systematic oppression. (Nadia)

Nadia alludes to a common misconception that ANS students are performing far below other groups of students because people of African descent in Nova Scotia do not value formal education. To the contrary, participants spoke highly of community efforts to support. They credit their attainment of high school diplomas and university and community college credentials to community members who helped them in various ways. Jeressa shared that the support she received from her family and community during formal education was so significant that it left "no room for failure". Participants shared that community members including the elders and young adults served as tutors and mentors, community programs, groups and organizations, especially African United Baptist Churches, youth groups, etc. provided financial support through bursaries and scholarships, social support, encouragement and leadership opportunities through informal learning that became invaluable to them in their formal education. An African proverb was used to articulate the importance of community support during formal education experiences: "If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together." Archy says "that's what comes to mind when I think of the togetherness, the value of education for me in my community" (Archy). Quoting the same proverb, Dean says, "I gained an appreciation that it was my community that enabled me to go the further distance." The focus on collaborative, communal living as opposed to an individualized, independent way of living, particularly as it regards formal education was noted by all.

Story themes of survival despite oppression through the support system existing in community give evidence of its resistance power. Participants spoke proudly of ANS communities describing spirituality at work, especially when someone was in need. Wendell explains:

> [I]t's hard not to think about what you hear from people in the past. And also… people working together and people in the community making sure that everybody survived...through thick and thin…And not just looking at everyone like you're strange neighbours. ..[Y]ou're

not just worried about your own family, but you're worried about everyone in the community, that they make it through tough times.

Stories were told of the sharing of food, money, clothing, skills and other resources to ensure the well-being of other community members. Additionally, the intangible supports of encouragement and prayer freely available in ANS communities during bereavement and tragedies as well as during times of celebration are noteworthy:

> I think it's...such a strong sense of community...for support and encouragement...I feel your pain. Your happiness shared. For me that's priceless. You share the tragedy with other people and they don't even understand how you can be so strong with all the adversity that we face. But it's the community. (Reeny)

Stories & Community Identity

The connection of community to identity was also evident throughout participants' stories. In fact, the power of oral tradition manifests itself in stories that reclaim and confirm cultural identity and self-identity (Nabavi, 2006, pp. 175, 178). It is through stories that we are reminded of who we are and where and to whom we belong (Kovach, 2009, p. 94). Therefore, it is not surprising that participants' stories about community reflect a sense of cultural and racial identity as well as a resistance to a perceived identity imposed by the dominant culture. Errante (2000) says all narratives are "narratives of identity" and therefore, they are representations of voice and reality (p. 16). "Our notions of 'who we are' and how we express this in the stories we tell and remember, are influenced by local constructions of personhood", she expounds (Errante, 2000, p.26). Therefore, the stories of my participants not only present testimonies of their experiences in education in Nova Scotia, but also demonstrate the impact of the education they have received on their sense of self and community which is intricately connected to self- identity as African descendant people.

Adichie (2009) and Chilisa (2012) speak of the perils of relegating a people to a single story that is repeatedly told about them throughout history. Talking Circle participants also reminisced upon numerous instances in their formal education experiences when identity restrictive stories were told about ANSs. Jeressa recalls her schoolmates making fun of her community of Upper Hammonds Plains, saying "Oh, you Pockwock kids! Your community is poor. All you have are pimps and drug dealers!" Archy too, told the story of a faculty member questioning, "If I go to North Preston, will Preston's finest beat me up?" Perspectives of ANS communities as places of poverty, illegal activity and violence pervade these single stories.

Metanarratives of African peoples as slaves and enslaved was a prominent single story impacting my participants' sense of identity during public school. These stories bear witness of the legacy of slavery which continues to impede

equitable perceptions of African people by the dominant culture (Moreau, 1990 ; Dei, 1996; Codjoe, 2001; Codjoe, 2006, Hamilton, 2011). When asked which stories were told about ANS in their public school education, two North Preston participants responded, "That we were slaves…That was it." Participants shared that they were left to "self-discover" their history through their own research outside of school. Participants spoke of being forced to read identity limiting books like "To Kill a Mockingbird" and "Tom Sawyer" , which cast African peoples as helpless and ignorant. One teacher asked the class to read along out loud and did not censor the "N" word when reading one of these novels. Another participant shared a story of his daughter being asked to sing "Shortening Bread", a racially pejorative song, in fourth grade. Jeressa expressed the distress she experienced during an African Canadian Studies class. As the only ANS student in the class she was ridiculed and made fun of when they watched the movie "Roots":

> [S]ome kids were laughing, some kids were…staring at you. They were teasing. It felt really uncomfortable…I felt very saddened. I felt uncomfortable. I left class every time we watched 'Roots'…[T]o this day I have never watched the full 'Roots' because I had that experience in high school watching parts and being upset. (Jeressa)

Other participants exchanged similar stories. Regardless of their age and leaving date, their stories regarding the reflection of community identity in the school system were relatively the same: negative. Wendell felt that the relegation of Black history to slavery was a deliberate institutional attempt to "make Black kids…feel bad", "to make us feel like we're less than the other students" . This negativity in the curriculum discouraged him from post- secondary education because he was eager to leave school:

> [T]hat there was to knock the wind out of you not to succeed"; "It was just letting you know who Black people are, where they came from, but in a negative way that, you're a slave, you're less than a white person. That's all I can say. (Wendell)

Younger participants, though expressing the same concerns as the older group members were able to speak to the introduction of African Canadian Studies, a grade eleven course that is supposed to cover additional African Canadian history. However, some participants feel grade eleven is much too late to begin learning about their history in school. Others found the content of the history to be more American than Canadian, and therefore not a reflection of their community identity.

Resistance as Freedom
Roxanne of North Preston is the ideal example of the resistance power evident in the stories of all my research participants. Despite derogatory societal views of her community, Roxanne adamantly states that her strong sense of self and community identity make her proud to openly declare that North Preston is her home:

I say to my kids don't you ever, ever deny where you're from, regardless of the wrap, you put where you're from because this is what you're able to do and to me that's freedom. ..[I]t might be looked upon as being a bad thing to some, but it's freedom.

The freedom that Roxanne describes is the liberating power that African-centered spirituality offers a person. It is the power to define one's identity, irrespective of the unfavourable views of society. Roxanne advises that ANS people guard against these types of negative identities : "You have to be very strong, be very comfortable with yourself because otherwise you could be sucked into …a very nasty hole."

Conclusion
Through the liberating methodology of storytelling, the participants of "Set Our Spirits Free" use their voices to define African-centered spirituality and the important role it plays in resisting oppression in formal education systems. The significance of community as a way of life and being, as well as community identity are brought to the forefront as vital in fighting racial oppression, and in playing an important role in improving formal education systems. Stories present a space where justice can be measured out to marginalized people who have suffered generations of identity distortion (Nabavi, 2006, p. 180). The co-production of knowledge by my FANS participants represents a solid resistance to the perpetuation of colonial ideas that subjugate and "other" the stories of African peoples and our contributions to bodies of knowledge. These participants remind us that although ANS stories have been spaces of marginalization, "they have also become spaces of resistance and hope" (Smith, 1999, p. 4).

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Building capacity to live and work together in support of sustainable community: findings of an ecovillage case study

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ABSTRACT

Ecovillages are 'grassroots' sustainable community development models that seek to build the culture of collaboration deemed necessary to support a shift to a post carbon world (Dawson 2006; Korten 2006). While much can potentially be learned from the study of these experimental sustainable communities, perhaps the greatest contribution ecovillages can make is to help us understand how to transition from individualism and competition in order to live "smaller, slower and closer" (Litfin 2013). This paper presents the findings of a case study of Whole Village ecovillage in Caledon, Ontario that explored the structures and processes through which ecovillagers build capacity for living and working together in support of sustainable community. It provides insight on the complex interplay between elements of community building, community dynamics and capacity building, and 'conditioning influences' (Chaskin 2001) that can either support or undermine the development of sustainable community.

Introduction

Humanity is facing its greatest challenge ever – how to live on an unstable planet now that we have severely disrupted three out of nine of the planet's critical biophysical processes - climate, biodiversity and the nitrogen cycle (Folke 2013)? To adapt to changing planetary conditions, a growing number of commentators and academics from various disciplines are suggesting the need for a fundamental shift in how we meet out material needs – one that would see us dramatically reduce our reliance on carbon-based fuels, largely through reduced consumption and increased provision of goods locally (see for example: Folke 2013, Heinburg 2004, Hopkins 2008, Korten 2006, Moore & Rees 2013). This shift to a 'post carbon' world presents a significant challenge for societies shaped by an economic paradigm based on unfettered growth and global trade. Furthermore, some change advocates suggest that a shift to a post-carbon world requires cultural transformation away from individualism,

toward a culture of collaboration (Korten 2006, McKibben 2008).

While governments and businesses around the world slowly come to recognize the imperative to shift to some kind of 'sustainability' in the face of growing global 'crises', such as climate change, the true pioneers of the post-carbon culture shift appear to be grassroots initiatives (Hawken 2008). Among the pioneers are *ecovillages* – intentional, experimental communities, modeling alternative social, economic and cultural arrangements that they believe better align with natural systems (Dawson 2006). Ecovillages are predominately small-scale settlements that incorporate a variety of 'sustainable living' elements, such as cohousing, collaborative consumption, on-site organic food production, and cooperative community businesses (Dawson 2006, Litfin 2013). Increasingly, ecovillages are being recognized as important models, and learning grounds, for 'sustainable community' (Dawson 2006, Litfin 2013, Norberg-Hodge 2002). Furthermore, while they are certainly not the only attempt to model sustainable community, various ecovillage advocates suggest they are compelling due to their 'holistic' nature (Dawson 2006, Litfin 2013, Norberg-Hodge 2002), or as Litfin puts it, as "they weave together the various strands of sustainability into integrated wholes at the level of everyday life …" (2013: 3).

Much can potentially be learned from the ecovillage model about how to build alternative human constructs that are economically, environmentally and socially sustainable. However, ecovillages – like any community – are only successful if they have the collective capacity (e.g. skills and resources) necessary to achieve their desired outcomes. For people socialized in fundamentally individualistic and competitive environments, the capacity to live more communally and work more collaboratively is something that must be gained. Little academic focus has been given to understanding the social organization of ecovillages, or what the study of

ecovillages can contribute to building knowledge of how to live and work together to create sustainable community. My research was intended to begin to fill that gap in academic knowledge. To do so, I undertook a qualitative case study of Whole Village ecovillage - the only established ecovillage in Ontario – to explore the structures and processes through which ecovillagers build capacity for living and working together in order to embody their vision of sustainable community. This research contributes to an understanding of both the social organization necessary, and the means by which capacity is built, to live and work together in order to create sustainable community for a post-carbon world.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study drew upon interactional theory within the community development and group dynamics literature. This was deemed appropriate as ecovillagers are groups of people, learning to live and work together, which can be impacted by a variety of group dynamics, and they are also united in their goal to create sustainable community, which requires both a process of community building and capacity building. A comparative look at interactional theory in the group dynamics and community development literature (e.g. Chaskin 2001, Mattessich, Monsey & Amherst 1992, Zander 1994) provided an understanding of the interplay between community / group building, the effect of community / group dynamics, and capacity building. For instance, the theoretical literature revealed commonalities between building cooperative communities and building functional groups; each requires structural elements that foster interactions, communication, interdependence, and cohesiveness, as well as sustained effort to maintain healthy interpersonal relationships based on trust. In addition, as we see in Chaskin's (2001) six-dimensional framework for community capacity development, the process of community (or group) building is foundational work for the process of capacity building (see Dimension One, where 'sense of community' and 'community commitment' are included alongside 'access to resources' and 'ability to solve problems' as Fundamental Characteristics of Community Capacity).

According to Peck (1987) – a practitioner of 'community-making' - conflict in community is inevitable, and is actually desirable as it is evidence of 'true' community. Furthermore, according to Zander (1994), managing conflict well, so that it contributes to group effectiveness, requires the existence of a variety of elements, such as good communication, constructive feedback, wide participation, flexibility, a commitment to working at it, and the establishment and meeting of agreements. These elements are essentially the competencies of functional groups, and are necessary for goal achievement. Building these competencies can be achieved through a capacity building process.

Chaskin's (2001) framework provides a systematic understanding of community capacity and how it is built. According to Chaskin, community capacity is the human

and social capital, and organizational resources, necessary "to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community" (2001: 295). Through this definition, Chaskin reveals that community capacity is not a unitary thing, as it resides in a community's individuals, formal organizations, and relational networks, and as such, any attempts to increase community capacity (e.g. through training and development), must be undertaken at all three of these levels of social agency (see Dimension Two). Chaskin's framework also provides an understanding of the 'functions of community capacity' (e.g. planning, producing, or mobilizing) (Dimension Three), which lead to achievement of desired community development outcomes (Dimension Six and Dimension One), as well as potential strategies to build community capacity (Dimension Four), which he suggests can be programmatic or procedural, and employed through both informal social processes or organized community processes. Finally, in Dimension Five he identifies the need to be aware of 'conditioning influences', as they can either facilitate or inhibit community capacity and efforts to build it. As illustrated in Peck's (1987) work on community making, it becomes easy to see how poorly managed conflicts within a community can act as conditioning influences on capacity building, by contributing to the breakdown of a sense of community and social cohesion (i.e. Chaskin's Dimension One), leading to decreased participation in community activities such as planning, producing or problem solving, and ultimately, the failure to achieve community goals.

Drawing upon interactional theories within the community development and group dynamics literature provided a rational approach for studying three major elements of the social organization of ecovillages: community building, community dynamics, and capacity building, which is how the findings of this study have been organized.

Literature Review

To support this research, an extensive review of English language academic and non-academic literature on ecovillages located in North America, the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia, was undertaken in order to develop a baseline understanding of community building, community dynamics and capacity building at ecovillages (e.g. Kasper 2008, Kirby 2003, Kunze 2012, Lifin 2013). The literature review revealed common categories of ecovillage community building structures and processes, skills and tools that contributed to ecovillage capacity building, and community dynamics challenges. These categories were:

- **Community building structures and processes**: stated community purpose, vision, or principles; membership structure; decision-making structure; agreements or rules; and activities such as eating together, working together, socializing and celebrating together.

- **Capacity building tools and skills**: conflict management; decision-making; facilitation; good communication; and the ability to maintain healthy interpersonal

relationships, including the ability to reflect on one's own behaviour, and improve where necessary.

- **Community dynamics challenges**: 'structural conflict' that may be present in how a community identifies itself (e.g. vision; principles) and in how it organizes itself (e.g. membership; decision-making), or between identifiable groups of people within the community, such as action-oriented versus process-oriented people. According to Christian (2003), community dynamics challenges tend to play out in terms of issues such as principles, power, personality types and money.

These categories were used to group the case study data. Furthermore, when reviewing the findings of the case study, it was possible to compare Whole Village to the examples of community building, capacity building, and community dynamics common at other ecovillages, as revealed through the literature.

The Case Study

Whole Village is situated on a 191-acre organic farm in Caledon, Ontario, about an hour's drive north-west of Toronto. The community identifies itself as one with a "commitment to sustainability and land stewardship seeking to live together in harmony with each other and with the natural habitat" (Whole Village pamphlet, n.d). The property and buildings of Whole Village are legally owned by the member-based Whole Village Property Co-operative Inc., and residents live mainly in a cohousing style arrangement in Greenhaven, a 15,000 square foot building with 11 private suites and shared common space, including a community kitchen, dining and living room areas, recreation and children's play space, laundry facilities, an office and library. Sustainable living at Whole Village is achieved through green building design, collaborative consumption (e.g. sharing of space, facilities, appliances, tools), on-site food production, and by supporting ecologically-minded businesses such as the Ontario Natural Food Co-op. While there is no single narrative that explains why the approximately 20 residents living at Whole Village (during the study period) were drawn to this community and its lifestyle, conversations revealed that they have generally come to 'live in community' and to lower their environmental footprint; some would say, to model a more sustainable way of life.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the historical and current community dynamics and interpersonal tensions that present challenges for living and working together at Whole Village? What contributed to their manifestation?

2. How is community capacity (i.e. community building and capacity building) built to address these challenges (e.g. processes and structures; formal and informal approaches)?

3. How do Whole Villagers perceive their efforts (e.g. successes and challenges) to make living together and working together, in support of sustainable community, possible?

Methods

Data collection took place from January to May 2014. Several methods of data collection and analysis were utilized: document review, participant-observation (during seven daily and one overnight visit to the community during the study period), and in-depth interviews. Document review and participant-observation were undertaken for the purposes of obtaining background and contextual information, such as, the group's history, the types of structures and processes which guide relations at Whole Village, and some insight on current and historical community building and capacity building activities, and community dynamics / tensions. Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with a random sample of four owner-residents and four renters (the decision to choose interviewees from these two distinct sub-groups of Whole Village residents was based on the significant tension evident between the groups in community documents and during participant-observation, which warranted further exploration of this dynamic). Each interviewee was asked a series of eight, open-ended questions that sought to gain their perspective on: 1) community building (e.g. how Whole Village fosters a sense of community, including foundational elements such as belonging, trust and interdependence); 2) community dynamics between residents that may impact their ability to live and work together, as well as the rewards of community life and how differences in individual and group interests are balanced, and 3) capacity-building (i.e. formal and informal activities that improved their capacities to live and work 'in community, such as, effective discussion, honest and compassionate communication and decision-making, non-violent conflict resolution, embracing diversity of people and perspectives, and inner work, such as trying to be less reactive, more reflective, and to live authentically). Finally, interviewees were asked to answer the question, "In order to build a sustainable community, Whole Village must…", taking into consideration their beliefs on the social, economic and spiritual needs of Whole Villagers. This final question was intended to gain resident's perspectives on what may inhibit Whole Village in achieving the objective of sustainable community.

Findings and Discussion

Community building and community dynamics at Whole Village.

Similar to the ecovillage examples in the literature, the study revealed community building structures at Whole Village (e.g. stated vision, inclusive decision making, membership rules) and activities (e.g. workbees; social events), which collectively contribute to group cohesiveness, including feelings of trust and belonging. However, the study also revealed challenging community dynamics that contribute to

variability and fluidity in feelings of trust and belonging between individuals and sub-groups. These included:

- difficulties in interpersonal relationships, impacted by poor communication, different standards (e.g. aesthetics) and different needs (e.g. expressions of appreciation for community contributions);

- tensions around work expectations and priorities (e.g. between the people who value the process of community building – 'the thinkers', versus the people who value efforts with tangible results - 'the doers');

- differences in values between generations;

- lack of unity around the community vision (which some attributed to its vagueness, and the vagueness of some of the community's guiding principles), and

- economic and power disparities between owners and renters (exacerbated by the fact that becoming a Whole Village member required buying shares in the cooperative, which is tied to the purchase of suites that cost beyond the financial means of most renters, and which resulted in renters having less real and perceived influence in decision-making, e.g. not having the right to block consensus or to vote).

In addition to presenting barriers to community building at Whole Village, these community dynamics challenges acted as 'conditioning influences', impacting capacity building efforts and the community's capacity to live and work together toward sustainable community. Despite these challenges, Whole Villagers largely agreed that living in community was fulfilling, and they showed (and expressed) a willingness to work on addressing the challenges present in community life.

Capacity building at Whole Village.

Building the capacity to live and work together was found to be collectively supported through a variety of organizational efforts to improve communication, understanding, conflict resolution, and interpersonal relationships, such as: group study (e.g. discussion of suggested readings), organized activities (e.g. community dynamics exercises during meetings), use of established processes (e.g. conflict resolution), the practice of rotating roles (e.g. facilitation; note-taking), monitoring the meeting of accomplishments (e.g. the points system used for kitchen work), and the use of experts (e.g. group process consultants they had hired to teach non-violent communication or to help resolve conflicts, using role play for example).

Many of the types of capacity building efforts employed at Whole Village were also identified throughout the literature on ecovillages. For instance, to manage conflict, Whole Village employed the type of 'common sense' approach that Litfin (2013) believes is used at most ecovillages. If conflicted parties cannot work things out themselves, a dedicated team intervenes to mediate the conflict, including helping each side understand the other's perspective. Another method, called the 'Gifting Circle', was employed at Whole Village and identified in the literature as a means to provide a safe space to communicate honestly and compassionately, which can contribute to community building, effective discussion, and inclusive decision making. Effective discussion and inclusive decision making at Whole Village were also fostered through common ecovillage meeting facilitation techniques, and efforts to improve the facilitation abilities of community members, such as starting each meeting with a 'check-in', which provides attendees, and particularly the facilitator, with insight as to what might be impacting individual participants as they engage in discussion. In addition, each meeting ends with an open evaluation (and potentially suggestions for improvement) by each participant that is recorded in the meeting minutes, which Schaub (2014) points out, also provides a record that can be referred to later to identify patterns and to help people understand what might have been discussed, which can be insightful when trying to unpack the complexities of a conflict, for instance. Like some other ecovillages (e.g. the 'Intensiv' at Sieben Linden in Germany)(Litfin 2013), Whole Village also sets aside time to discuss issues in greater depth (e.g. the Resiliency Retreat), often separating out 'well-being' discussions from business meetings, so that discussion of business issues may be less emotionally charged. The fact that many of the techniques and approaches used by Whole Village to build capacity for living and working together are also evident at ecovillages in other parts of the world, suggests that, despite the separation of geography and limited opportunities for interaction (e.g. the occasional regional ecovillage conference), these communities are part of a 'learning community' of sorts, experimenting with the tools and skills that have been globally identified as means to build collaborative culture.

The interviews conducted for this study provided insight on the complex interplay between community building, community dynamics, and capacity building at Whole Village. For instance, this study revealed that organizational efforts to build capacity to live and work together at Whole Village were supported by informal interactions, personal relationships, and the social environment (i.e. the 'culture' of Whole Village; as one Whole Villager stated "we learn because people here care that we learn"). However, through the interviews it also became evident that the complexity of the interplay between these social factors could result in great variability of individual abilities within the community. For instance, when speaking to how Whole Village fosters an individual's ability to 'be less reactive', some respondents identified that they were inspired to reflect more on their behaviour since moving into the community, while others expressed that they have found it difficult to change 'life long patterns' of reactivity despite being in a supportive environment, and one respondent in fact stated, "I feel like I'm being more reactive since I came here", due to the additional 'triggers' of community living, like identified tensions (e.g. real and perceived power imbalance between owners and renters), or simply from the greater number of interactions that result from living so close to so many people. Variability in capacity building at the individual level also appeared to depend on the level of skill that the individual came to the

community with, and their willingness to work on improving their competencies. As one interviewee pointed out, the effectiveness of all the capacity building tools employed by the community really depends on each individual's willingness to change their own behaviour. Some insight was also provided through the interviews as to the type of learning that happens through organized versus informal community interactions: one respondent summed up the difference as follows: "through the formal ways I've learned the specifics about how to live in community, and through the informal ways I've learned the bigger picture stuff - how to 'be' in community."

Finally, when responding to the question of what may impede Whole Village in becoming a 'sustainable community', most interviewees identified the economics of the community (e.g. disparity between owners and renters), and the lack of cohesion around the community's vision, as predominant and coupled themes. However, sentiment was also strong on the need to do more to address interpersonal relationship challenges, work on their 'emotional selves', and to support the social health of the community overall.

Conclusion

To date, studies (including this one) and anecdotal accounts suggest ecovillage capacity building to live and work together toward sustainable community is supported first, by creating community structures and processes that foster a sense of community cohesion and inclusion. Organizational elements such as established visions, principles, agreements, and decision-making processes, contribute to this end. Furthermore, a collaborative culture and a sense of belonging is supported by trusting, interpersonal relationships that result from positive interactions, like when community members eat together, work together, or spend social time together.

However, a variety of challenging dynamics may impact community cohesiveness and functionality, and feelings of belonging and trust, and ultimately challenge the creation of sustainable community. Such challenges include, lack of unity around community vision, different perspectives on how to achieve vision (i.e. approach), different priorities or reasons as to why members are there in the first place, and varied financial circumstances across the membership.

Addressing these challenges depends on identification of root causes, but often requires either organizational change or capacity building (e.g. building social competencies) to navigate or minimize the negative impacts these challenges present. Furthermore, the development of social competencies appears dependent on both the engagement of the individual and a supportive environment for building those competencies. Largely, ecovillagers appear to focus capacity building efforts on fostering effectiveness in community decision-making, and honest and compassionate communication, to build understanding, embrace diversity of perspectives, and manage conflict. Ecovillagers identify the success of these capacity building efforts as contingent on a commitment, by all members, to this capacity building, including by

working on their 'inner' selves and considering how they are engaging with others in the community, and how their actions may be impacting the community's collective capacity to live and work together.

This case study of Whole Village in Caledon, Ontario, revealed significant similarity in the elements of community building, community dynamics, and capacity building evident in other ecovillages in North America, Europe and Australia. However, the case study provided greater insight on the complexities of the interplay between the elements. In particular, it showed how one powerful dynamic – in this case, the inequalities in status, power and financial circumstances between owners and renters – can act as a 'conditioning influence' to pervade and unhinge community building and capacity building efforts, and ultimately undermine the creation of sustainable community. Consequently, it identified the need to consider whether organizational change is necessary in order to address challenging dynamics that may be impeding capacity building for sustainable community development (for Whole Village, this could mean re-consideration of the community's vision and principles, and whether or not renters and socio-economic diversity are part of the 'grand plan'). Furthermore, while it is impossible to quantify the extent to which building social competencies may contribute to the kind of sustainable community development necessary to shift to a post carbon world, this study affirmed that groups working toward this goal recognize the need to give consideration to the less tangible aspects of community capacity (e.g. the ability to live and work together), equally – if not more so – to the physical aspects of sustainable community development, because, as one Whole Villager put it, "if we can't get along, the rest won't last either."

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PAPER PRESENTATION

Cooperative Learning in the Context of Social Inequality – An Empirical Study of the Highlands of Chiapas

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ABSTRACT

Based on an empirical study of the highlands of Chiapas in Mexico, this contribution highlights learning processes related to experiences of social inequality. The biographies of people in precarious life circumstances make the dynamic of trajectories of suffering visible which need to be addressed. Of interest are strategies for dealing with social exclusion, disadvantage and vulnerability. The research findings reveal that social problems are also framed as a supra-individual challenge. Cooperative structures function as a reflexive learning space and the interactive knowledge that is generated is understood as a collective benefit. Cooperation can be described as a successful practice to widen perspectives and patterns of interpretation in order to influence social structures and conditions. Nonetheless, the increasing heterogeneity of divergent strategies for dealing with social exclusion and marginalisation also requires the creation of new ways of living together.

Introduction

The paper will focus on Chiapas, Mexico as a place where a high level of inequality is evident in the dynamics of the social space. In particular, people living in more rural areas are affected by precarious life conditions, social exclusion and marginalisation. They often do not have access to educational and career opportunities, public healthcare services and other governmental support. The lacking equality of living conditions is one cause of the mobilisation in cooperative structures. The experience of social inequality also initiates learning processes. In this context, cooperative structures offer a reflexive learning environment in which different perspectives are discussed and strategies for dealing with social problems that crop up are developed collectively. In this regard, social mobilisation processes can be seen as an attempt to influence and transform social structures. Social movements as emancipatory movements, the struggle against oppression, social discrimination, economic disadvantage and the lack of political opportunities for participation have a long tradition in Latin America. Since the end of the 20th century, various resistance movements arose because of heightened social contrasts and social disadvantages which were generated by neoliberal reforms and structural changes (Büschges & Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2007). Currently, the mobilisation of people in social movements involves a broad spectrum of motivations. In the past, the division into classes and the related social conditions of economic inequality and marginalisation played an important role. Now it becomes apparent that gender, ethnic and religious membership, in addition to or related to social inequality, also becomes a relevant aspect of orientation in current social movements

The contribution highlights learning processes regarding experiences of social inequality in a region of Mexico. Based on a study conducted in the highlands of Chiapas, the paper will give some insights into the research findings. A briefly overview of the social dynamics of the chosen region will be outlined in order to enhance understanding of the strategies for dealing with social inequality. Also, some background information about the research design and the empirical data collected will be given. Cooperative learning inside social mobilisation processes appears as an important resource for people in precarious living conditions. In this respect, I will focus on learning processes which are embedded in cooperative structures. The social practice of collective analysis and discussion of the social conditions, problems and challenges are also interesting as knowledge regarding change processes is produced. Memory framing, for instance, occurs as a strategy for negotiating perspectives on past events and their consequences. The contribution will highlight some of the problems and conflicts which appear when communities are divided by memberships in different resistance activities.

Dynamics of the Social Context

Of all the federal states of Mexico, Chiapas is richest in resources. There are water resources and rain forests along with other natural resources such as mineral oil, uranium and precious metals, fertile farmland and "cheap labour" (Kerkeling, 2009). Regardless, the distribution of economic and material goods among the population is very asymmetric in that a minority owns the majority of economic capital and land. Marginalisation, especially of people living in rural areas, is still very high in Chiapas. The social inequality can be seen in the unequal distribution of resources, educational and career opportunities, access to public healthcare services and social support. The research results from CONAP0 (2010, p. 40) show that out of 118 communities in Chiapas, 48 are burdened with a very high level of marginalisation, 39 are at a high level, 29 are medium level and only 2 exhibit a low level of marginalisation. Furthermore, the dynamics of the social space are influenced by the economic and political forces acting from outside. The actions of transnational companies result in a number of problems: natural resources are exploited, seeds are adulterated due to the presence of genetically modified (GM) plants and people are displaced from their communities. Since the debt crisis in Mexico in 1982, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank made their rules for the granting of credits more strict via structural adjustment programmes. This was followed by deregulation of prices, opening up of the domestic market to imports from outside, radical cuts in public sector spending and programmes, etc. The neoliberal transformation of economic politics was driven further during the term of office of Carlos Salinas de Gortari who was president of Mexico from 1988 to 1994. State enterprises were privatised and trade was made even more liberalised. The climax of the modernisation project of Salinas de Gortari was the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which came into effect in 1994 (Schütze, 2009). The situation, in particular for the population in the rural areas, continued to worsen. Another aspect is related to "axes of difference" which are imbedded in the society. These commonly produce inequality in living conditions. In addition to aspects of class and gender, in particular the ethnic construction of being an indigenous person is related to mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. Postcolonial conditions reference an interpretative space where the construction of ethnic membership is more strongly interpreted as a concept of race. From this perspective, the idea of the predominance of "whiteness" is still firmly in place.

The precarious situation and the high level of marginalisation also gave rise to various social movements in Chiapas. Simultaneous with the initiation of NAFTA, the Zapatistas called for a turning away from the neoliberal economic policy, asking for more democracy. The Mexican government reacted with a high level of militarisation. The creation of a paramilitary at the time was also part of a war which is called a "low intensity conflict"; it is intended to destabilise social movements and includes selective repression against the members of these movements. One of the important decisions of the Zapatista movement is avoid cooperation with the Mexican government and various governmental programmes as well as Mexican political parties. They build up autonomous regions and develop independent ideas, structures and policies while attempting to carefully handle power issues. The Zapatista policy of non-cooperation with the Mexican political establishment in general also provoked critiques. Sterr (2008, p. 94f.) mentions for example that the strategy of the Zapatistas to create autonomous areas in geographically isolated resistance communities manoeuvred them into acting on the fringe of politics. Relatedly, the Schmalz and Tittor (2008) noted that Chávez in Venezuela and Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatistas are two contrasting symbolic figures who show divergent strategies inside the area of tension between autonomy and statism of leftist politics, even though both are seeking social emancipation (ibid., p. 9). Actually, divergent ideologies and strategies for dealing with marginalisation in general become apparent inside various movements in Chiapas. Regarding engagement in change activities, a broader spectrum of motivations occurs along gender, ethnic and religious lines. The "new invasion" of various evangelical and Christian churches in Chiapas intensifies the processes of destabilisation in communities in the more rural areas.

Cooperative Learning in the Context of Social Inequality

The empirical study focuses on learning processes with regard to experiences of social inequality in Chiapas. The main research question was how people in precarious circumstances are able to influence their social situation and which learning dispositions are generated in relation to confrontation with social inequality. For analysing learning processes, the idea of "learning figures" (Alheit et. al.) was used as a heuristic concept. This complex figure focuses on the question of how the structure of experiences and actions of people are connected with social contexts. It involves how people frame a social problem and which kind of strategies they use to deal with the situation they develop. Furthermore the research focused on learning dispositions (or habits) which social actors develop in the context of social inequality. How people interconnect "learning figures" is part of a long-term learning process. The data for the empirical study includes about 45 narrative-biographical interviews conducted in Spanish and data which were collected in field investigations. Considering the fact that translation, the transfer of meaning, is a decision process and that the role of translation in a postcolonial context can never be fully innocent, I decided to create a translation design which, on the one hand, reflects the implications of the methodological approach of biographical research and the high level of orientation toward the source text. The intention to give preference to the original is part of the methodological approach. On the other hand, the relationship between languages cannot be described as neutral; it refers to a hierarchical relationship in which the researcher is involved as a translator who creates a "new" text. The problematic "nature" of asymmetric relations involves the necessity to deconstruct

the social contexts and their mutual involvement in power relationships. The interviews were conducted during two periods, in 2008 and 2010. On the basis of grounded theory as a research style, the data have been sequentially analysed and representationally elaborated upon.

The sampling contains three different characteristics of learning dispositions. I called the first group "lone warriors": they try to influence their social position by accumulating institutionalised cultural capital. The second group are social actors who also interrelate the capacity of learning and development with social groups and communities. The third group are social actors who focus on social mobilisation processes with the idea that social structures should be transformed fundamentally; they believe that society has a capacity for learning and an ability to develop. As the research findings reveal different forms of cooperative sociality, the interactive learning inside cooperative structures and social mobilisation processes appears to be an important resource for people in more precarious living conditions. In particular, the patterns of social referencing inside the biographies caught my attention. In this context, the belonging (or affiliation) to a social group and the corresponding we-perspective is an important aspect inside the biographical narratives. The we-I balance (according to the concept of Elias) shows that the relation between "we" and "I" is not only constructed in opposition but is also complementary. These kinds of patterns of social references create a sort of affinity to special types of social interaction. It should be added that social involvement still remains an important factor in this region. The lack of a social welfare state in many areas, for instance support for the elderly, induces a higher level of social interdependence. Collective orientation can be understood as a principal condition for the survival of social actors. Besides this aspect, the erosion of social structures as well as the pluralisation of habitual orientations is observable.

Learning dispositions focused on collectives show that social problems, inequality and discrimination are framed as a supra-individual challenge. The transformation of disadvantage cannot be overcome by a single person. The common life conditions as well as the common ground of experiences gain relevance in this context. This phenomenon was labelled as a strategy of de-individualisation of social problems; to be sure I have to add that this is being looked at from a Eurocentric perspective. Cooperative sociality can be seen as a successful strategy in dealing with vulnerability and disadvantage; in addition, it is also a relevant strategy for survival. Cooperation functions as a resource of autonomy and reflection. It strengthens the capacity for interpretation and action for people in precarious living conditions. By combining forces, the scope of influence on social structures can be strengthened. The cooperative structures leverage synergies, bringing collective benefits, and these benefits are seen as collective property. Cooperation in confrontation with social inequality refers to wilful searching movements; possibilities for action as a group are explored. Thereby frames of interpretation – self-concepts as well as conceptions

about the social conditions – are transformed. Furthermore, cooperative structures refer to self-organising forces.

Example of Cooperative Structure – a Women's Cooperative

The first example in this context is a cooperation of women in precarious circumstances. They united to gain access to income sources and produce various kinds of arts and crafts to increase independence from their husbands or to survive as single mothers. The women's cooperative also functions as a reflexive learning environment where inequality and disadvantages related to social affiliation and gender belonging are questioned, and strategies to deal with these types of discrimination are created. On the one hand, self-development processes are relevant, and on the other hand, they accomplish a sort of educational work inside their communities where basic rights for women are picked out as a central theme. In a complimentary way, they seek to call public attention to the violation of human rights of women. The following photo shows an example of a critical reflection and visualisation of violence against women in a public space.

Image 1a: Mural Depicting Violence Against Women

This mural is painted on the wall of one of the public universities in San Cristóbal de las Casas. In a visual way, it shows how women suffer under sexual and physical violence along with the reasons for violent attacks against women.

Image 1b: Mural Depicting Violence Against Women

In this detail from the mural, you can see a self-confident young woman. On the scarf over here shoulders is written "this body is mine, don't touch it, don't violate it and don't kill it".

Social Mobilisation Processes

Waves of social protest disturb social frames of interpretation and common classification patterns. In his study about the struggle for difference, Fuchs (1999) mentions that social movements can be seen as an active and open-ended intervention to influence social structures. Social mobilisation appears as a strategy to expand social influence and relatedly the force of transformation. Cooperative spaces function as a reflexive learning setting with inward and outward effects. Inside the mobilisation process, a self-concept and a self-image need to be created. Furthermore, the participants need to find a common understanding of the social problem, the social circumstances and the power relations in which they are embedded. These processes entail the exchange of ideas and controversial discussions about different perspectives and opinions, wherein the question "What is the problem?" is also negotiated. The social practice of collective analysis of social conditions, problems and challenges generates knowledge regarding change processes. These informal processes of learning refer to problem-solving movements through which meaningful references are constructed – thereby new structures of sense are also generated. The knowledge of interpretation and action functions as a supra-individual resource.

In the created spaces of idea exchange, meanings and perspectives are negotiated publicly as well. Social actors occupy and acquire cultural-political spaces which give them opportunities to break open the power of definition coming from the established mainstream. In this regard "diagnostic and prognostic framing" can be seen as an "innovative" performance which social movements bring inside social structures. The power of representing social problems by affected individuals also involves a struggle for power in terms of definition and perspectives. Furthermore, meanings need to be translated and transferred. "Memory framing" is one of the social practices which seek to give force to alternative perspective on the past, the present and the future. Central are the struggles for the meaning of historical events and their consequences as well as actual problems and conflicts. One example is "el dia de la raza" (the day of the race) which in some Latin American countries is still celebrated as a marker of gratefulness for the "discovery" by to the Spanish. Resistance groups and indigenous social movements use this day to call attention to the disastrous consequences of the occupation and the realities of their precarious situation. Another aspect is the fact that social movements don't "allow" the society to ignore violence against citizens. One example is the massacre of Acteal where 45 indigenous people (women, men, children and also babies) were killed by a paramilitary group. The following can be seen as a strategy of memory framing.

Image 2a: Example of Memory Framing

The first is a blackboard on a public university campus on which the names of people are written who were killed because of their engagement in social movements and political activities. You can also see the names of people who disappeared for the same reason, and the third list of names contains people who are currently in prison for their involvement in actions for change.

Image 2b: Example of Memory Framing

This example was found in another location on the streets of Buenos Aires. On this sign you can see the name of two persons with the comment: "Homage to our neighbours who lived here and disappeared during the military dictatorship."

"Motivational framing" also appears as an important aspect of mobilisation processes – first in terms of synchronising the attitudes of the participants, and second in relation to setting boundaries and drawing distinctions to other movements, groups or networks. With regard to competing frameworks of interpretation and action, the learning figure "social engagement" emerged in the investigation as a relevant category, especially for communities which are involved in different resistance activities and strategies. The last example I want to give is a group which is a

so-called divided community. The community is part of a resistance movement; the majority of the villagers belong to "la otra campaña" (the other campaign) which started in 1996. The village is situated at the site of a former plantation (finca) from which the owner's "escape" caused drastic social changes as some of the workers later resettled the area and started to cultivate the land again. They are struggling for the recognition of their village, in particular because of a lack of officially legitimate documents of property ownership. Nonetheless, not all of the families share in this struggle. Some of the families converted to membership in an evangelical church which does not "allow" them to criticise or to question the power of the government. Against this backdrop, daily life and social interactions sometimes produce situations which are highly confrontational. For instance, while one group was holding a meeting to discuss their current situation and the next steps in their struggle, the members of the evangelical church arranged a religious event with loud amplified instruments which filled the whole community with the sound of Christian music, e.g. "Jesus Loves You" and "Christ is with us". The acoustic disturbance was incredible. Other days I observed that in some houses, the volume of the Oventic Radio of Resistance (a radio station of the Zapatistas) was so high that there was a sort of acoustic competition between religious and resistance music, discussions and comments. To my surprise none of the villagers ever complained about the activities of the other group; the social conflict was more latent than open. The ideologies and strategies of the two groups contrast totally. The majority of the village is struggling to break open their situation of marginalisation and move toward social emancipation and more democracy. Such background conflicts initiate learning processes for dealing with the heterogeneity of ideologies, strategies and orientations. The increasing heterogeneity in communities in the rural area requires social mediating processes and the creation of new arrangements to support the living together of rival groups.

Concluding Remarks

This study investigated learning processes related to confrontation with social inequality, and the learning dispositions which people develop for dealing with marginalisation, social vulnerability and social exclusion. The biographies analysed highlight a high risk of being affected by a trajectory of suffering. People living in precarious living conditions are confronted with hegemonic forces, power relations and a lack of possibilities for social participation. Cooperative structures function in this regard as a resource which strengthens the capacity of action in order to influence and transform social structures. Furthermore, cooperative structures offer a reflexive learning environment where social problems are analysed collectively and new patterns of interpretation are created. The examples described show that cooperation is, for instance, used as a strategy to gain access to sources of income and to diminish social vulnerability in order to increase possibilities for action. Learning processes inside cooperative spaces do have inward and outward effects. Educational activities as well as community learning supports emancipatory processes in which power relations and patterns of classification are brought into question. Social practices such as memory framing open up spaces where the power of definition and perspectives are more openly negotiated. Nonetheless, people in precarious life conditions have to deal with the persistence of hegemonic structures and the frustration which occurs. The struggle for social change and equal social conditions needs economic, cultural and social resources as well as time and patience. It should be added that, apart from the younger generation, in many cases those affected by marginalisation in Chiapas didn't have the opportunity to attend school; thus their daily lives are characterised by a struggle for survival. They are subjected to several repression and violent attacks because of their involvement in social change movements.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Reconstructing Meanings of Work: a mindfulness wisdom approach

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to conceptualise the meaning of work using Buddhist mindfulness teachings. It explores 1) What are the Buddhist mindfulness virtues and values on work? 2) What are the mindfulness skills and how are they integrated into work? and 3) How to reconstruct meanings of work? Data are drawn from Buddhist mindfulness teachings and are thematically analysed. Findings show that the referred teachings focus on moral skills and values and to a lesser extent, concentration skills, over wisdom which constitutes meaning reconstruction. The teachings lack explanation on insight meditation skills for integrating mindfulness into work and wisdom at work, and the integration of the Buddhist Threefold Training. As work is taken at face value, the teachings are consistent with existing work values and practices for efficiency, productivity, well-being and ethical conduct, and working wisely is merely practising them while working instead of seeing into the reality of work.

Introduction

Several theories explain workers' motivations, with pay and economic security being the key motivators among other reasons and outcomes such as 'self-expression' and 'self-improvement', (Hall & Buttram, 1994). I assume these economistic and humanistic motivations are not only underpinned by work values, needs, expectations, workers' personality and character and orientation to work, but also qualifications and skills, and the labour market and life situations or workers' employability. These components determine the choice of jobs workers make and the meaning of their work. In this paper I consider a different approach to meaning construction of work by exploring what workers might learn in the Theravada Buddhist culture. The Buddhist perspective on meaning of work has hardly been explored while its mindfulness praxis has increasingly crossed the traditions from being religious to secular, and locations from East to West and from life to work. Hall and Buttram (1994) defined work as '*the effort or activity of an individual*

that is undertaken for the purpose of providing goods or services of value to others and that is considered by the individual to be work' (p. 5). Although work is defined neutrally, work activities and work demands may not correspond with traditional mindfulness virtues, making it difficult to integrate.

Wisdom in traditional perspectives and wisdom in scientific mindfulness research are driven by different values and motives. While secular mindfulness relates mindfulness praxis to practical outcomes that enhance work performance by improving insight problem solving, communication, teamwork, creativity, leadership, flow and self-regulation, and reducing stress and mental health problems (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Duerr, 2004; Kabat-Zinn, 2003; Mark, Williams, & Kabat-Zinn, 2013; Miller & Nozawa, March 2002; Ostafin & Kassman, 2012; Senge, 2006; Senge & Society for Organizational Learning., 2005; Shapiro, Carlson, Astin, & Freedman, 2006; Wong, 2004), traditional perspectives relate mindfulness to moral wisdom towards enlightenment rooted in good conduct that adults learn in their culture. While Buddhist mindfulness is key to enlightenment, secular mindfulness is selective and practised for functional benefits.

My contribution to adult education here is to offer another perspective of the meaning of work arising from wisdom through a traditional Buddhist lens. My research questions include: 1) What are the Buddhist values and virtues or Dhamma that guide work activities? 2) What are the strategies used to integrate mindfulness skills into the work process? and 3) How to reconstruct meanings of work?

Conceptual Framing

I am taking a critical approach to workplace learning to capture wisdom that guides meaning reconstruction by exploring traditional views of monks and mindfulness teachers on how to work. Buddhist mindfulness is explained in the Buddhist Canon as a path in the Eightfold Path in the

Four Noble Truths to attain the enlightenment: 'There is the case where a monk remains focused on the body in & of itself…He remains focused on feelings in & of themselves... the mind in & of itself... mental qualities in & of themselves — ardent, alert, & mindful — putting aside greed & distress with reference to the world' (Access to Insight, 2011). The Buddhist mindfulness indication of 'putting aside greed & distress with reference to the world' is one reason for mindfulness praxis – end of suffering in the context of secular lives. That liberation process requires wisdom, or the realization of the Buddhist teachings. Insight from mindfulness practices are used to discern Buddhist principles:

> that all conditioned things are impermanent, that they are all unsatisfactory, that there is no self or truly existent ego entity to be found in anything… When these truths are penetrated by direct experience, the craving, ignorance and related mental fetters maintaining bondage break asunder, and the disciple rises through successive stages of realization to the full attainment of Nibbana

(Access to Insight, 2013a). In brief, Conze (2013) explained, 'Wisdom penetrates…into dharmas as they are in themselves. It disperses the darkness of delusion, which covers up the own-being of dharmas…' Wisdom can be trained and learned by practitioners. Livingstone (2004) explained 'Learning…involves the gaining of knowledge or skill anytime and anywhere through individual and group processes. Learning occurs throughout our lives' (p. 7). This is the generic notion of lifelong learning. However, learning of traditional mindfulness is not governed by the same neo-liberal politics and knowledge economy agenda as lifelong learning that Livingstone (2004) was concerned with. Unlike the mainstream education and training that serve or fail to serve the economic needs of people, Buddhists do not learn mindfulness in order to work. While mindfulness training and programs are increasingly available at work, the application and integration of mindfulness into the work process and worklife are mainly an informal learning (Garrick, 1998). Mindfulness can be informally learnt in the workplace to enhance efficiency and productivity as part of human resources development or it can be just about learning from workers own interests. Hager (1999) noted two broad trends in workplace learning theories – learning for 'the needs of the economy' and 'learning for work' versus learning for 'the overall flourishing of human beings' and 'work for learning' (pp. 71-72). On a related note, Garrick (1998) said that research on informal learning tends to focus on 'individuals (subjects) apprehending experience, reasoning, or logical thinking through their direct experience and giving that experience 'meaning' (p. 19). This learning in the workplace is treated more objectively as measurable but mindfulness lacks research findings to explain and guide. Mindfulness training programs have proposed measures on its benefits, yet informal learning of mindfulness itself remains largely subjective and arbitrary. Less common is the application of mindfulness at the organisational level, mindfulness that is socially organised and collectively learnt. This variation

of mindfulness learning is integrated into the learning organisation in management studies (Senge, 2006), although workers are still learning individually.

In order to examine meaning reconstruction, in addition to the literature reviewed, data was collected from several sources adults could access in their social lives including 7 sermons by Theravada Buddhist monks in Thailand on online social media, 14 webpages on Pali Canon Suttas and their commentaries, and 3 books on mindfulness teachings. The majority of these sources are from Thai Theravada tradition because Thailand represents a strong tradition of mindfulness. I can access information in the local language and have firsthand experience with the culture and tradition. Data are thematically analysed to illuminate what adults may learn from traditional teachings with reference to work.

Meanings of Work

1) What are the mindfulness values and virtues for work?

The following themes show that Buddhist teachers / trainers relate mindfulness to work using Buddhist Dhamma / teachings of good conduct under the Eightfold Path - 'the way to the end of suffering' consisting of: Right View, Right Intentions, Right Speech, Right Action and Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2013). First, I start with teachings on morality in the Threefold training under Right Speech, Right Action and Right Livelihood:

Work Morally and Skillfully by following the Five Precepts, Patimokkha Exhortation, Right Livelihood and be Mindful of Kamma:

Monks and teachers emphasise that lay people should observe the Five Precepts (Bhikkhu Khantipalo, 2013; Lupin, 2012, June 30a; Ngamchitcharoen, 2009): refraining from 'destroying living creatures…from taking that which is not given…from sexual misconduct…from incorrect speech… from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness' (Access to Insight, 2013b). The precept component or virtue is emphasised in the Buddha's Patimokkha Exhortation – abstain from bad deeds, cultivate wholesomeness and purify the mind (Bhikkhu Khantipalo, 2013; Chulacharitta, 2010; Lupin, 2012, June 30a). The Buddha declared these disciplines in his Dhamma trained in the Threefold Training of morality, collectedness/concentration and wisdom (Bhikkhu Khantipalo, 2013). Ngamchitcharoen (2009, pp. 422-423) said precepts protect practitioners from doing bad deeds and causing others harm. Concentration helps practitioners to be steadfast, not distracted, be able to work and do other activities efficiently, and wisdom helps practitioners to solve problems in everyday life correctly.

Ngamchitcharoen (2009) mentioned Right Livelihood which guides lay people with respect to which jobs are good and which jobs cause harm to others. Causing harm

includes breaking moral precepts such as stealing, lying and cheating (Ngamchitcharoen, 2009).

Bhikkhu Bodhi explained that Right Livelihood ensures that income is earned with standards: legal, peaceful, honest, and harmless. Harmful means that should be avoided are: 'dealing in weapons, in living beings (including raising animals for slaughter as well as slave trade and prostitution), in meat production and butchery, in poisons, and in intoxicants' (2013). Dishonest means are: 'practicing deceit, treachery, soothsaying, trickery, and usury' (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2013).

Another concept behind the code of disciplines is Kamma - the cause and effect of actions. Ñanamoli Thera (2013) said that Kamma occurs while we are awake. If the action is rooted in hatred, greed and delusion, it is bad Kamma. If it is rooted in compassion, it is good.

Work Hard by Practicing the Iddhipada:

The four factors of Iddhipada is in Iddhipada-vibhanga Sutta: Analysis of the Bases of Power (Access to Insight, 2013c). Phra Mahachaloem Piyatatsi (Lupin, 2012, June 30b, 2012, June 30c, 2012, June 30d) explained that this is a teaching on concentration comprising concentration of desire/intention, concentration of persistence/effort, concentration of intent/consciousness and concentration of discrimination/ investigation. In the workplace, this is the desire and morale for work practised by concentration.

Ajaan Suwat Suvaco (2013) taught lay people to feel at ease and following the mantra, continuing to meditate, 'No matter what the job, if you can do it with a sense of conviction, a sense of respect for your work, you can keep at it continuously. Even if the sun is beating down and you're all tired and worn out, you can keep on doing it. If you do it with a sense of desire (chanda) for the results, a sense of persistence (viriya), intentness (citta), and circumspection (vimansa), you can keep on doing it without getting tired' (Ajaan Suwat Suvaco, 2013). Bhikkhu Ratchathammawati (Dhammapiwat ASTV, 2013, March 25) said that working is a duty or activity for everyone. The Venerable Webu Sayadaw (2013) suggested that we should work like a fire maker, lighting a fire with a fire stick.

Work references above show that Buddhist monks and teachers encouraged the laity to practise the Five Precepts, Patimokkha Exhortation, the Right Livelihood, good Kamma, and the Four Factors of Iddhipada or the bases of power. However, the teachings treat work as a good thing without investigating the complexity of work, the nature of work, politics of work, organisational change, work relations, social justice and other external factors such as socioeconomic systems that all affect workers' work and social lives. Equality in the teachings is to be equally compassionate to other beings and not comparing from a sense of ego. While the Dhamma is complementary to work, it can also pose some contradictions to workers. Knowing the Dhamma is similar to knowing and being committed to values but being able to practise them requires mindfulness skills. The teachings

inadequately explain how to practice mindfulness on the Dhamma while working.

In these teachings, cultivating good conducts improves productivity and efficiency. In fact, the teachings such as diligence, patience, acceptance, charity, honesty, insightfulness, impermanence, suffering, concentration and even mindfulness are consistent with existing organisational values and skills such as integrity, competitiveness, efficiency, productivity, high performance, innovation, creativity, and profit maximisation, problem solving, emotional intelligence, change management, teamwork, and different power relations in the capitalist system. Meanwhile, these teachings and other relevant Dhamma values and skills such as wholesomeness, cooperation, compassion, loving kindness, interconnectedness and not-self may contradict with contemporary work values and systems, especially those influenced by capitalism.

Workers carry with them personal and social values and beliefs into the workplace, and they then are socialised into their work organisation, work roles and values which might not correspond with their own. Workers are preached to constantly improve their attitudes and capacity for work instead of being critical, making changes or adjusting to their work and workplace conditions and environment through insight gained from mindfulness.

Although some occupations are considered immoral and are discouraged, workers may make that choice to accommodate their economic needs. General work activities and culture are not inherently immoral but may not promote workers' interests and well-being, and may in fact promote workers' greed, hatred and ignorance.

All these teachings advise workers what to do but do not offer examples of what have happened.

2) What are the strategies used to integrate mindfulness skills into the work process?

The references emphasises working mindfully and engagingly by following Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration of the Eightfold Path. Mindfulness is the 7th factor of the Eightfold Path. Phra Mahachaloem Piyathatsi (Lupin, 2012, June 30a) clarified that Right Mindfulness if continuously developed leads to Right Concentration, which is useful in working. Practitioners can choose from a wide range of concentration techniques.

Concentration Meditation

Thanissaro Bhikkhu (2013) mentioned some important skills for meditation to concentrate on work and destroying distractions, changing affective attitude such as anger, and problem solving:

> focus the mind on one thing and to withstand any temptation to let it go. This is an important skill you need whatever your work is. If you can concentrate on your work and don't

let the distractions get in your way, work gets done and it gets done properly. It's a solid piece of work, and not just little bits and pieces that happen to be thrown together, because there's a continuity. And when you learn how to focus on one thing like this, when you focus in on the breath, it changes your attitude toward the other thoughts that come into the mind.

When you are angry 'breathe through the patterns of tension in the body. It's an important skill…while you're out working…'

It's like being an expert carpenter. You've got various ways of approaching the problems that arise in the mind. You realize that there are all kinds of problems and there are many ways of dealing with them…through your own powers of observation, you discover which ways work for you, which ways get the right results for you: That's called having a full tool box, with a wide range of tools. And when you have those tools at hand, you can stay anywhere. You can stay in a monastery, you can stay in a hospital, you can stay at work, at home, in this country, in another country, this world, the next world, this life, the next. The tools stay with you once you've developed them.

Bogoda (2013) uses concentration meditation to reduce stress:

One can also reduce stress by forming good work habits. One should confine oneself to doing one thing at a time. One should keep work and leisure separate. One should work in a relaxed frame of mind…

Hanh (1987) (although in a Zen tradition, the teaching here is consistent with Theravada) suggested the idea of working for the sake of the work and work in the present moment. He gave the example of washing the dishes to wash the dishes instead of focussing on the goal of getting the dishes cleaned.

Insight Meditation

None of these teachings here relate insight meditation to work when it is the practice for wisdom.

Contemplation

In Mahanama Sutta: To Mahanama (2) (Access to Insight, 2013d), the Buddha preached to Mahamana to recollect the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, own virtues, own generosity and the devas while working (Access to Insight, 2013d) so that 'his mind is not overcome with passion, not overcome with aversion, not overcome with delusion. His mind heads straight' based on these elements and 'gains a sense of the goal, gains a sense of the Dhamma, gains joy connected with the Dhamma. In one who is joyful, rapture arises. In one who is rapturous, the body grows calm. One whose body is calmed experiences ease. In one at ease, the mind becomes concentrated' (Access to Insight, 2013d).

In stress regulation, mindfulness and Dhamma are used widely. Bogoda (2013) suggested one should see into reality:

transient phenomena, dependently arisen through conditions. He should reflect upon them in terms of the three characteristics — as impermanent, unsatisfactory, and without a self. Doing so will help to reduce the investment of self-concern in these phenomena, and thereby will reduce the craving and attachment for them. He should also avoid anger, anxiety, and pride — the thoughts of "me" and "mine" — since such emotions are productive of stress and strain.

There are a few other disciplines Bogoda (2013) added: following the Five Precepts, sense control, meditation, cultivating the four sublime attitudes and a sense of priorities for wholesome life.

Although the teachings here suggested how to practise mindfulness while working – practising meditation and contemplation – they simply project a possibility of improving concentration and self-regulation by following the Dhamma. Actual situations and examples in the workplace are not provided. Mindfulness itself, without morality, can be supportive of any activity that requires concentration and problem solving using these strategies which are increasingly used in secular mindfulness. Despite being mindful of their work, their actions may still be rooted in hatred, greed and delusion depending on what they meditate and contemplate on. If the object is unsatisfactory, mindfulness is used as a coping mechanism.

3) How to reconstruct meanings of work?

Wisdom used to reconstruct meaning is a realisation of the Dhamma – the Three Marks of Existence (Weerayut note, 2012) within the Right View/Understanding and Right Intention/Aspiration of the Eightfold Path. The strategies to realise wisdom were given previously – starting with concentration, and development of insight and contemplation on Right View and Right Intention. Ngamchitcharoen (2009) related this teaching to work, not to work recklessly because nothing is certain and may be beyond control.

In a commentary on Pride and Conceit, Ashby and Fawcett said that it is no harm to have Conceit when one accomplishes work. Yet 'Superiority Conceit' - 'one's skill is superior in a single instance that one is therefore a better person' - is 'akusala — unhealthy and unskilled, highly dangerous in its results' (Ashby & Fawcett, 2013). Ashby and Fawcett suggested that one should recognize Conceit, and reflect on Right Understanding and Right Aspiration to remove Conceit. Similarly, self-esteem in pride is 'the conviction of superiority over others — the feeling that we are what they are not, or that we can do what they cannot do' (Ashby & Fawcett, 2013). Ambition that is rooted in self-esteem and worldly success measured by wealth is wrong. On the other hand, ambition is 'the will to succeed, not for the gratification of self-esteem, but to further achievement for its own sake' (Ashby & Fawcett, 2013). They suggested to use

'Reason — calm reflection — Meditation' to see into reality (Ashby & Fawcett, 2013).

Another reference to Right View is in Bhikkhu Bodhi's (2010) commentary on vision and repetitive routine in Buddhist Eightfold Path that is related to work. Vision is Right View. These two factors are contrary but work in a recursive manner. Vision affords change and routine leads to stability. He noted, 'If we are bound to a repetitive cycle of work that deprives us of our freedom to inquire and understand, we soon bog down, crippled by the chains of routine. If we are spurred to act by elevating ideals but lack the discipline to implement them, eventually we find ourselves wallowing in dreams or exhausting our energies on frivolous pursuits'.

Another teaching under Right Intention is to work Compassionately, Joyfully and Patiently by Practicing the Four Sublime States of Mind. These attitudes are contemplations on love or loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic/altruistic joy and equanimity (Nyanaponika Thera, 2013). Bogoda (2013) said this reduce stress, increase 'interpersonal relationships at home and in the workplace, promote racial accord and amity, help in the development of an even mind, and increase calm and inner peace'. Thanissaro Bhukkhu (2013) suggested that we contemplate on the sublime attitudes. Equanimity teaches us patience for work: '...When you're willing to admit what the situation actually is, then you can actually act more effectively with it' (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2013).

Procedurally, Phra Promote (Watsuansantidham, 2013) said that once we know and are aware of states or conditions of our body and mind then wisdom arises and we see into reality of the body and the mind, see the Four Noble Truths. Once we see suffering in body and mind, we can abstain from craving. Similarly, Ngamchitcharoen (2009, p. 423) noted that wisdom makes us know what we should do and what we should not do…so that we do not break the precepts. Wisdom makes us understand problems of causes of distraction. Once we understand and solve the problem, concentration will arise. He explained that the Threefold Training and the Eightfold Path are used to solve problems that cause suffering by using concentration and wisdom to contemplate on the reality of that problem similar to contemplating the Three Marks of Existence. After contemplation, the suffering will be reduced.

Overall, the explanations of wisdom above are open to interpretation and reconstruction of meanings of work because the references do not respond to, for example, conflicting values, and practices in the work process and worklife is absent from the referred teachings but may exist by drawing on other Dhamma discourses and experiences of workers who are mindfulness practitioners. If wisdom is the realisation of the Dhamma, workers should be able to realise when and to what extent they should be compassionate, and also be competitive in doing their work, ensuring that it is rooted in mindfulness and Dhamma. As Hall & Buttram (1994) put it 'our lives are inextricably bound to the activities and roles of the world's labor force' (p. xviii), would this statement not correspond to not-self (or interconnectedness)? If they are not in employment, wisdom should help them decide on the types of jobs and work they could and should do.

Reconstructing meanings of work with wisdom is how we frame our mind and see the nature of our work, that our work involves certain suffering, impermanence and not-self / interconnectedness, but we can also train our mind to properly responds to work situations, and extend compassion and loving-kindness to ourselves, our work and other people in the workplace.

Conclusion

This paper extracts references of work in Buddhist Dhamma by mindfulness teachers, trainers and monks that workers might learn from in their social lives in the Buddhist tradition to frame their work. While meaning is a subjective first person point of view, in this paper it is informed by wisdom in the Theravada Buddhist notion of seeing into reality of the phenomenon as in Right View, and extending compassion to all things as in Right Intention. Findings show that teachings of wisdom with reference to insight meditation and work are lacking. The referred Buddhist teachings focus on Buddhist values, moral virtues, good conduct, and barely, concentration. They are straightforwardly taken from the code of conduct that is applicable to improve work performance. To a lower degree, the teachings touch on mindfulness practices in the workplace. The references offer no examples on how workers integrate mindfulness into the work process and worklife. I agree that practising good conduct makes practitioners more skillful in in their mindfulness practice in the work process and worklife, but Buddhist mindfulness teachers hardly address the contradictions but complementarity of mindfulness virtues to work. The explanation on how to reconstruct the meaning of work is incomplete because it is conceptual and theoretical, but not practical and actual. The relations between mindfulness and work established by this selected explanations are problematic because they assume work to be a good activity without mentioning work politics and challenges, and merely teach workers to be receptive to them when work may contradict with virtues.

This paper does not aim to address all the pitfalls of mindfulness teachings presented, and does not cover all aspects of the relations between mindfulness learning and work. My contribution to the questions asked, though incomplete, offers direction for mindfulness teaching and training in practical applications and for future research. Organisational leaders and policy makers may find this useful for improving work socialisation. Buddhist teachers may consider increasing relevance of work to their mindfulness teachings by relating all aspects of mindfulness from morality and good conduct, meditation and contemplation, and wisdom to actual work situations, contexts and challenges to exemplify how to reconstruct the meaning of work. Researchers may study workers' actions at, reactions to and perceptions of their work as a result of practising mindfulness from

different resources of learning. These possible changes in training and learning for reconstructing meaning of work could improve workers' work experience.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Weaving Quilts and Building Community: Study Circles to Reimagine Women's Spaces/Places in Adult Literacy

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ABSTRACT

This paper builds on earlier work by the authors that described a culturally responsive, democratic space created for women at two adult literacy community based programs in South Brooklyn, NY and Chicago, IL. Critical race theory and womanism, informed by a liberatory education framework, provided a structure for interactive dialogues about race, culture, trauma and teaching within these contexts. Utilizing the philosophical and pedagogical implications that emerged from the first study, the authors discuss the development of a study circle guide - integrating theory, practice and self-reflection - for adult literacy community based practitioners.

Introduction

> I needed this bad. Your mind can't get on school when you have so many problems in your house. The group helped me relieve the anger, the tears and the frustration in my life.
> (Rose Marie, former student at The Open Book)

> It [the women's group] helped me a whole lot because the things and the way I used to think, I just don't think like that… I'm not the same person that I used to be…And what I like now, is that I love me a little bit more now than I ever did.
> (Dora, Literacy Chicago student)

With a student body of primarily women, there was a strong sense of community and commitment to student-involvement in decision-making at both The Open Book, a community literacy program in South Brooklyn, NY and Literacy Chicago, located in downtown Chicago. In our earlier work, we found that nurturing sustainable women's spaces in programs, consciously building community within learning environments, and supporting authentic and participatory democratic practices were critical aspects of liberatory

education (Jones, 2012; Ramdeholl, 2011; Jones & Ramdeholl, 2014).

The development of a study circle guide was aligned with larger goals that encouraged women-centered programming and dialogue around issues of culture, ethnicity/race, power and privilege. Based on findings of the first paper, students were clearly articulating theories of adult education and these suggested a guide for practitioners in which students could author new knowledges that the field could learn from. In many adult literacy programs in New York City, women of color make up the majority of students, and yet, this doesn't reflect the curriculum in programs; there is a shortage of culturally relevant education (Peterson, personal conversation, 2008). Consequently, this study circle guide was envisioned as an effort to provide a counternarrative to the dearth of material that addresses women's complex lived realities, almost none of which concentrates on issues of collective trauma and how it is inexorably linked to race and gender.

Study circles and the concept of participatory democracy are intimately connected with liberatory visions of education rooted in grassroots change where education is responsive to issues in the community (Freire, 1970). Study circles have historically been connected to various levels of community, institutional, and policy change. One of the main principles of study circles is that space is made for everyone's participation and engagement. There is also support for participant articulation and exploration of issues in response to the needs of the community. Study circles are intrinsically tied to a more participatory democratic community (Study Circle Resource Center, 2005).

As critical educators, we saw a connection between the study circle rationale and liberatory education. Study circles offer a "bottom up" approach of voices being heard. The participatory nature of this process honors participants as organic intellectuals with important things to say about their

world (Gramsci, 1971). We hoped to encourage and support alternative perspectives that honored the voices/knowledge/power of adult learners. We envisioned study circles as representing a small group democracy in action, a vehicle for people to work on addressing collective change through honoring popular knowledge (Study Circle Resource Center, 2005). We were practicing co-intentional education (Freire, 1985).

Fanon (1952) says, when the colonized revolt it's not for a particular culture but simply because, for a variety of reasons, they can no longer breathe. This speaks directly to the ways in which trauma was framed in this study. We, the researchers, defined trauma as a daily psychic assault in which one continues to be absent from policies, from dominant images of beauty, from society's central conversations concerning care or wellbeing. Trauma is when one is increasingly invisible by all of society's dominant standards, forcing groups to slowly recede further and further away from the center where they end up crouching in the margins. Fanon (1952) adds that his hope was to recognize the colonized with the open door of every consciousness.

In this country, people of color, live out the realities of the colonized. From Ferguson to New York to almost anywhere, to be a person of color is to be a problem. After 9/11, Islamophobia ran unchecked and, sanctioned by the state, continues today (Kelley, 2014). Blackness is criminalized and after Ferguson, narrative after wrenching narrative surfaced of trauma and feeling hunted by the state. Symptoms of PTSD were described to us by many students in adult literacy classrooms, yet they were completely unaware of such a condition and the causes, just the symptoms.

As researchers, we agree with Freire that without dialogue there is no real communication or true education (Freire, 1970). Our plan to disseminate the study circle guide to community based adult literacy practitioners in New York City is aligned with this broader commitment to facilitating conversations. It also provides an opportunity to (a) document strategies that honor the diversity that informs knowledge-building in women-centered contexts, (b) illuminate culturally and emotionally responsive learning practices that are trauma-informed and (c) foster grounded theorizing that is embedded in the lives and frameworks of women who are traditionally marginalized.

Purpose and Research Questions

Participants' definition of trauma mirrored Fanon's as individual/collective and socially constructed by colonialism's horrors and other oppressions; emerging from psychic assaults of institutionalized inequities (Fanon, 1952). The purpose of this study was to document practices cited by the participants in order to support a sustainable dialogue centered on fostering democratic spaces.

1. How can the principles embedded in women's spaces and womanist education at the Open Book and Literacy Chicago be used to impact larger practices in the adult literacy field?

2. How can the experiences of adult literacy practitioners and students be used to support more critically conscious, aware and participatory educational practices?

Theoretical Framework

Both The Open Book and Literacy Chicago represented a critique of the dominant ideology. In honoring this, critical theory/liberatory education/critical race theory were the theoretical lens in which this project was grounded. Brookfield (2005) states, through critical theory, we can discern how the ethic of capitalism pushes people into dehumanizing ways of living.

From its inception, Critical Race Theory (CRT) has challenged liberalism as a falsity, a way of duping the masses into believing that racism no longer exists as the oppressing force it once did for people of color. Derrick Bell, considered the father of CRT, used stories and allegories to illustrate the insidious nature of racism and how racial inequalities are only addressed to the extent that white interests are also served. Bell (1992) used the term "interest convergence" to explain how legislation that on the surface appeared to open doors for people of color benefited white interests even more. CRT acknowledges and honors that the insidious nature of racism is only revealed when people of color tell their experiences. It is the unique voices of people of color that provide the stories and counter stories that contradict the liberal, colorblind, majoritarian discourse (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002).

This study was also informed by womanism and ways in which female students at The Open Book and Literacy Chicago shaped the culture of the program by bringing issues to the fore and informing pedagogy (Davis, 1983; Sissel & Sheared, 2001; Johnson-Bailey, 2003). Womanism emphasizes the multiple, interlocking realities that shape the lives of women of color in America (Collins, 2000; hooks, 2000) and challenges feminist perspectives that have traditionally failed to address issues of white supremacy and privilege. Womanism also acknowledges the history of enslavement, colonization and oppression that helped to define the experiences of women of color in the United States and globally, and is committed to using this lived experience as a foundation for theory and action (Sheared, 1999).

Research Design

Oral histories, honoring locally constructed knowledge were used to chronicle the women's stories. Participants could now be actors in a historical script they had authored (Thompson, 2000; Gluck & Patai, 1991). Oral histories offer people opportunities to author scripts (Thompson, 2000). Opening up spaces to recover experiences of the silenced can offer new ways of understanding histories of oppressed groups and access powerful opportunities of possibility. Unpacking whose knowledge and voices ultimately prevail

in the dominant culture can lead to radical questioning of knowledge production in our society. Coles (1989) reminds us that stories are all we carry in our journeys, and we owe it to each other to honor and learn from them. In a marginalized field like adult literacy, oral histories can support learners and literacy workers in understanding the critical importance of their experiences. By telling and re-telling their stories people can understand the complexities of their lived realities which are too often excluded from debate. But as Slim and Thompson (1995) caution, words can change lives, but only if people can be persuaded to listen and act. By honoring community constructed knowledge, oral histories can support democratizing education and society, offering critiques of dominant ideologies that perpetuate legacies of interlocking oppressions (Slim and Thompson, 1995). In chronicling these counter-narratives, we were aware that even though we strove to be meticulous, something was lost by putting people's words on paper. Slim and Thompson (1995) remind us that meanings exist not simply in words but in the spaces between each word, in the silences, the hesitations, in the emphasis, inflection, and intonation. Though lovingly transcribed, once each word touched the paper, we were aware that its meaning was being injured.

The study circle guide was also grounded in autoethnographies. As women of color, we included our experiences with collective trauma. While we acknowledge our privilege compared to students, there were definite connections. As women of color, it is impossible to be part of this world without having experienced trauma. From one of the researchers, being stopped and having her bags searched numerous times by police after 9/11 (because, though unacknowledged, rampant Islamophobia runs unchecked in the USA), to being called a terrorist and told to go home (while walking on the street where she lived) to being questioned if she was really a faculty member in class because she didn't look the part, or when a waitress refused to serve her in a restaurant in West Virginia. These experiences and micro-aggressions pile up leaving psychic scars and debris in one's consciousness. The result is a constant self-questioning, a racialized ruminating that takes up psychic space and can wreak havoc on the physical self.

While these experiences are different from students' we thought it important to include in the study circle guide because as people of color who have faced intersectional oppressions, our starting point in these conversations is different and that needed to be acknowledged. Ellis & Bochner (2000) point out that autoethnographies honor the researchers' experiences as a topic of investigation in its own right, providing, as a methodology, a space and form for readers to think with a story instead of about it; to feel the moral dilemmas and actively join in the decision points. Ellis (2004) says, in this form, one can work and write in the spaces between subjectivity and objectivity, passion and intellect, autobiography and culture, primarily to understand a life lived in a cultural context. Behar (2001) speaks poignantly to the importance of vulnerability in autoethnography. This method supported us in moving fluidly from personal to cultural

analysis and back again. One reason this topic resonated deeply with us is because we also understood the psychic cost/toll of invisibility and the pain of collective trauma.

Elements of Collaborative Inquiry (CI) are also found in this research. CI offers a rich, engaging way for participants with a shared experience to explore, reflect on and analyze their perspectives and insights as co-researchers. Since the people collecting the data are also the ones from whom the data is being collected, CI offers a systematic structure for learning from experience, alternating between cycles of reflection and action (Kasl and Yorks, 2002; Heron and Reason, 2001).

The two researchers in this study consisted of one professor (Indian/British/Tibetan) and one adult literacy program director (African American). Both work in public university settings. Both have earned doctorates (one in adult education and one in the field of social work). Data was gathered and analyzed individually and collectively in a cyclical (repetitive) process similar to the process described by Kasl and Yorks (2002) in which co-researchers engaged in regular discussions, explored emergent ideas, identified salient themes, and analyzed data, probing their individual/ collective consciousness as a way of reaching deeper understanding. This commitment to honest and authentic inquiry grew stronger with each conversation.

Findings
Through our work in the field, we learned that women must be visible and their voices heard if they are to be transformed as subjects of experiences. In many cases, this voice will be "polyrhythmic" and/or "polyvocal" since it will have to be framed "within a sociocultural, political and historical context" (Sheared, 1999, p.36) and come from a variety of social locations (Brewer, 1993). In addition, we cannot underestimate the importance of providing opportunities for women to talk openly about issues of trauma, especially traumas that are bound to their experiences as marginalized women of color (Horsman, 1999; 2002; Morrish, 2002). Fanon (1952) says in the world in which he travels, he's always recreating himself. This speaks to a kind of agency; an ability to remake oneself in the midst of tremendous adversity. This is what adult literacy students (and other people of color) have been doing for as long as they remember. Study circle guides in which topics of relevance to their lives are unpacked are essential if people are to feel and experience the difference of reconceptualizing who they are in this world.

Below is a sample activity from our study circle guide to support concretizing this discussion. It has been developed to help practitioners become better informed about the intersection of trauma, culture, and education, and to cultivate a greater understanding of the experiences through which they might frame notions of "trauma."

Acknowledging & Reflecting Upon Issues of Trauma

With practitioners, as a group, come up with a list of challenges and strategies to providing culturally relevant education with students?

What is one word we think of when the word trauma is mentioned?

How do we define trauma and in what ways do we see manifestations of this in our work with students in our classrooms?

Record on newsprint. Discuss anything that resonated with the group.

Read Horsman's (2002) Literacy learning for survivors of trauma: Acting "normal," *and discuss (a) one point that resonated for you, (b) one question you have and (c) one thing you'd like to learn more about.*

In what ways might this piece inform your pedagogy? Keep these questions in mind:

-Why think about issues of trauma if students are there to increase their reading and writing proficiency?

-Is culturally relevant education a goal of adult education? What about students who just want to "stick with the worksheets?"

-How can we teach about trauma while being cognizant of the possibility of triggering?

Through open and guided reflection on their experiences, the research literature and strategies for application, practitioners are encouraged to build a deeper understanding of how issues of trauma interface in their lives and the lives of students. The discussion also encourages educators to think critically about classroom practices in order to build trauma-informed learning contexts that do not work to re-traumatize students.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

More attention to supporting and sustaining women's groups and womanist principles in adult literacy programs (and curricula) is necessary. For students who have been living in varying degrees of invisibility their entire lives, pedagogy that is centered around their wholeness, their humanity, their dreams and hopes, is not only recommended, it is essential in terms of undoing years of damage. Adult learners, in general, enter programs facing a myriad of challenges and traumas that often have a direct impact on their ability to engage with the educational process (Isserlis, 2008). Creating spaces and places where students can begin – with appropriate supports – to unpack their multilayered experiences, provides necessary opportunities for learning and growth (Mojab & McDonald, 2001).

Interdisciplinary, participatory curricular work also creates opportunities for collaboration across academic communities – adult educators linking with social work practitioners, anthropologists, social policy theorists – which can strengthen the field's theoretical and research bases. There are academics and activists from other fields writing in critical and thoughtful ways about issues of oppression. For example, Robin Kelley (2002) addresses identity and resistance through the lens of history and critical studies, which illuminates connections between enslavement/colonization, collective traumatization and culturally informed strategies of survival. These perspectives are important because they are multidimensional and fittingly complicate the discipline-centered understandings in which we often become comfortably enmeshed.

In his powerful text, Fanon (1952) poses the question: "Inferiority? Superiority? Why not simply try to touch the other, feel the other, discover each other?" The notion of the study circle is aligned with this idea of discovery and connection across diversity and difference. Through reflection, analysis and action, learners and practitioners weave a community that is informed by their experiences and their capacities to grow. Through this study circle guide we reject the othering of adult literacy students and honor their right to be treated as subjects of their education, their communities, and in society.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

Democratizing Online Learning for and with Adult Learners

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ABSTRACT

The authors are conducting a critical case study to examine challenges and possibilities of democratizing the online learning experience for students in a master's program in adult learning. Utilizing Brookfield's critical incident questionnaire for analysis, they will work with two students to explore the qualities of democratic student participation in three core courses of the program that the students have completed. Authors are prepared to begin soon the process of data collection from two focus-group sessions with the students and an online written discussion with them between the sessions. Students will have access to the non-term versions of the three courses for their review between the sessions.

Introduction

Usually one thinks of democracy as shaping products and processes together. Yet in online teaching/learning environments, students enter a space that has already been pre-built. So from the very beginning, there's a dilemma regarding democratic processes. The software of course delivery system has its set format, and the instructor faces limits on what can be done to create a learning community with students' meaningful participation. Critical educators must find ways to foster democratic learning despite the limits that come with an online format.

The three researchers of this study teach in the same Master of Arts in Adult Learning program. We are all committed to critical pedagogy and have all practiced popular education but are situated in a fully online program, with no built in opportunities for face to face instruction (though we would prefer some version of blended/hybrid online/face to face model). We share a desire and commitment to design our online courses in more democratic ways. We do not believe that an online course can be everything that an in-person or blended course can be, but we want to create the best possible democratic learning environments in the online environment. We want to nurture elements of criticality

that will support questioning of assumptions embedded in one's worldview, and more critical readings of the purposes and processes of education.

We perceive true limits of online learning environments for democratized learning. Asynchronous discussions are convenient for students who are adults with jobs and families, but there is a loss when a group cannot communicate spontaneously in the same physical space. The emotions on facial expressions and from voice inflections can never show up in the words on a page. The embodied nature of the connection is diminished and diluted. If education is meant to include both the head and the heart, some of the connections between the two are missing. Synchronous sessions can capture human voices and show faces, but they cannot show the full body language of direct eye contact, posture, and gestures. Even though synchronous meetings allow people to "raise hands" to speak, there is no way to see the emotions of the person awaiting her/his turn. Meaningful learning involves not only discipline but also passion, and emotions simply cannot come across in an online environment the way they can in an in-person classroom. A democratized classroom involves students in important decisions regarding curriculum and instruction. It involves unpacking tensions and dilemmas that are necessarily challenging in developing shared understandings and working agreements of what certain spaces can look like. The debates that precede democratic decisions often must involve emotional expressions, and a virtual meeting can never fully substitute for the dynamics that are present in a lively classroom.

Critical online educators can and must see the possibilities in online learning as well. The asynchronous discussions allow for democratized learning in the sense that everyone can have equal access to input, regardless of where one stands on the introvert-extrovert spectrum. Each utterance has no limit to the number of words, and there is no rush to fill awkward silences. The potential for in-depth deliberate

discussion is quite high. The synchronous meetings, too, can invite a democratic learning experience. Everyone virtually can raise a hand and wait to talk in a way that is similar to a classroom setting. The moderator can give moderator privilege to others, inviting anyone to share a document or video clip that all can see and discuss instantly. There can even be virtual breakout rooms that allow for small groups to hold separate discussions. Participants can join a session from the comfort of their homes instead of having to travel, which can mean more energetic involvement. Clearly, there are some advantages to online learning, even with regard to creating a democratic learning community.

Literature Review
Critical theory and democracy

Critical theory guided our study as we were attempting to unpack issues regarding power, space, and voice among students in the program. It should be noted that the students in the program (and at ESC, at large) are primarily working class, older students for whom, education was by in large a challenge in their earlier years. While this doesn't define all the students, the majority of the students have had a complicated, often painful narrative regarding prior educational experiences. Critical theory unpacks issues of power as they relate to the oppression and marginalization of groups (Brookfield, 2005; Freire, 1970; Heaney, 2014) critique of the dominant ideology. Giroux (2001) states one aspect of that dominant ideology penalizes and alienates its most vulnerable ….in part because it is inscribed in the ideology of domination. In such a culture, space to address social inequities, structures of domination and multiple oppressions are obliterated (Luttrell, 1997). Because the researchers believe in and practice popular education, questions of democracy are at the heart of our practice. Our philosophies, grounded in Paulo Freire, Myles Horton, and other popular educators views education as a development of an exchange around student ideas about what is happening in their communities and society at large. This thinking informs our pedagogy which is focused on taking what students articulated and developing themes/units around those issues.

Freire's approach (1970) essentially articulated the premise that people's collective issues were the foundation for building knowledge and skills which opened up the possibility of collective social action for change. Participatory models establish a space that honors students as producers of valuable knowledge. In this paradigm it is possible for people to realize that their circumstances are not the result of individual shortcomings but instead can be attributed to larger socio-political realities that support structuralized racism, oppression, and other inequities (Allman, 2001). This can lead to scrutinizing whose agendas and interests currently get privileged and who benefits. Heaney (2000) echoes the importance of collectivity by pointing out that in our society poor people are marginalized and ignored in a myriad of ways and the only real power they have to effect change is through numbers. Brookfield (2005; Purcell-Gates,

2000) are among those who have argued that Freire's work has tremendous relevance in an American context and that capitalism, pushes people into dehumanizing ways of living and being in the world, ultimately resulting in profound suffering and alienation which ultimately, perpetuating and maintaining a human underclass (Stuckey, 1991). Freire (1970) points out that the solution is not to integrate the oppressed into the current structures of oppression but to transform that structure (p. 74).

Freire (1970) argued that education can never be neutral; it either challenges or reinforces existing social structures Phyllis Cunningham (Personal communication, February 11, 2005) points out, if as a society, we're to hold any hope of a democratic, more equitable future we must be able to facilitate the right of those voices and perspectives that have been marginalized or ignored to gain meaningful access and have a seat at the decision-making table. This is what embodying democracy can look like. This is what we strive for in our practice.

Critical theory therefore guided this study because it speaks to the multiple ways in which capitalism produces and reproduces relations of domination and subordination (Brookfield, 2005).

Political Economy of Online Education

Online education does not exist in an apolitical vacuum. It is growing because there are vested political and economic interests in its growth. From small-scale modules to MOOCs (massive open online courses), online- instruction programs are moving from being mere tools to taking on lives of their own. Educators cannot understand the meaning of this transformation without a critical inquiry into the political-economic context in which online education thrives. It is also important to consider how online instruction fits into narrow interests with regard to curriculum theory.

Neoliberalism and education. Globalized capitalism is powered by the mass fortunes collected by multinational corporations with the help of the ideology of neoliberalism. The tenets of neoliberalism are privatization of public goods, deregulation of markets, and sharp reduction in governmental social services. Naomi Klein (2007) has identified the successful US economic intervention that toppled Chile's democratically-elected socialist president Salvador Allende in 1973 as the historic turning point that ushered in global neoliberal policies inspired by Milton Friedman. Klein likened neoliberalism to 'disaster capitalism', citing numerous examples in which multinational corporations, many of which have headquarters and many affluent investors in the US, have teamed with both powerful and cash-starved governments to fabricate disasters or to take advantage of natural disasters in order to manipulate the political-economic outcomes.

Neoliberalism is the descendant of economic liberalism of the 19th century. Liberalism marked the triumph of Adam Smith's competitive capitalism over long-held

economic powers of church, monarchies, and aristocracies. Neoliberalism is marking the current triumph of unfettered global capitalism over the struggling vestiges of Keynesian economics. At stake is democracy. Noam Chomsky (2003) has spelled this out:

> Just how diminished the public arena should be is a matter of debate. Neoliberal initiatives of the past thirty years have been designed to restrict it, leaving basic decision-making within largely unaccountable private tyrannies, linked closely to one another and to a few powerful states. Democracy can then survive, but in sharply reduced form. (p. 6)

The discourse of globalization needs to expose euphemisms such as "free markets," "free trade agreements," and "free enterprise." Neoliberalism creates more freedom for corporate greed to have its way in a global race to the bottom for minimal levels of wages, worker benefits, and environmental regulations. It takes away freedoms of sovereign nations and indigenous communities to create their own political and economic destinies as they fold under the pressures of demands from policies of the World Trade Organization and from loans with austerity attachments from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Elections still happen in many of these nations, but campaigns receive the bulk of their funding from affluent corporations and individuals. Even in the US, citizens either vote for one of two major neoliberal parties or else risk giving a vote to a "spoiler" third party.

Democracy is much more than voting, though, and education for democracy is much more than memorizing facts from textbooks in high school and college. If young people learn the deep value of participatory democracy, they will more likely become and remain active citizens who can investigate whether neoliberalism is democratic, sustainable, and humane. Critical educators need to find new visions and new expressions for building an educational front against the neoliberal world order and for a new direction of social justice. Freire (1998), in one of his last writings, stated eloquently how there is only hope in a struggle:

> It is my hope that the world will get over its fascination with the end of communism and with the fall of the Berlin wall. And thus remake itself so as to refuse the dictatorship of the marketplace, founded as it is on the perverse ethic of profit.   (pp. 114-115)

To recognize neoliberalism as a dictatorship is the beginning of building a resistance movement. Educators have played important roles in historic social movements, and they can do so again.

There are numerous education researchers who, in Freire's legacy, have called on educators to resist neoliberalism by practicing a radical democracy in classrooms and other settings (Allman, Mayo, & Cavanaugh, 1998; Giroux, 2013;

Lipman, 2012; McLaren, 2003). This struggle, in order to be effective and sustainable, must not aim to place class analysis in the center while de-emphasizing race, gender, and disabilities (Dumas, 2013; Liasidou, 2012). The neoliberal ideology would like everyone to believe that we are living in post-racial, post-feminist times in which the marketplace will solve all equity issues in a meritocracy. Critical educators need to examine in an ongoing fashion how the different sites of privilege and oppression have borders and intersections.

When a class meets together in-person in a classroom, there is not much mystery in how the instructor and students each carry specific representations of race and gender. Perhaps the clothes they wear give a clue to one's social class, but nobody likely wants to reveal too much in that regard. The online classroom is quite different, though. Each individual can choose whether to post a photo, so one's race can be hidden. If someone has a gender-ambiguous first name, the person's sex can be unknown. Nobody has to decide what to wear for others to see, so there is no window into the person's social class based on attire. For better or worse, the online learning environment allows each individual a kind of privacy that is not available to those in a classroom. The online format creates both challenges and possibilities for democratizing the learning community, and it helps to view these effects in the context of curriculum theory.

Online education for efficiency. Online education exists within a landscape of competing curriculum ideologies. Michael S. Shiro (2013) has presented four such ideologies. The *scholar academic* ideology emphasizes instructor expertise in teaching an academic discipline. The social efficiency ideology upholds the value of preparing students to function in the 'real world'. The *learner centered* ideology favors a process that honors students' knowledge from experience and that fosters learning by inquiry-based discovery. The *social reconstruction* ideology gives central focus to empowering educators and students toward becoming change agents for social justice. Where does online education fit within this schema?

Some of the literature on this question brings a critical view on how online learning fits with the social efficiency ideology (Mirrlees & Alvi, 2014; Smith & Jeffery, 2013). Online course delivery evokes common sense for efficiency on individual and institutional levels. Individual students appreciate the convenience of being able to interact and study from home, often with flexible hours. Institutions of higher education can contain costs while reaching more students without geographic limits. Even K-12 schools have found their way into more online instruction, with a for-profit charter company called K12 Inc. leading the way (Ravitch, 2013). It only seems logical that education for the workforce of the 21st century should use the communication technologies that have become ubiquitous in the world of business. To question this invites the criticism of being a Luddite. Critical educators face the challenge of democratizing online learning, which is situated in a top-down efficiency model for the purpose of perpetuating the

neoliberal order of institutions and society. The advocates of Shiro's scholar academic ideology, which is congruent with the Freire's (2000) banking model of miseducation, will only find caution with online learning if they perceive problems with the lecture-style teaching of any particular academic discipline. How can online education be reshaped to connect with the more Freirian ideologies of student-centeredness and social reconstruction?

Challenges of democratic online learning. Power is incredibly complex and multilayered (Freire, 1970; West, 2004; Brookfield, 2005). To claim otherwise is naive and disingenuous. There have been claims that online education have leveled the playing field. Many argue otherwise, claiming that online education was conceived as a primarily profit driven effort. The dynamics of power don't disappear because the forum has changed. They dynamics of power gets reconfigured but is still present. As faculty, we evaluate and grade students. We have the power to pass and fail students so this already stacks the playing field in ways that place students at t a disadvantage. Students may see any attempt to democratize landscapes as a hypocrytical sham because we grade their every word. Who speaks and how often in online forums? What gets considered a stellar response? Who ultimately succeeds in online environments? Many of the standard tools for educational success are also at play in an online environment. How deeply and critically one reads and shows evidence of critically unpacking this, how proficiently one responds are all judged and evaluated by instructors. So, while online education can open up some space in terms of giving students a longer time to craft responses, more agency in pacing, etc., ultimately, a very general rule is that the rules of academic success don't entirely disappear. If one has tools to be successful in a traditional face to face classroom, they will also tend to be successful in this forum. If students struggle with reading and writing proficiencies, those struggles will make themselves known in the online forum.

Another struggle in online learning is that students need to be disciplined and organized to be successful. No one forces them to participate, but they are graded on their participation. If they don't respond, they will end up with a lower grade. This is entirely at odds with a truly democratic learning environment.

Yet another struggle in online landscapes is the raced, gendered, classed aspects and how those get played out. To argue these disappear is false and naive. The educational system students travel through is both uneven and unfair (Ramdeholl, 2012; Peterson, personal conversation, 2008; Shor, 1996; hooks, 2001). How articulately students respond, how well they write, how skilled they are at navigating the landscapes of online environments all speak to the kinds of education they had access to. This speaks to their socio-economic circumstances and one cannot speak to class without speaking to race because the two are inexorably intertwined (Ladson Billings, 2000; Shor, 1996, Ramdeholl, 2012). Also, if a student's current circumstances

are precarious (again, speaking directly to class and race), their chances of succeeding are greatly diminished.

Possibilities for democratic online learning. It is important that critical educators find examples already existing for democratized online learning and that they challenge each other with critical questions. How can an instructor provide students with choices regarding what to learn and how? How can grading take place within authentic assessments that utilize peer- and self-evaluations? How can discussions, whether synchronous or asynchronous, provide an inviting atmosphere that encourages rather than coerces participation? How can online instructors bring the tough questions of race, gender, and class into discussions that are as lively and thoughtful as they would be in a face-to-face setting?

Shalni Gulati (2008) has challenged online instructors of adult learners to leave behind the all-too-common linear module involving three steps: 1) input from course design with lectures and assigned readings, 2) process in activities such as individual reading and asynchronous discussion, and 3) output in the form of an essay or project. She has invited us instead to imagine how online learning can follow the philosophy of constructivism. Her model does not completely dismantle the linear process, but it does open it to a more student-centered place where students consider how they create their own knowledge from start to finish of a module or course. In this model the instructor works to create a sense of community where students come to know each other, to support each other's intellectual development, to express emotions openly, and to encourage each other to make choices based on what has been learned. In short, the learning community becomes democratic because students participate in creating their own knowledge.

Critical pedagogy has existed as a theory of praxis for four and a half decades. Online education has emerged on a large scale only very recently. In order for critical educators to make the transition to the online setting without losing a critical edge, there must be an honest inventory of what is possible and what takes more time. Building trust to the point where students and instructors take risks with self-disclosures can take more time in the online environment. Jason Hilton (2013) has emphasized the importance of building critical dialogues through an intentional agenda of identity formation among learners and instructor. When students have an invitation rather than an obligation to share different aspects of self-identity, they are able to choose when to disclose what regarding race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and class, among additional social constructs of difference. Hilton has added that explicit attention to critical digital literacy can enhance the process of developing critical dialogues. When instructor and learners consider how communications are different in online settings, then this knowledge facilitates the development of effective dialogue.

Methodology

Jean Anyon (2009) was troubled by the low profile of theory in educational research. A ubiquitous emphasis on clinical research has left theory in the shadows, and critical theory in particular has had to take refuge in a handful of academic journals that welcome it. We hope that our study will be part of a growing trend in the publication of research informed by critical theory.

Our project is a critical case study. We have invited participation of two students in the master's program in adult learning in which the three of us teach. Both students accepted. They both have a track record of not shying away from making requests and recommendations to instructors for more opportunities to engage in critical dialogue in the courses and even beyond the courses. They are a white male of approximate age forty and a white female of approximate age fifty. They live in the same eastern seaboard city and are employed in the adult education field. We are aware of the dilemma in whether to invite only two extraordinarily aware and engaged students or to open the invitation to the general population of students. If we are able to expand on the extant study, we will do the latter.

Data collection and analysis will occur in four steps. First, we three researchers will engage in a focus group with the two students. Second, students will review three courses that they have already completed. Third, there will be online interaction involving all researchers and participants. Fourth and finally, there will be a second focus group for all. All steps will utilize Brookfield's (2006) Critical Incident Questionnaire as the guideline for ongoing analysis of the courses in review. The final step also will apply the questionnaire to the extant project as it comes to a close in the data collection. The questionnaire asks participants to reflect upon a learning experience in terms of different moments that in turn were engaging, distancing, helpful, puzzling, and surprising. Our study is not the first to apply this questionnaire to an online learning experience (Phelan, 2012). Knowing that each online learning experience is unique, though, we believe that the questionnaire can be helpful for many studies of different situations.

Addendum

We have not yet begun the process of collecting and analyzing data; therefore, there are no preliminary findings to report at the time of submitting this paper. By the time of the CASAE conference in June of 2015, we will be prepared to present findings that are either final or advanced preliminary.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Adult Education and Sustainable Development Goals

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ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines some key documents published towards formulating a set of post-2015 development as well as educational goals. The paper argues that even though 'lifelong learning for all' has been recommended as an overarching post-2015 educational goal adult education is not considered important. The paper identifies three major factors—overemphasis on measurements and comparisons, overreliance on corporate financing, and transnational governance of education—creating roadblocks for setting more holistic goals of education. The paper concludes that despite the importance of providing equitable educational opportunities especially to the adults of the most impoverished nations of the global South—known as the Least Developed Countries—adult education sector is completely neglected in the documents shaping post-2015 educational agendas.

Introduction

Education for All (EFA)—a set of six internationally accepted goals for education—was adopted in April 2000 at the World Education Forum (UNESCO, 2000). The third[1] and fourth[2] EFA goals were related to adult education. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG)—a set of eight goals with much wider significance than EFA goals—were adopted in September 2000 at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations. Despite the importance of adult education for securing progress towards achieving all MDGs, the Millennium Summit did not include adult education related goals. Most recent evaluation reports (UNDP, 2014) show that the education related MDGs are unlikely to be achieved by 2015 as 'an estimated 774 million adults, of whom

almost two-thirds are women' are still unable to read and write (UNESCO, 2014, p. 1). The EFA and MDG initiatives brought some positive outcomes in terms of increasing enrolment rates at primary level but they failed 'in addressing education in a holistic and integrated manner' (UIL, 2014, p. 7). One of the reasons behind this failure is: while prioritising the most achievable goals such as increasing enrolment rates at primary level some of the crucial agendas such as adult education—which function as prerequisites for achieving all MDGs—were given almost no considerations.

Both the MDGs and EFA goals are coming to an end in 2015 without bringing any substantive transformation in the lives of millions of people living in the most impoverished African and Asian nations known as the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The term LDC represents a group of 49 countries identified by the United Nations as the most impoverished ones in terms of poverty, illiteracy and economic vulnerability. If the term global South is used to refer to all developing countries the LDCs can be understood as 'the South of the global South' since they are not catching up with many advanced developing countries such as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Unlike other developing countries such as BRICS, the LDCs are 'vulnerable to shocks, including economic crises, climate-related events, natural disasters and health-related threats' (UN-OHRLLS, 2014, p. v). Despite these vulnerabilities of the LDCs, the MDGs and EFA initiatives did not set any differentiated goals nor did they provide any specific support measures for helping the LDCs achieve those goals. The most marginalised group of people are the poorest adults, mostly women, living in rural areas of the LDCs. Some initiatives taken by both civil society organisations (Duke & Hinzen, 2011)—such as The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), and Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (known as DVV International)—and national governments remained limited to adult literacy: generally understood as an ability

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[1] Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes

[2] Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults

to read and write. No attempts have been made to provide functional as well as critical adult education opportunities to those marginalised adults. Those adults need a holistic approach to adult education that helps to enhance capabilities so as to enable them to critically analyse their day-to-day problems and find solutions through local means.

As the deadlines for both MDGs and EFA are fast approaching international community including the United Nations and other agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank are engaged in various consultations to formulate a new set of goals—known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—to be achieved by 2030. Review of some key documents published towards setting SDGs revels that the LDCs have not been a priority while setting post-2015 development as well as educational goals (Regmi, 2015). Moreover, how the new rhetoric of sustainable development addresses the contextual realities of those countries is not critically analysed. This paper undertakes a critical analysis of some key documents and answers some of the questions such as: what goals and targets are set especially for providing educational opportunities to the adults? What funding modalities are recommended for achieving SDGs; and what are their implications for ensuring learning opportunities for adults, especially for the most marginalised adult population of the LDCs? The paper identifies three major reasons on why adult education is neglected; and discusses how these reasons create roadblocks towards setting holistic adult education goals so as to address real needs of the adults of the LDCs.

Adult education in SDG initiatives

Since the third Earth Summit of 2012, known as Rio+20, the UN has involved in several consultations towards the formulation of SDGs to be achieved by 2030. Some of the major supranational organisations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNDP are organising conferences and consultations to discuss a new set of goals and targets. Some of the major consultations led by the UN include Thematic Consultation on Education in the post-2015 agenda (UNICEF-UNESCO, 2013), the High Level Panel (2013), and the Open Working Group (2014). The most important document outlining specifically educational agenda is The Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014): an agreement reached among various stakeholders—such as ministers, heads of delegations, leading officials of multilateral and bilateral organizations, and some senior representatives of civil society and private sector organizations—in the global Education for All (EFA) meeting held in May 2014 in Muscat, Oman. The Muscat Agreement endorsed an educational goal proposed by previous consultations (High Level Panel, 2013; Open Working Group, 2014; UNICEF-UNESCO, 2013). Review of all these documents reveal that international community has agreed upon an overarching goal for education: 'ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030'.

In light of the recommendations made by those consultations the Secretary General, Bank Ki Moon, presented a synthesis report—at the Sixty-Eight Session of the General Assembly on December 4, 2014 (United Nations, 2014)—and endorsed the overarching goal for education approved by Muscat Agreement. This overarching goal will be the global educational goal in the post-2015 period once approved by the World Education Forum scheduled to be held in May 2015 in Korea. As reflected in all those key documents it is very likely that the UN Summit scheduled to be held during 25-27 September 2000—after four months of World Education Forum—in New York will officially declare 'lifelong learning' as an educational goal (one of the SDGs) for all countries including the LDCs.

Lifelong learning is an educational approach conceived by UNESCO during early 1970s (Faure et al., 1972) and implemented by the OECD (OECD, 1996) and European Union (European Commission, 2000) after 1990s as a strategy to enhance economic growth of their member countries. Until now lifelong learning had not been proposed as a global goal for education. This is a turning point in the history of international education because in the past it was the notion of EFA and literacy that dominated the educational policy discourses of the global South (Preece, 2011). It appears that the new rhetoric of lifelong learning is going to replace the notion of literacy as well as adult education. A crucial point to note here is that a humanistic notion (Rubenson, 2011) of lifelong learning espoused by UNESCO in early 1970s (Faure et al., 1972) takes adult education in a holistic sense. However, as the dominant discourse of lifelong learning is gradually geared towards more economistic orientation (Rubenson, 2011) we need to be cautious on how adult education is conceived in the new rhetoric of lifelong learning as the post-2015 educational goal.

Adult education: a neglected sector

Adult Education is a fundamental human right 'for the achievement of equity and inclusion, for alleviating poverty and for building equitable, tolerant, sustainable and knowledge-based societies' (UNESCO, 2011, pp. 42-43). This definition manifests a holistic approach to adult education which does not limit it to skills training for getting employed in the job market. Since the first International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA I) of 1949, UNESCO has been advocating the importance of adult education for the economically poor counties of the global South. As agreed by 144 Member States at the CONFINTEA VI in 2009, adult education is 'a significant component' of the humanistic perspective of lifelong learning (UIL, 2014, p. 17; UNESCO, 2011). Though the terms adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and lifelong learning are often used interchangeably the meanings of these terms differ significantly and have crucial policy implications. The term lifelong education introduced by UNESCO (Faure et al., 1972) highlights an inevitable necessity of providing learning opportunities to adults irrespective of their age, class, gender, and socioeconomic statuses. But during 1990s—not only adult education but also—lifelong

education was replaced by the term lifelong learning (Jarvis, 2014). Lifelong learning appears to have broader significance but in recent decades it has been used to place 'responsibility on the individual to learn and not the state or the employing organisation to provide learning opportunities' (Jarvis, 2014, p. 53). When we consider the most marginalised adults of the LDCs—who struggle to manage a basic living standard—the economistic orientation of lifelong learning makes no sense because those adults are not capable of take responsibility for the type of knowledge and skills required to secure employment opportunities in the competitive job market.

In the context of setting educational goals for the post-2015 period, UNESCO and some civil society organisations—such as ICAE and DVV International, and the Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE)—are actively advocating the role of adult education for alleviating poverty and reducing inequality both at national and international levels (Fernández, Hinzen, & Khan, 2015). Many consultations[3], mainly those led by the civil society organisations, have recommended that UNESCO should continue 'to lead, coordinate and provide technical support for the implementation and monitoring of the future education agenda' (APREC, 2014, p. 2). As noted above the history of UNESCO reveals that it has been advocating for a holistic approach to adult education (UNESCO, 2011). However, even if UNESCO has been recommended as a major global agency to provide leadership in setting global agenda for education it has not been materialised and its adult education agenda has never been considered as a global educational goal. Scholars have argued that UNESCO has been a weaker ally of other supranational organisations such as the OECD, European Union and World Bank (Rubenson, 2011), basically when financial matters become more important than intellectual debates. Retrospective analysis of UNESCO's activities (Lee & Friedrich, 2011; Mundy, 1999; Regmi, in press) of the last six decades reveals that its attempts to improve educational status, basically adult literacy, in the Third World countries—many of them are now identified as the LDCs—had been repeatedly aborted because of funding problems which it has to secure from other donor agencies basically the World Bank.

As noted above, review of some recent documents related to post-2015 agenda reveals that in the SDG decade (2015-2030) 'lifelong learning' will be an overarching educational goal for all countries. Like in the OECD and EU member states 'lifelong learning' is going to shape educational discourses and subsequent educational policy developments in all countries of the global South including the LDCs. A crucial point to note here is that 'lifelong learning for all' appears as a new promise but what it really offers to the most marginalised adult population of the LDCs is not clear.

Based on my critical engagement with the key documents (APREC, 2014; High Level Panel, 2013; Open Working Group, 2014; UNESCO, 2014; United Nations, 2014) I present how adult education is conceived in recent policy debates towards setting post-2015 educational agenda. And in the final section of the paper I present three major reasons that create roadblocks towards setting more holistic goals of adult education.

The High Level Panel (2013)—a group of eminent persons mandated by the United Nations—proposed 'quality education and lifelong learning' (p. 30) as an overarching goal for education for the first time, which, in a sense, influenced all subsequent reports (APREC, 2014; Open Working Group, 2014; UNESCO, 2014; United Nations, 2014) published towards setting the post-2015 educational agenda. In Panel's recommendations adult education did not become a separate priority goal but one of the major targets to complement that goal has an adult education component: 'increase the number of young and adult women and men with the skills, including technical and vocational, needed for work by x%' (High Level Panel, 2013, p. 30). However, this target focuses on skills and training as prerequisites for adults to get employment opportunities. Type of skills and training envisaged by the Panel completely excludes indigenous knowledge and traditional skills that majority of adults possess. Rather the Panel's report takes skills and training for pursuing employment opportunities in the job market as an unavoidable necessity. A critical assessment of the report reveals that 'lifelong learning' has been conceived in a very limited sense basically for promoting 'economic growth', which appears to be more rhetorical than realistic (Regmi, in press). Moreover, the report justifies the relevance of supranational organisations for financing and governing education and reiterates the economistic dogma of human capital theory as the only possible educational strategy for poor countries (Regmi, in press).

The Open Working Group (2014) recommended four targets related to adult education. One of the most crucial targets is: 'to eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations' (Target # 4.5). Unlike the recommendations of the High Level Panel (2013), the Open Working Group proposed more inclusive goals but the Group also conceives adult education in a narrow instrumental sense, that is, providing skills and training for getting employment, preferably in the capitalistic job market.

Most of the documents produced by the leadership of UNESCO have highlighted the importance of adult education for achieving the SDGs. For example, the Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014)—which partly builds on the recommendations of the Open Working Group (2014)—appears as the most inclusive and holistic towards adult education. The participants of the Muscat Meeting agreed that: (a) all youth and at least x% of adults reach a proficiency level in literacy and numeracy sufficient to fully participate

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3   For example: (a) Dhaka Declaration (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002299/229965E.pdf); (b) Bangkok Statement (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002306/230627E.pdf); (c) Collective Consultation of NGO (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002280/228039e.pdf)

in society, with particular attention to girls and women and the most marginalized; (b) at least x% of youth and y% of adults have the knowledge and skills for decent work and life through technical and vocational, upper secondary and tertiary education and training, with particular attention to gender equality and the most marginalized; and (c) all learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to establish sustainable and peaceful societies, including through global citizenship education and education for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2014, p. 3).

Why is adult education neglected?

Despite all those advocacies, especially of UNESCO and civil society organisations, adult education is completely neglected in key documents (Pingeot, 2014; Sachs & Schmidt-Traub, 2014; SDSN, 2015; Technical Advisory Group, 2014; World Bank-IMF, 2014) produced by major actors working for finalising post-2015 goals and targets. It appears that, like in the MDGs, goals related to adult education will be discarded at the final stage of SDG declaration. In what follows I present three reasons on why adult education sector is increasingly neglected in the post-2015 consultations and discussions.

Overemphasis on measurements and comparisons

The High Level Panel (2013) recommended for 'a data revolution for sustainable development, with a new international initiative to improve the quality of statistics and information available to people and governments' (p. 21). As a follow up to the Panel's recommendations a Technical Advisory Group—a group of experts from the EFA Global Monitoring Report, the OECD, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank—was formed to set post-2015 education indicators. One of the aims of the Technical Advisory Group (2014) is

> to create a common scale of learning outcomes in the domains of literacy and numeracy that would place items from a range of surveys within a single scale, which is a first step towards facilitating comparisons between countries. Ideally, this would lead to a global set of items that could be integrated into national assessments to facilitate more robust measurement (p. 4).

The notion of measurements and comparisons stems from some international assessment systems introduced by the OECD such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC). Measuring literacy and numeracy rates of adult population of the global South is not a bad practice since it could provide statistical evidences for devising new plans and programmes. Updated databases help supranational organisations such as the World Bank 'to monitor progress' (World Bank-IMF, 2014, p. 11) at regional and national levels. Statistical data would be helpful for national governments to make evidence based decisions on budget allocation and requesting financial assistance from bilateral and multilateral donors. But flipside of overemphasis on educational outcomes and measurements is the danger that knowledge, experiences, and

occupational skills associated with traditional and indigenous practices will be further commodified and commercialised. International assessments as such have particular relevance in the countries of the global North because mega level organisations such as the OECD and EU want to make comparisons among nations to see the extent to which 'investments in human capital' (World Bank-IMF, 2014, p. 10) contribute to their national economy. But for the countries of the global South, particularly the LDCs—where poverty, hunger, malnutrition, epidemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola appear as most burning problems—such comparisons with an objective of increasing economic competitiveness make almost no sense.

Overemphasis on measurements and outcomes has reduced the value of experiential learning: a form of informal adult learning that comes through experiences and reflections on day-to-day activities (Jarvis, 2014). Such forms of adult learning have never been considered while devising global educational plans such as EFA/MDGs. Analysis of key documents shaping the SDGs and post-EFA agendas show that major recommendations have completely neglected the role of experiential learning. Experiences of adult population of the LDCs—such as their accumulated local knowledge in farming, conservation of local resources, and indigenous measures towards sustainability—have not been recognised; rather human capital knowledge and standardised testing systems are presented as inevitable prerequisites even for the adults of the poor countries. The notion of international assessments such as PIAAC and comparisons of adults' skills and competencies completely neglect the contextual realities of the LDCs.

Overreliance on corporate financing

The Secretary-General of the UN set up Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) in August 2012 to recommend solutions on financial matters by liaising between development partners such as multilateral financing institutions, the private sector, and civil society. The SDSN is going to convene a conference on Financing for Development at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in July 2015. As outlined in its working paper (SDSN, 2015) funding for SDG will be arranged mostly from 'the private sector and capital markets'—by encouraging 'purely commercial private financing' (p. 6)—with an increased share of the Domestic Budget Revenues collected from individual countries. If those recommendations are approved in the UN Summit in September 2015 each LDC is forced to allocate at least '18 percent of their Gross National Income' (SDSN, 2015, p. 8) for achieving SDGs.

The SDSN takes all development sectors covered by the SDGs in the form of capital and recommends development partners to finance only those forms of capitals that it identifies as crucial for achieving SDGs: 'Sustainable Development requires investments across six complementary forms of capital: infrastructure, human capital, natural capital, business capital, intellectual capital (scientific and technological know-how), and social capital'(SDSN, 2015, p.

9). The SDSN aims to invest in human capital—which includes education and health sectors—and recommends for increasing the current amount of Official Development Assistant (ODA) for education from US Dollar 13 billion to 40 billion by 2020 (SDSN, 2015, p. 12). However, despite this rhetoric of increased ODA it appears that adult education sector in the LDCs will be further neglected because the requirement to allocate 18% of total budget for SDGs—which completely excludes adult education—will put too much pressure on LDCs' fragile economies hence preventing them to launch adult education programmes according to their contextual realities. Currently, the LDCs spend about 3.7% of their total gross domestic product on education (UNDP, 2014) and less than 1% of total education budget on adult education (Desjardins, 2013). The proposed SDG funding modality will encourage the primary funders of the SDGs such as 'banks and corporations' (SDSN, 2015, p. 8) not to invest in adult education as well as literacy because they do not fall under the parameters of human capital education.

Increased transnational governance

As noted above SDGs will mostly be funded by banks and corporations. This implies that education sector of the aid-dependent countries will be controlled and governed by supranational financial institutions and corporations. In some post-2015 consultations attempts were made to oppose corporate financing for education. For example, APREC (2014) clearly noted that 'government is the primary duty bearer for efficient, equitable and sustainable financing of education' (p. 2). Similarly, the Global Campaign for Education[4] recommended that 'governments have a responsibility to provide sufficient funding for equitable inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all' (Fernández et al., 2015, p. 81). As the LDCs are not able to bear full expenditure required for education there is a need for external financing. The directors of SDSN (Sachs & Schmidt-Traub, 2014) recommended that 'at least 50% of the total ODA should go towards the LDCs' (p. 11) particularly for helping them achieve the SDGs. Given the budget limitations of these poor countries increasing the amount of ODA is a better alternative than forcing them to take loans from financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (Fernández et al., 2015). But whether the increased amount of ODA will come along with further conditionalities is not clear. There is a danger that financial assistance might come at the cost of reduced control of the LDCs on their education system; for instance by obligating them to participate in international assessments such as PIAAC if they want to get ODA.

If ODA providers such as Development Assistance Committee force LDCs to follow their regulations the governing power of the LDCs will be constrained. As the proposed SDG funding modality takes 'public-private partnerships as innovative models' (Pingeot, 2014, p. 5) nations states are further discouraged to govern their education systems. According to SDSN (2015), a Multilateral Development Finance Committee (MDFC) will be formed to 'provide periodic needs assessments of overall' financing for the SDG (p. 22). The report further claims that the governance of the MDFC 'must give full voice to key multilateral institutions' including the IMF, World Bank, and OECD (SDSN, 2015, p. 22). This implies that the provision of a 'strengthened participatory governance' (UNESCO, 2014, p. 2)—in which nation-states have primary role in educational governance—will be replaced by an external governance mechanism dominated by supranational organisations and transnational corporations.

Conclusion

Review of key documents published towards formulating the SDGs indicate that the field of education will suffer from corporatisation in the coming decades. The field of adult education will suffer the most because multinational corporations and major banks that are invited by the UN to make investments for achieving SDGs (United Nations, 2014) have an intention of producing most flexible, competitive, and the cheapest young labour force to fulfil the demand of global capital market. Hence, the noble initiatives taken in the Earth Summits such as Rio+20 towards creating an environmentally safer and socially equal as well as just world are gradually fading. The sustainable development agenda is now appropriated by supranational financial institutions and corporations for their own benefit. As claimed by Pingeot (2014), who examined the process towards the Post-2015 agenda, this is happening because the large multinational corporations such as Royal Dutch Shell, Exxon Mobil and Wal-Mart—whose representatives were provided with 'privileged access to UN policymaking' (p. 29)—are 'actively influencing the Post-2015 agenda' (p. 8) through their involvement in the High-Level Panel, the SDSN, and to a lesser extent the Open Working Group.

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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

Digital literacies, adult learners and decision-making: Can online learning have a democratizing effect?

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ABSTRACT

Continuous, rapid developments in digital technologies are changing ways of knowing and increasing pressure for lifelong learning. Adult learners can be highly affected by the need to learn at a fast pace to compete for a place in the current Canadian job market. As digital literacies have become necessary for work, learners need to be able to manage their own learning. At the same time, self-directed learning may provide greater opportunities for open access to resources and knowledge sharing. In the context of adult education, teachers need to be able to guide students to acquire or improve digital literacies, including selecting and accessing appropriate resources and technologies and using them to full effect. This type of decision-making has become a key skill and learning process. What kinds of frameworks best suit adult learners in these contexts? Can online learning have a democratizing effect on learners and educational frameworks?

As the world of adult learning expands to include social media, digital applications and other online tools, several dichotomies arise. While education may maintain its base in formal and institutional school settings, the addition of online settings gives learning the opportunity to become much more self-directed. The rise of managed learning environments in online courses offered by institutions are balanced by personal learning environments and networks created by self-directed learners. More specifically, we are already seeing great changes in adult learning through Massive Open Online Courses with the appearance of both xMOOCs and cMOOCs .In addition, the skills acquired in formal courses may be increasingly countered by alternatives such as the informal learning offered by participation in cMOOCs. Underlying this division between institutionalized and self-directed learning, we can see opposing values and ideologies with regards to our knowledge society. On one side, neoliberal discourses such as human capital theory and technological functionalism position our

economy as the driving force behind education, requiring individuals to adapt skills and knowledge to the job market in an increasing need to stay competitive and support national growth. The opposite standpoint holds that education must remain a public, social good. What possibilities do these new opportunities for online learning represent for the future of education? Is the field of adult learning simply moving towards a more hierarchically managed, workforce-oriented, skill-based system controlled by corporations and formal institutions? Or can self-directed online learning democratize this aspect of lifelong learning?

Neoliberal discourses: Human capital theory and technological functionalism

Neoliberal discourses such as human capital theory and technological functionalism position the economy as the driver of education, opposing older, humanistic discourses which hold education to be a public, social good. According to human capital theory, schooling exists for productive skills. Schultz (1961) and Becker (1975) were the originators of this theory, in which the role of education is to create skills for economic success (Davies & Guppy 2014: 49). In the "capital" metaphor, schooling represents an investment that will be rewarded in the job market (Davies & Guppy 2014: 49). The basic premise is that "the societal role of school is primarily economic"; "it follows . . . that school organizations are structured to maximize the production of skills needed in the economy" (Davies & Guppy 2014: 49). The implication of human capital theory for education is that it is an investment with a high return for participants, the students and future workers who own the capital (Bouchard 2006: 166). Some economists pair this theory with technological functionalism, arguing that human capital theory paves the road to greater equality. Goldin and Katz (2008) suggest that higher level skills lead to the ability to use the latest technology more effectively. This ability in turn leads to higher-paying jobs. Any rise in inequality would be due

to increased technological growth not matched by education. As a result, high-tech jobs may not be filled due to a "skills mismatch" (Davies & Guppy 2014: 49). The suggested solution would be for governments to incentivize students to enter science, math and technology programs. Others, like Heckman (2008), go further, maintaining that general cognitive skills such as basic literacy are now at a premium, and advising that we must teach foundational skills from a young age in order for adults to be able to build on them (Davies & Guppy 2014: 49). The implications for education of these theories will be discussed in greater detail below.

Critiques of neoliberalism and knowledge economy discourses

Critiques of human capital theory abound. An essential problem with this model is that it naturalizes the idea that higher educational attainment will lead to higher income level, and that the path is equally open to all (Bouchard 2006: 166-7). However, we can easily point out the inaccuracy, since we know that education can just work to increase selection by separating higher and lower earners (Bouchard 2006: 167; Davies and Guppy 2014). Greater access to education just leads to different forms of stratification (Davies and Guppy 2014: 101). In another line of argument, we must ask whether the labour market really rewards skills with compensation as directly as human capital theory assumes (Davies & Guppy 50). Our contemporary Canadian reality of a highly educated, underemployed workforce with mainly low-wage, service sector jobs would suggest that the skills mismatch is other than these discourses would have us believe (Gibb and Walker 2013: 259). There is skepticism regarding both the size and type of skills mismatch that actually exists. Kiviat (2012) suggests that there is actually a pay mismatch instead due to the problem of overqualification (Davies & Guppy 2014: 50). In addition, human capital theory remains vague regarding which competencies should be taught, and how closely they are linked to employability is debatable. Proponents of technological functionalism would argue that skills with digital technology are essential, but we will address this question later. In a related issue, social closure, educational certificates enable professional associations to limit entry to their ranks. This in turn regulates the supply of workers. This problem exists because labour market structures affect supply and demand. Social closure also relates to the problem of credentialism. Collins (1979) and Brown (2001) assert that educational certificates monopolize entry into occupations, effectively credentializing the job market. They ask, "Does schooling actually improve useful job-related skills, as presumed by human capital theorists, or . . . mainly provide . . . an occupational ticket?" (Davies & Guppy 2014: 51) In addition, professional organizations can fuel credential inflation, when employers may hire some workers over others because of the prestige of their advanced credentials. On a more positive note, being employed has historical connections to the idea of citizenship, which implies that principles of equal access and social inclusion are more important than credentials (Bouchard 2006: 171).

The effects of neoliberal ideology on adult education

Human capital theory and technological functionalism are aspects of neoliberal ideology, a larger set of discourses which has strongly influenced public policy in the global north since the 1980s. It represents a movement away from social democratic principles of universality and social welfare towards an ever-increasingly, highly individualistic view of society. Citizens are considered to be consumers of all things, for instance, of state resources. Public services have been privatized and have become competitive, especially the social sector and education. Alongside these policy changes, a new rhetoric of accountability has emerged, specifically regarding the responsibility of each individual to her or himself and to the national economy (Peters 2007: 6-7). These discourses have already had profound effects on educational policy, and they will continue to have far-reaching implications for adult learners. According to Gibb and Walker (2013), we can define lifelong learning as "adult learning for professional or personal reasons in which emphasis is placed on both the individual learning experience and learning for economic development" (2013: 260). In the context of neoliberal ideology, this definition of lifelong learning exists within knowledge economy discourse because it emphasizes individual responsibility for learning. Indeed, "the current promotion of lifelong learning, with an emphasis on adult learning, signals a deconstruction of welfare through a reconstruction of citizenship as the responsibility of an individual to an economic agenda" (Bastow and Martin 2003 in Rubenson and Walker 2006: 173). To analyze the effects of neoliberalism on education and the value of information, knowledge was a public or social good, but has become a private good, commodified and distributed to those who can pay (Peters 2007: Foreword). The knowledge economy weighs profit for corporations with high levels of knowledge versus benefits for the whole society, especially people who have the least access to knowledge (Bouchard 2006: 171). In relation to adult education, this has become the ideologically dominant discourse. National economies depend on an adaptable workforce that can engage with and interpret information and knowledge, or data (OECD 1996, 1999, 2011 in Gibb and Walker 2013: 258). Overall, this discourse institutionalizes knowledge and limits access to the few and the powerful as a means to maintaining power and control.

xMOOCs and cMOOCs: Institutionalizing or democratizing knowledge?

Online learning, or e-learning, is a form of distance education that involves the mediation of digital technology. It can be synchronous or asynchronous, and managed top-down or self-selected. Courses can be free, such as cMOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses), or charge fees, like online university courses or xMOOCs. Differences within each type can be vast, as well as between the two kinds. I will limit this discussion to contrasting cMOOCs and xMOOCs in order to demonstrate how xMOOCs can represent the

force of institutions in controlling information, education and certification. At the same time, the principles behind cMOOCs - although they may differ in practice - represent ideologies that run counter to neoliberal discourse.

xMOOCs are generally top-down, hierarchically-managed courses that allow institutions to control content and delivery, track and assess learners, and assign certificates or other credentials. Specifically, xMOOCs are characterized by software that allow many participants to register, stores and streams materials on demand, and automates assessment and performance tracking through features such as computer-marked assignments that allow for end-of-course certificates to be awarded (Bates 2014). Occasionally, other methods of assessment can be used, such as peer assessment, but this may be problematic because of the varying level of expertise and commitment within the group. There is usually an online forum for comments or discussion, but there may be little or no moderation, and individual comments can be challenging because of the large number of participants (Bates 2014). Certification plays an important role:

> Most xMOOCs award some kind of recognition for successful completion of a course, based on a final computer-marked assessment. However, at the time of writing, MOOC badges or certificates have not been recognised for credit or admission purposes even by the institutions offering a MOOC, or even when the lectures are the same as for on-campus students. No evidence exists to date about employer acceptance of MOOC qualifications (Bates 2014).

This situation poses a double dilemma. While xMOOCs offer certificates which encourage the increased valuation of credentials in general, raising the problem of credentialism discussed above, their certificates are not formally recognized. Traditional universities still possess the legitimizing authority of creating and conferring credentials in this form of online learning. Credentialization is currently increasing as levels of educational attainment rise (Wotherspoon 2014: Ch. 3). If employers do not recognize certificates offered by xMOOCs, it may lead learners to question the value of this type of online learning. Adult learners in particular are relevancy-oriented (Cranton 2013), and expect recognition for work done, especially if it is more self-directed, as online learning is bound to be. Another issue with xMOOCs would be the limitations on access through fees and by streaming. One example is Coursera's "Signature Track" courses, where payment is required and the credentials are inflated through "Verification," a certificate that guarantees the work was completed (Coursera Student Help). Another barrier to access includes requiring more recent technology that some adult learners may not have. Examining access leads us to the point that higher socioeconomic status still represents a greater advantage for educational attainment, even with online learning. So does living in the global north, with access to the latest technology. These aspects of online learning locate xMOOCs as educational services which exist squarely within the confines of the human capital model. They also encourage many learners to sign up for a single course simultaneously, supporting a profit-based educational model. In these ways, they may encourage learners to act as investors in their education, as in the human capital model, especially if they promote acquiring digital literacies as additional skills.

cMOOCs or connectivist MOOCs, are based on the learning principles of connectivism established by George Siemens. Siemens (2004) defines learning according to connectivism as "actionable knowledge [which] can reside outside of ourselves (within an organization or a database), [and] is focused on connecting specialized information sets." Further, "the connections that enable us to learn more are more important than our current state of knowing" Siemens (2004). Principles of connectivism include the idea that learning and knowledge results from a diversity of opinions, since it is a process of connecting different information sources (Siemens 2004). This information or knowledge may be situated outside of human sources, thus the importance of digital technology. In addition, the ability to access information is more important than what is known at any given moment, since connectivist learning privileges current knowledge (Siemens 2004). Creating and maintaining connections is essential to continuous learning, and the ability to connect ideas is a core skill (Siemens 2004). While there are other key skills, one of the most important may be decision-making. Siemens (2004) states:

> Decision-making is itself a learning process. Choosing what to learn and the meaning of incoming information is seen through the lens of a shifting reality. While there is a right answer now, it may be wrong tomorrow due to alterations in the information climate affecting the decision.

cMOOCs are based on the principles of connectivism. In contrast to xMOOCs, Downes (2014) has identified four key values of cMOOCs: learner autonomy, diversity, interactivity and openness (Bates 2014). Autonomy refers to choice of content or skills; learning is personal and informal. This relates to the idea of self-directed learning as Knowles (1975) defined it: when a learner identifies and evaluates their own needs, goals, resources, strategies and outcomes (Owen 2002: 2). The tools used are diverse, as are the participants and content. The level of interaction between participants is high, with greater communication resulting in increased knowledge. Access is open, as are content, activities and assessment (Bates 2014). As Bates (2014) notes, in principle, "For the proponents of cMOOCs, learning results not from the transmission of information from an expert to novices, as in xMOOCs, but from sharing of knowledge between participants."

In principle, cMOOCs appear to uphold more democratic values regarding education, especially diversity, peer-to-peer sharing or collaborative learning and open access. But are they as democratic in practice? First, access may be more open if courses remain free. However, access to technology

and digital literacy may remain important barriers globally. In addition, diverse participants may not lead to greater collaboration in learning, since there will be diversity and disparity in expertise on the subject matter or skill level. In practice, Bates (2014) suggests that cMOOC organizers are often experts who invite other expert participants in order to attract others to join. The resulting transmission of information may be more top-down than peer-to-peer. Learner autonomy also places a large responsibility on the shoulders of the individual participant, since they will determine their level of involvement, as well as learning goals, path and resulting outcomes. Research into Personal Learning Environments has shown that adult learners require differing levels of support and outcomes vary (Dabbagh & Kitsantas 2011). At the same time, content of a cMOOC may be highly participant-driven. Besides a common topic that may be decided by the organizer, the participants themselves contribute content. In this way, a cMOOC can become very much like any other community of practice (Bates 2014). Viewing participation in this way, we begin to notice the potential for democratic participation. Unlike xMOOCs, cMOOCs enable distributed participation (Bates 2014), or dialogue between any two or more people, or nodes in the network. The experience can be like social media on speed, especially if the course is synchronous, with many participants online simultaneously. However, for learning to take place, the knowledge shared must be valuable. This is where making connections becomes a key skill, as well as a potential tool for democratization. If the information shared benefits all parties, knowledge acquisition no longer privileges only those in power. In this way, the authority of the personal and informal can challenge the legitimacy of traditional institutions (Bouchard 2013: 308-9). Knowledge, when socially mediated and shared through digital technology, may have democratizing power.

Teachers and participants

What is the role of the teacher or instructor in the context of cMOOCs and other self-directed online learning platforms? We can look to the contrasts and overlaps between constructivist and connectivist learning frameworks for an initial response. Although traditional models of experiential learning draw on a constructivist epistemology, there are some similarities. Drawing on the framework of experiential learning, Fenwick (2003; 2000) describes an alternative perspective that she terms "Participation" since it draws on "perspectives of situated cognition" (2000: 247). The epistemological basis of learning is interactional: we develop knowledge by interacting with others and participating in a community of practice (Fenwick 2003: 21). Fenwick (2000) further explains the epistemological basis of the participatory form of experiential learning, emphasizing that "[k]nowledge is not a substance to be ingested and then transferred to [a] new situation, but, instead, part of the very process of participation in the immediate situation" (253). Connectivist frameworks similarly highlight the participatory role of the learner, noting especially the importance of immediate

context. Of course, connectivism also depends directly upon the interactional nature of the learning experience. According to both of these learning frameworks, participants have an important role to play in validating each others' experiences as well as creating knowledge as an outcome of interactions. In experiential learning, the teacher may act as a guide for the learner, while in purely self-directed online learning, participants act as each others' teachers. A combination of these two approaches may be possible to assist learners who are new to online and blended learning sites. If teachers retain the goals of increasing learner autonomy and self-directed decision-making, online sites can become a place of democratic learning.

Further questions

Connectivism as a mode of learning and way of knowing can occur through participation in a cMOOC or any other form of online learning, self-directed or with the guidance of an instructor. Personal Learning Environments and Networks that employ social media as tools for learning can also act in this way (Dabbagh & Kitsantas 2011). This opens up new possibilities for exploring the democratization of education through self-directed online learning. While xMOOCs may remain controlled and controlling managed learning systems, cMOOCs and other open forms of e-learning have the potential to reshape how we know, and invite the possibility of changing how we think about knowledge and education. The next questions are these. To what extent can the authority of the personal and the informal democratize learning? How can teachers support students in validating experience while still accurately evaluating the information needed? We need to find a way to put the power of socially mediated knowledge into practice, valuing currency without focusing on the sensational or spectacular, making decisions that are right for the moment and will remain right tomorrow and the day after.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Prisons the New Frontier of Human Rights? Creative Programs in Prisons

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ABSTRACT

Angela Davis (2003) claimed a decade ago that in three decades the population in American prisons grew ten times, making prisons the new frontier for human rights (p. 11). In recent years, the Canadian government has pursued an agenda of punishment affecting the correctional services. Adult education has a tradition of engagement in social justice yet a review of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education reveals that prison education is rarely present. In this article I reflect on my experience of presenting documentary films in a federal prison and point to a few examples of projects that offer possibilities for adult education.

"If you think education is costly, try ignorance."

~Derek Bok

Background

In a public talk in Toronto in 1997, well known activist and academic Angela Davis called prisoners' rights the contemporary frontier for human rights. That same year, participants at the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education held under the auspices of UNESCO released the Hamburg Declaration article 47, which is titled "Recognizing the right to learn of all prison inmates" (UNESCO, 1997). In Canada in recent years the federal government has passed various laws to implement its tough-on-crime agenda. A report cited in the Auditor General Report on Correctional Service Canada (CSC) (2014) stated that changes in legislation included mandatory minimum sentencing, elimination of accelerated parole reviews, and elimination of credit for pre-sentence custody, which would likely result in "longer sentences for many offenders, leading to an increased offender population" and the risk of overcrowding. The same report stated that while the increase was not as much as initially predicted, about half of the prisons are exceeding, or near exceeding, their capacity; double bunking is used to accommodate a surplus of inmates despite a policy that clearly states that double bunking should only be a temporary measure. This focus on incarceration is happening although a report titled "Police-reported crime statistics, 2013" (Statistics Canada, 2014) shows a decline in the crime rate for the tenth consecutive year. High profile cases like Ashley Smith's tragic death, initially considered a suicide but later determined to be a homicide, have tragically brought to public attention the problems facing the correctional system today. Despite this contradictory situation between statistics and policy, prisons are absent from recent adult education conferences and literature in Canada. In this paper I reflect on my own experience of presenting documentaries at a federal prison for women as well as discuss some projects that use the arts and education in their work with inmates in Canada and the United States.

Adult Education and Prisons

In the *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, a search of the term 'prison' brought up 28 entries: Kops (1995) referred to prisoners as a group of learners; Vautour et al. (2009) mentioned prisoners being bored; O'Sullivan (2002), Torres (1993), and Welton (2002) refer to the political nature of education and to Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. However, prison was used as a metaphor or references were made to prison education being part of, or more accurately having been part of, adult education in Canada. One article by Butterwick, Fenwick, and Mojab (2003) stated that throughout the 1990s there were "several noticeable disappearances" in the Canadian adult education literature, prison education being one of those disappearances (p. 14). They further asked if that absence was a reflection of "changes in policy and reduced funding found in other areas of the social welfare system?" (p. 14). While prison education is sparse, if at all present, in the current adult education literature, there are some interesting educational projects in Canadian and American prisons. A recent study of

transformational learning of incarcerated American women by Sandoval and Baumgartner (2015) states that a group learning environment that is safe, non-judgmental, where women feel respected, valued, and exposed to different experiences promotes critical thinking.

Arts and Education in Prisons: Promoting Reflection, Dialogue, and Critical Thinking

Alison Granger-Brown (2012) suggests that "the prison environment itself can be a barrier to learning" and added that "information retention can be difficult for many incarcerated women because of damaged working memory from post-traumatic stress disorder, fetal al¬cohol spectrum disorder, brain injury, and mental health issues" (p. 509). Granger also quotes an inquiry by Hannah-Moffat after a riot at the Kingston Penitentiary, Ontario, showed that "access to hobby crafts and sport, freedom to decorate cells… were significant factors in reducing the dehumanizing effects of incarceration" (p. 510). According to Granger-Brown, women in British Columbia prisons have access to activities that promote exploration of themselves and the world and staff reported that women who participate in such activities were healthier mentally.

Documentary Film Screenings

As an organizer of documentary film festivals for more than 10 years, I witnessed the impact of documentaries as they allow us to broaden our knowledge of the world through information about problems but also foster a sense of hope as we watch individuals and communities courageously and creatively confront injustices and make changes. These film festivals embody Freire's (2004) pedagogy of indignation by exposing problems while also announcing possibilities, providing an appropriate "balance between anger at injustice, legitimate hope for a better world, and commitment to community development and creative social change" (Roy, 2012, p. 294). Given the popularity of the local film festival and the reports by viewers that they were inspired by courage and creativity, a colleague and I made a proposal to the closest federal prison for women thinking they may appreciate a window onto the world, as we did; in addition, films are good catalysts for reflection and discussion so there is an opportunity for group discussion after each film. Since the spring of 2010, we have shown 16 documentaries over 12 visits to an average audience of 8 to 10 per visit. While driving, showing the film, and having a discussion takes us a whole day, the experience has been so enriching that we always look forward to our next visit. We have shown documentaries as diverse as *Kick like a Girl* (Mackenzie, 2009), a film about a group of spunky 9 year old girl soccer players who made powerful comments about team spirit, gender and courage, to *Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai* (Mereton & Dater, 2008), the story of Kenyan academic, activist, politician, and Nobel Prize winner Wangari Maathai, who used the planting of trees to spark a powerful political movement to protect the environment as well as women's rights and democracy. We showed diverse stories from the celebrated *Apache 8* (Zeig, 2011), the elite Navajo women

fire-fighting brigade, to *The Edge of Eden: Living with Grizzlies* (Turner & Turner, 2006) which challenges preconceived notions of grizzlies. We have shown poignant films about men learning to meditate in prison, Dhamma Brothers (Phillips, Kukura, & Stein, 2008), and a film about inmates and families of crime victims brought together to create art, *Concrete, Steel, & Paint* (Heriza & Burstein, 2009); Trash Dance (Garrison, 2012) about a choreography that involved garbage pickers in Austin, Texas, and their tools and trucks, which led to great acclaim when they performed—and to a sense of recognition and pride for the workers. Recently we showed *Art from the Streets* (Blaylock, 2009) about homeless people in Los Angeles creating art, some of them successfully enough to afford housing.

The discussions after the films keep us going back. While we know the statistics that women in prisons are generally poor, have low level of education, and 80% have been abused at some point, we are grateful for the stimulating discussions and the vibrancy of their comments. They share their feelings and thoughts, reflect on identity, tolerance, community, and forgiveness, to name a few. At times, they tell their own stories as they relate to the film and admit, sometimes for the first time, that they too lived in a stairwell or in a car, that they too have remorse and wonder if others can forgive them their trespasses. They get excited when they realize the multiple identities of the garbage pickers and that people have more than one side. They speak admiringly when they see courage and express sadness at discrimination. They discuss conflict resolution, share their dream cautiously, or convey their efforts at creating a good life by learning organic gardening and growing what they called "real" food. In fact, at our first visit we wanted to bring food but the rules prevented us. However the program officer organized some snacks which included raw vegies and dips. As we invited women to get some food after the films and come back for small group discussions, the very small plates were brimming with piles of vegies as they ate in respectful silence. As we left a woman asked me to come back because "we got broccoli!" She told us real vegetables were rare. We are both touched by the gratitude these women express each time we visit.

Documentary films show stories and promote the development of reflection as well as empathy by engaging viewers visually and with sound that make the stories come alive, which allows reflection, dialogue and promotes critical thinking. For example the film Trash Dance (2012) engaged women in a discussion of the multiple dimensions of identity beyond appearance and role as garbage workers were devoted single parents, dancers, musicians, youth minister, body builder, and excellent and hospitable chefs. They discussed the possibility to be more than what is visible to others, and also recognized that others, regardless of appearance, have multiple gifts to offer a community. They discussed the dignity of labour, and were touched by the pride the workers took in their work as well as the pride of their families at the performance of the dance. They pointed to the skills of the choreographer, a young white woman

working with mostly black and people of colour, her persistence, her genuine respect and interest in their lives, and her sincerity, which allowed the workers to trust her and reveal themselves as they engaged in something new. They recognized the choreographer as a catalyst, stimulating people to see themselves differently but also allowing others to see the sophistication of their work. They noted the excellent performance, the excitement, and the dedication the workers showed as they dared do something new. While seeing a film does not change their lives immediately, it provides new information, time for reflection and discussion; seeing other people struggle and find creative ways to deal with challenges can also give them a sense of possibility.

Creative Writing

> allowing our experiences and analysis to be added to the forum that will constitute public opinion could help halt the disastrous trend toward building more fortresses of fear which will become in the 21th century this generation's monuments to failure.
>
> -Jo-Ann Mayhew (1988)

At a conference on education in prisons I attended in 2014, we were asked to write a mission statement but were constantly interrupted, had very little paper, an odd pencil, all to make us understand the incredible challenge it is to remain focus in a penal institution that constantly interrupts through regimentation. Despite the difficulties, writing programs do exist and have real benefits for inmates. In collaboration with the women of the York Correctional Institution where he has held writing workshop for many years, writer Wally Lamb (2003) published *Couldn't Keep It to Myself: Testimonies from our Imprisoned Sisters* and wrote that each woman "has discovered the intertwined power of the written word and the power that resides within her" (p. 16). One of the women included in this collection, Bonnie Foresaw, had this to say about human dignity: "Writing has given me a voice I never had before. It has become an important part of my healing, which continues to this very day" and she ends by hoping that "people reading this book will bear in mind that we are human beings first, inmates second" (p. 209). Michelle Jessamy, another inmate, wrote about finding freedom in writing:

> The prison environment causes you to shut down and distrust other people, but writing has the opposite effect. By exploring my past through autobiographical fiction and sharing it with others, I am learning how to come to terms with the 'whys' of my past actions and how to release my spirit from its prison. Writing gives me a sense of peace. (p. 265)

These comments supported a study by the Correctional Service Canada (2006) which found that when inmates have access to higher levels of education they report greater self-esteem and sense of worth as well as sense of satisfaction. On the other hand, Lamb (2003) reported:

> I have come to know my current students not merely as the substance abusers, gang members, thieves, and killers they have been but also as complex and creative works in progress they are. … We are a paradoxical nation, enormously charitable and stubbornly unforgiving. We have called into existence the prisons we wanted. I am less and less convinced they are the prisons we need. (pp. 16-17)

Dance

CBC Radio (Gutnick, 23 November 2013) had an excellent story about an American dance teacher, Susan Slotnick, who has been teaching dance to male inmates in a maximum security prison, weekly, for 7 years. The segment called *Figures in Flight* spoke of this unique Rehabilitation through the Arts program: "Getting together to practice is difficult: the dancers have to get permission … and find a time when they are all free from mandated rehabilitation programs and jobs" but "despite this, they have performed a number of times alongside professional dance troupes" (Gutnik, 2013). Some of these men have been released and founded a dance company called *Figures in Flight: Released*. To hear what these men gained and how much they value this learning, not only about dance but about a different way of thinking about themselves is moving. On November 15, 2014, David Gutnick, the CBC Radio journalist who created the report received the Prix Judith-Jasmin for the best interview, a prestigious award given annually by a professional organization of journalist in Quebec (CBC); Gutnik was recognized for his courage to tell a story that challenged prejudices (Lauréats, 2014).

Implications for Adult Educators

In a film titled *Zero Percent* (Skousen, 2013) we hear about a university program for inmates of maximum security penitentiaries in the state of New York that reduces recidivism rate of former US prisoners from 40% to 0%, which holds true 13 years after the beginning of the program. These were men who committed serious crimes early in their lives and were incarcerated for many years; yet when given the opportunity to study they become dedicated learners, eloquent poets, accomplished writers, and insightful thinkers. Getting a university degree while incarcerated was no small feat given they could have only 6 pieces of paper at a time, limited use of pencils, not to mention the noise or the constant interruptions. It is remarkable that they had the dedication and commitment to pursue such a demanding program under difficult conditions.

Given that on arrival in Canadian prisons about 65% of offenders test at a grade 8 level of education or lower and 82% test at grade 10 or lower (Sharpe & Curwen, 2012, p. 187), there is space for adult educators to engage. We might also reach out to those who devote themselves to prison education but somehow are not often included in our conferences or literature. As the federal government passes laws to ensure 'security' and keep inmates in prison longer, while generally

cutting funds for rehabilitation and for social programs, we should ask with Davis (2003) if prisons are the best ways to improve society. In the meantime providing those incarcerated with educational and/or art activities like the examples mentioned above can offer necessary stimulation and reflection. If we cannot carry out complex programs let us do small ones, but let us explore possibilities for greater engagement. As the Canadian government continues with its punishment agenda unabated, despite the decline in the crime rate, as Davis said a decade ago, prisons are a frontier for human rights. Adult education has a role to play.

> Every time you stop a school, you will have to build a jail. What you gain at one end you lose at the other. It's like feeding a dog on his own tail. It won't fatten the dog.
>
> ~Mark Twain, Speech, 11/23/1900

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

Program planning in German enterprises. Three case studies on multiple stakeholders, diverging interests, conflicting logics, and their impact on the training programs planned.

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents first results of a study financed by the German Research Foundation and carried out between June 2013 and May 2015. The purpose of the study is to explore the process of program planning in German enterprises: In what way is it influenced by different stakeholders? What are the links between process (program planning) and output (training program)? To answer these questions, three case studies were conducted in German enterprises. Core categories derived in the analysis include the function of training programs and the rationalities of justifying decisions. This paper describes the preliminary results available in March 2015. Final results will be included in the presentation at the conference.

Introduction: Continuing Vocational Training in Germany

Continuing vocational training (CVT) is extremely important in Germany. 70 % of the education and training activities (formal and non-formal) covered by the Adult Education Survey, conducted by the European Union in 2011, are carried out during paid working hours or are at least partially paid for by the employers. This is quite surprising, bearing in mind that the training of employees is not necessarily an organizational goal for most employers. It is often rather seen as a means to reach other goals. In the German discourse, Gieseke has coined the term *beigeordnete Bildung* to describe this phenomenon; it may be translated as ancillary education (2009, p.50).

Another aspect that makes CVT a fascinating field of research is the fact that program planning in enterprises is carried out by a number of stakeholders. Often, the planning process does not follow the linear planning models described in handbooks, but is rather complex and affected by conflicting interests (Weber et al., 1994; Neuberger, 1991; Käpplinger, 2009). It can be defined as, *a social activity in which adult educators negotiate interests in organizational contexts structured by power relations*" (Mills et al., 1995, p. 4). However, it has as yet not been researched in detail in what way the differing interests of the stakeholders involved have an impact on program planning.

The study hence focuses on two main research questions: In what way do different stakeholders influence the process of program planning? What are the correlations between process (program planning) and output (training program)?

The results of the study constitute a contribution to both research and practice of adult education. The study's design aims at providing fundamental insights, while at the same time being application-oriented. More precisely, the results of the study are expected to constitute an important contribution to a professional approach to program planning and potential conflicts of interest. In addition, they will advance research regarding the understanding of program planning. The process of program planning will not only be described in detail within the context of CVT, but also the correlation between variations of that process and the output – the programs planned - will be examined for the first time.

As a preliminary result, the study proposes two new categories: the functions subjectively assigned to CVT (*Funktionen*) and the rationalities of justifying functions, goals and decisions (*Begründungslogiken*). In a next step, the results will be further condensed. Ideally, a grounded theory and/or a typology of cultures of program planning may be derived (see paragraph on first results for details).

The following paragraphs present the theoretical framework, explain the research design and give an overview of the initial results and the next analytical steps. A final paragraph offers some first thoughts on implications for both research and practice of adult education.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical approach draws, on the one hand, on the critical view on program planning formulated by Cervero and Wilson (1994, 2001) and taken up by Mills et al. (1995). On the other hand, the understanding of the process of program planning is inspired by the works of Gieseke (2003, 2008). The context of CVT has been researched in comprehensive quantitative studies (Adult Education Survey, Continuing Vocational Training Survey) and in extensive qualitative studies, which for example identify relevant influencing factors or focus on decision making (Bäumer, 1999; Heuer 2010). As has already been pointed out, the process of program planning has been investigated as well (Weber et al., 1994; Neuberger, 1991; (Mills et al., 1995; Käpplinger, 2009).

What has not been researched before is the interaction of multiple stakeholders during the process of planning training programs. In what ways do the different stakeholders influence this process? The governance analytical framework as adapted for the educational system by Kussau and Brüsemeister (2007) provides a useful perspective. It does not assume that there is only one central actor steering a process, but rather that every output is co-produced by different actors. As they are interdependent, they need to coordinate their actions. Nor has the second question guiding this study – namely: what are the correlations between process (program planning) and output (training program)? - been researched yet. Again, the governance analytical framework offers a helpful perspective by distinguishing between actions on the meso-level that influence actions and output on the micro-level (Schimank, 2007).

The following paragraphs briefly introduce further central aspects of the theoretical framework.

Cervero and Wilson suggested a model of planning situations, showing them to be defined by two dimensions: type of power relations (symmetrical, asymmetrical) and relations among legitimate interests (consensual, conflictual) (1994, p. 261).

relations among legitimate interests	type of power relations	symmetrical	asymmetrical
consensual		strategy: satisfice	strategy: network
conflictual		strategy: bargain	strategy: counteract

Source: Cervero & Wilson, 1994, p. 261.

Mills et al. (1995) focused on the question of "how competing organizational interests are translated into educational programs" (p. 4). They identified three different factors as being relevant: resources (including support from other stakeholders internal and external to the organization), organization structure and organization culture (including e.g. recruiting practices) and, as a third factor, power relations (p. 9).

Gieseke describes the process of program planning not as a linear process, but as a sequence of individual steps always taken in a different order (2003, p. 202). Furthermore, he considers the process to be guided not so much by rational arguments, but rather as being influenced by the alignment of different interests (2008, p. 105).

Heuer analyzed the negotiation of decisions regarding CVT on the basis of case studies carried out in the chemical industry and the insurance business (she also studied the link between those decisions and controlling measures regarding training activities). The research questions formulated above follow up on the results she presented.

Research Design

The research design includes three comparative case studies in order to answer the two main research questions: In what way do different stakeholders influence the process of program planning? What are the correlations between process (program planning) and output (training program)?

Each case study combines nine to twelve qualitative interviews with different stakeholders with an analysis of the training program (a research method developed in the discipline of adult education, see Käpplinger, 2008). This allows not only to cover the perspectives of all stakeholders involved, but also to reveal their impact on the program itself. Following the maxims of the Grounded Theory as formulated by Strauss and Corbin (1997), the enterprises were selected one by one from diverse industrial branches to ensure theoretical sampling. This was done under the assumption that factors such as branch, number of employees, economic situation, and heterogeneity of workforce influence the planning process (see also Bäumer, 1999).

As all enterprises asked to remain anonymous, the following description will only give some key facts. Two of the three enterprises are headquartered in Germany; one of them is part of a group based in another European country. On average, they employ more than 30 000 employees; all of them employ more than 10 000 people. One enterprise operates in the health sector, the second is a retailer with more than 1500 stores, and the third provides heat and power. All three enterprises have a central training department, in two cases it is supported by regional training managers in different parts of the organization.

In each of the three enterprises a first interview was conducted with the head of the training department, who then established contact with further interviewees. In all three enterprises members of the team responsible for training were interviewed as well as managers on different hierarchical levels, employees without leadership responsibilities, and representatives of the workers' council. If the planning of training programs was a major part of the interviewee's tasks, he or she was considered an expert and a slightly different interview guideline was used. If the interviewee was only sometimes involved in program planning (managers, representatives of workers' council) or was mainly involved

in training issues as a participant (employees without leadership responsibilities), more open questions were asked. At the end of each case study a final interview was conducted with the head of the training department. For the purpose of communicative validation, results regarding the specific company and the current state of theorization were presented and critically discussed.

In total, the data set consists of 33 interviews with an average duration of 62 minutes, which amounts to 34 hours of interviews recorded and transliterated.

For the analysis, both the coding techniques described in the Grounded Theory and the Qualitative Content Analysis (Mayring 2000) were applied. After the open coding of the first interviews of case A, a code system was developed. It was kept open, which meant that codes could be added, joined or deleted throughout the process. The final version includes ten core categories with up to thirteen codes. Nine of these can be considered rather descriptive; the last includes all major analytical codes.

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Coding system
01. Information on interviewee
02. Information on training department
03. Information on enterprise
04. CVT in the context of the enterprise
05. "Usage" of CVT
06. Training program
07. Program planning
08. Planning of specific training
09. Stakeholders

10. Culture of program planning
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For the analysis of the training program itself all material provided by the enterprises was used. In two cases, this consisted of printed training catalogues; one enterprise sent a pdf copy of the online catalogue. As will be explained later, this does not cover all trainings offered, as many of them do not appear in the catalogue due to their spontaneous nature. In total, 478 trainings were included in the analysis. Again, a coding system was developed and adapted to grasp all the specifics of each case. Besides information regarding frequency of training, duration, or number of participants, aspects such as the description of the target group (hierarchical level, occupational group, etc.) or the possibility to apply the intended learning outcome outside the current job or work context were taken into account.

First Results and Next Steps

Since, at the moment of writing this paper, the project is still ongoing, all results presented here have to be considered preliminary. Their presentation will be complemented by an outlook on further steps of analysis which are currently being planned.

The preliminary results include, on the one hand, an in-depth description of each case based on the analysis of the interviews and the training catalogues. This covers details on all core categories as listed in the coding system (see above). On the other hand, the analytical codes that emerged in the coding process are described and compared with the current state of research.

The next task will be to condense the results into three different dimensions. This will be achieved by revealing the interlinkages between the analytical codes, ideally resulting in the description of a grounded theory. Secondly, the analysis of the training catalogue will be detailed and linked with the interview data. The third conceivable dimension is a typology of cultures of program planning.

Description of the case studies including training activities offered

The preliminary results indicate that, indeed, multiple stakeholders are at play when it comes to designing educational programs within enterprises. Interestingly, those programs only in part consist of training activities planned in advance by a training department and offered as a fixed training program; rather, they are a compilation of different "program areas".

In case A (the health care enterprise), the department responsible for all CVT activities is part of a staff function. There are two teams, one being responsible for the development of trainings and for contact with the managers, the other taking care of the administration. Other important stakeholders are the managing directors of different sites and the respective human resources (HR) managers.

The training catalogue consists of 169 different trainings sorted, on the first level, according to occupational group. 22 of these trainings were listed several times (two to four times), which makes the printed program quite voluminous. Besides those training activities planned in advance, the training department acts as provider for ad hoc trainings for different parts of the company. In most cases, these trainings are initiated by the line manager or managing director. Also, the training department supports initiatives such as that against sexual violence by offering workshops etc. In addition, several interview partners mentioned "own training programs" – among the medical personnel as well as among the nursing staff. Last but not least, individual employees take part in external trainings.

In case B (the retail enterprise), the training department is part of a central HR department which, in turn, is split into a team of developers and a team of administrators. They work in close cooperation with a group of local training officers, each of whom is responsible for 20 to 40 stores. Other important stakeholders, in this case, are the facilitators (training officers as well as store managers) and the regional managers.

The 52 trainings offered in the training catalogue are sorted by format – workshops focusing on products and tasks within the stores and seminars focusing on soft skills as well

as on understanding the organization and its philosophy. Similar to case A, employees sometimes attend external trainings and there are local training programs designed by the local training officers. In addition, enterprise B puts effort into providing structures that support informal learning. Learning materials can be accessed both online and offline, and the implementation of a monthly "learning time" is suggested.

In case C (the energy company), the HR structure is not as clearly defined as in the first two cases. On the one hand, this is due to its being the biggest of the three enterprises and, on the other hand, the group that it belongs to has undergone several restructurings. At the time of research, the training department in Germany was responsible not only for the design and administration of CVT activities in all German units but also for that in two other countries. It receives input from a talent management staff function that is based in the European headquarters and has a regional representative responsible for Germany. The German training department is split into three teams. One is responsible for the design of all technical trainings and cooperates closely with the business. A second team takes care of all standard trainings, mainly IT and commercial topics, and provides the administration services for all trainings offered. The third team is in charge of all soft skill trainings and individual requests from line manager or head of business units. The only exceptions are the leadership trainings – they are developed by the team in headquarters and administrated by the third team of the German training department. Other important stakeholders include the HR business partners and the line managers, the latter holding the power of decision regarding the training budget.

The training catalogue lists technical, IT and commercial trainings sorted by topics, 257 in total. Leadership trainings are not listed. Again, the training department provides the different units and departments with additionally requested trainings. External trainings are drawn upon, too, and some units have their own training offers, mostly initiated by the head of the HR business partner organization.

Besides differing ambient conditions, each case has its own peculiarities. In case A, it seems extremely important to give the impression of a fair distribution of training opportunities among the different occupational groups. In case B, corporate philosophy plays a crucial role, thus many different terms referring to CVT have been coined. By contrast, practical constraints seem to reduce the leeway in decision-making to almost zero in case C.

Theorization *of core categories*

What turned out to be very interesting in the course of the analysis and helpful with regard to the purpose of the study were the different functions (*Funktionen*) subjectively assigned by the interview partners to the training activities and the rationalities of justifying goals and decisions (Begründungslogik). Both phenomena were first detected in the data and then described in comparison to the current state of research.

Functions of CVT (*Funktionen*): The fact that CVT aims at more than mere learning outcomes was already pointed out several decades ago, amongst others by Wittwer (1981) and Diedrich (1988). Later authors mainly followed their point of view (Geißler & Orthey, 1990; Rodehuth, 1999; Quenzler 2008; Dewe & Feistel, 2013). The functions described include qualification, employer image, integration of employees, economization of social interaction, larger number of subordinates assigned to HR manager, and so on. They have also been empirically proven in quantitative surveys among German enterprises (Seyda & Werner, 2014).

What has been missing is the correlation of functions with the different stakeholders involved. Our working definition hence is:

> *The function of CVT describes the impact of training activities on other objectives, including organizational goals as well as stakeholder interests – as assigned by the stakeholders interviewed. It is not an objective category, but rather a subjective one.*

In what way the functions assigned influence the planning process cannot be fully described yet. One assumption is that a productive planning process – one that benefits all stakeholders - depends on the degree of coherence within the enterprise. In case A, the main stakeholders seem to assign quite different functions to CVT, whereas in case B there is greater consensus and more proactive planning. This will be analyzed in detail in the next steps outlined above.

Rationalities of justification (*Begründungslogik*): The three cases also differed widely with regard to the ways in which the interview partners justify decisions, sometimes depending on the parts of the programs they were talking about.

This phenomenon has previously been described as different justifications (Wittwer, 1981), logics of action (Harney, 1996), or rationalities and motives (Käpplinger 2010). The focus has sometimes been placed on the decisions themselves and sometimes on their communication within the organization. In an adaptation of the governance framework to educational sciences the term Sinnlogik is used. It can be translated as standard and is defined as the reference to sets of criteria that are considered relevant to decision-making (Benz et al., 2004, p. 33).

Begründungslogik (rationalities of justification) - the term that seems to best fit our findings – was first proposed by Robak et al. (2014). Similar to Benz et al., they suggest that, in the process of justification, the actors make reference to sets of criteria outside the organization itself. Robak et al. (2014) differentiate three different fields that are made reference to:

-adult education as a profession,

-"the market" (demand),

-a political perspective.

Our current assumption is that different rationalities of justification can be analyzed with regard to three aspects: the justification of decisions made in the planning process, the

justification of the functions assigned to CVT, and the justification of the objectives CVT is linked to. To this, we have added a fourth field:

-business administration (focus on cost-benefit ratios).

The next steps of analysis will include a closer look at how stakeholders differ with regard to rationalities of justification, i.e. in how they refer to different sets of criteria, and how that influences the process of program planning.

Implications for Adult Research and Practice

With regard to the theorization of CVT, the findings on different functions subjectively assigned to CVT by the stakeholders and on the different rationalities of justification contribute to an understanding of program planning that takes the political dimensions of the context into account. It allows for a more accurate representation of the reality in enterprises regarding the process of program planning. If – as is expected – a typology of planning processes can be derived from the data in the next steps of the analysis and if a link to the programs planned can be found, a typology of cultures of program planning may well be the final outcome of the study. This typology should subsequently be validated in further research and in other institutions of adult education.

Regarding methodology, the study shows that the governance analytical framework provides a useful tool for research in the context of CVT. Also, the combination of qualitative interviews with an analysis of the training programs seems fruitful.

As far as the practice of adult education within enterprises is concerned, the study provides a framework for critical reflection on whether and to what extent a training program meets the interests of all the different stakeholders involved – the enterprise as well as the individual learner.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Kurdish Women Political Prisoners in Turkey: Praxis, Political Consciousness and Resistance

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Introduction

My doctoral research focuses on learning praxis of women Kurdish political prisoners under an oppressive regime in Turkey since 1990 to present. I will use prison experience of Kurdish women as a framework in which to study both feminist resistance and resilience. I will try to explore their experiences of prison-enabled political consciousness that weaves their gender and Kurdish identity through a nationalist ideology. I am also interested in the political, social and historical peculiarities of the context of these women's experience: Kurdish struggle in Turkish prisons.

Instead of presenting the Kurdish women only as the victims of this struggle –subjected to both internal and external war (i.e., oppressed by the Turkish state as well as Kurdish patriarchal structures), my research will contribute to generating a new perception of Kurdish women as active subjects through a critical Marxist-feminist approach elaborating on gender roles among Kurdish women. The theoretical foundation of the thesis is Paula Allman's and Freire's perspectives on education and the way they use concepts such as consciousness, social transformation, praxis, resistance and hope.

This study examines the role of women political prisoners during the Kurdish-Turkish conflict as represented in memoirs, testimonial narratives, and autobiographies. My analyses will be particularly based on their memoirs. I will address how to examine the Kurdish women political prisoner's memoirs in the context of Kurdish struggle and figure out missing links amongst feminism, nation building, and patriarchy. The motivation for this research, then, will be redress these gaps in memoirs; and bring to light the role played by women. I will trace through prison memoirs their personal impressions of and reflections on the institutions that formed the Turkish prison system. In doing so, institutionalized role of violence in the formation of modern-nation state in Turkey will be vividly portrayed in the political prisons and in the larger society.

I wonder how/if women in prison-as a place of punishment develop political consciousness through their experiences. Accordingly, the analysis presented in this study seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the impact of prison on women prisoners who were in the national struggle?

- What do Kurdish women prisoners have to share about the prison experience?

- Given the Marxist-Feminist discourse in Adult Education, what are the implications of reading women political prisoners' memoirs?

My study investigates these questions to increase our understanding of women's prison experiences, by means of deepening our understanding of how women prisoners transform in prisons though telling their stories.

This paper examines the role of women political prisoners during the Kurdish-Turkish conflict as represented in their memoires, testimonial narratives, and autobiography. In my analyses of these works, I argue that the prison as placement of punishment, as well as experiences that guided these women to develop a political consciousness and resistance. The theoretical foundation of the study is Paula Allman and Freire's perspectives on education and the way she uses concepts such as consciousness, social transformation, praxis, resistance.

As an oppressed national minority, Kurds have been politically targeted in Turkey since foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was founded as a reaction to the continuous military interference of the Turkish state in the Kurdish regions. The PKK has been central to the Kurdish liberation movement ever since its creation in 1978. The PKK was established as a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group in Northern Kurdistan (Southeastern Turkey) combining a form of Kurdish nationalism with the struggle for social emancipation. In the aftermath of the

1980 military coup in Turkey, the persecution of Kurds and other dissidents escalated dramatically. According to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch it has been estimated that 40,000 people were killed, 4,000 Kurdish villages were burnt, and 3.5 million Kurds were displaced from their homes and land. The Turkish state displaced hundreds of thousands and reportedly used torture, assassination and rape against the civilian population. Yet it did not manage to break the Kurdish resistance. Furthermore, 119,000 people were imprisoned for political reasons during last three decades.

In this context, a political prisoner is someone who is held in captivity or detention because of his or her ideas and activities against the aggression of the state. Among those political prisoners, Kurdish women's experiences have not been studied widely. However, their experiences provide an excellent case to analyze Kurdish women resiliency and to understand the process of their political consciousness, and their praxis against injustice in prison and beyond. My purpose is to retrieve the memory and dignity of those women who survived, resisted, and fought against Turkish state.

The persecution of the Kurds in Turkey has been studied by both academics and non-academics (e.g. see McDowell, 2000; Romano, 2006; White, 2000; Ozcan, 2006; Gunter, 1990; Green, 2002, vanBruinessen, 2000) in terms of national struggle by disregarding women experiences. Within these studies, women's experience of incarceration is invisible (Caha, 2010; Acik, 2002: Kandiyoti, 1997). On the other hand, the role of prisons in the transformation of Kurdish women within the political struggle has not been studied exhaustively. I will reveal the unstudied spaces where Kurdish women remake their lives through their resistance.

The reports of various Human Rights organizations provide striking findings on the human rights violations as well as inhumane conditions of Turkish prisons (Amnesty International, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2000). Similarly, the public and scholarly debates in Turkey has excluded the Kurdish women's prison experiences and instead has produced stereotypical accounts of Kurdish women as ignorant, pitiful and passive victims of Kurdish social and cultural forms of patriarchy (Altinay, 2007). The Kurdish political movement, in particular PKK, has produced a counter theoretical analysis and praxis to oppose the dominant narrative of the state and the Turkish women's movement (Ocalan, 2003). However, the policy, politics, and praxis of PKK rendered invisible the Kurdish patriarchal oppression that persists in the national political struggle (Mojab, 2001; Caglayan, 2007). Building on this complex history and politics, I argue that analyzing the experience of Kurdish women political prisoners requires a critical study for the intersectionality of nationalism, feminism, consciousness, resistance, and learning.

My study builds on and extends the existing work by focusing on the political consciousness of Kurdish women affected by multiple layers of national, patriarchal, and transnational capitalist social relations. I will focus on the roles that consciousness and praxis play continuous resistance of Kurdish women prisoners. Using theories of critical/revolutionary praxis (Allman 2001 and Carpenter 2012), I will explore how Kurdish women's experiences are constituted through historical-social relations, and how they came to understand their experiences within this broader social relations. Allman's discussion of praxis highlights the internal relationship between thought and action, which will allow me to theorize Kurdish women's experiences as political prisoners. My notion of consciousness and experience are informed by scholars such as Bannerji (2003), Smith (1987), Mojab (2012), and Carpenter (2012). These analyses offer the tools to theorize praxis, consciousness and the relations of gender, nationalism, and imperialism. A dialectical understanding of these relations is foundational to understanding the ways women political prisoners learn and are continually transformed through their resistance inside and outside of prison.

Throughout my study I will highlight how Kurdish women political prisoner's resistance to the oppressive regime made it possible for them to envision a critical/revolutionary woman, radically different to feminine ideal imposed by the patriarchal, imperialist and capitalist relationships.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Constitution of transnational social space: Migrant women managing careers and lives between China and Canada

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ABSTRACT

Flows of people between China and Canada are increasingly characterized by two-way movement, conjuring the image of a privileged few who respond "fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong, 1999, p. 6). This paper complicates the picture with an examination of the multi-scalar social relations shaping the migratory movement of 15 highly trained Chinese women between China and Canada. It starts by revealing a rather uneven and highly stratified, although somewhat fluid, transnational space forged through the women imagining, acting, and relation-ship building. It then traces multi-scalar social happening as they converge to produce the life trajectories and career paths of the women. Particular attention is paid to how gender relations are perpetuated, disrupted and/or reconfigured at each site of analysis: family, the labour market, community, and migration regulation and management. Methodologically, the study is informed by gendered geography of power.

Introduction

Canada-China people flows are increasingly characterized by two-way movements. These flows have formed what Woo, the CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation, calls a "human capital nexus" (Woo, 2011) which policy makers in both China and Canada attempt to utilize for economic development. Such a framework conjures the image of a privileged few "respond(ing) fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong, 1999, p. 6). We believe that it is problematic to see immigrants only from the lens of the human capital they offer. By explaining the transnational movements of people based upon abstract political and economic conditions we may also risk reductionism, rendering invisible complex social processes that participate in producing the transnational spaces that migrants forge. Drawing on a qualitative study, we conduct a multi-scalar analysis of the production of the transnational space between China and Canada, drawing special attention

to how gender relations are perpetuated, disrupted and/or reconfigured through movement, imagination, and relationship building.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a theme taken up in expatriate, return migrant, and immigrant studies. Organizational and management studies, for instance, have documented how expatriate migrants help forge social, cultural, and knowledge networks through intra-company movements (e.g., Beaverstock 1996, 2005). Other studies have also highlighted the strategic positions that return migrants occupy in technological innovation and economic development at home, and in the diffusion of social and cultural capital from developing to developed countries (e.g., Conway et al., 2012). However, with few exceptions (e.g., Roos, 2013), this literature is preoccupied with the experiences of elite male professionals. We know little about the experiences of women.

Immigrant studies, on the other hand, have for the last several decades addressed the issue of gender (Sharpe, 2001). This literature has long suggested that women play a significant role in the maintenance of their families and contribute to the interlocking spheres of productive, kin, and caring work (e.g., Zontini, 2004). Notwithstanding its attention to gender, this literature focuses largely on women in low-end sectors, such as sewing, care, entertainment, and personal services (Hochschild, 2000; Ng, 2001; Sassen, 2004). Transnational movement is often characterized as offering women an escape from poverty and powerlessness (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). When professional immigrant women are addressed, they tend to be women active in feminized sectors, such as education and nursing or skilled women relegated to low-waged service and manufacturing sectors. While often generated by preferential immigration policies for skilled workers, migratory movements for women have been associated with deskilling, feminization, and re-domestication (Yeoh & Wills, 2005). Rather than providing

opportunities, transnational movement may result in gendered career compromise (Suto, 2009).

Clearly research of transnational migrants has begun to appreciate the experiences of professional women. However, scant attention has been paid to the experiences of immigrant women in male-dominated professions (Raghuram, 2008). Further, with few exceptions, studies of professional immigrant women often treat women's careers and lives separately (Kofman, 2011). Although many studies focus on women's experiences, comparatively few studies have examined how transnational professional women are impacted by policies and practices that shape such social space across place and time (for exceptions, see Mahler & Pessar, 2001, Man, 2004). The following research seeks to bridge these connected areas of scholarship, examining the social production of the life and career experiences of transnational professional women in male-dominated science and engineering professions.

Methodologies: gendered geography of power

Methodologically, this study[1] draws on Mahler and Pessar's (2001, 2006) gendered geographies of power (GGC), a perspective which enables a fuller understanding of gender and gendered practices across place. GGC is composed of four building blocks. First, it considers how gender ideologies and norms operate within and between the geographies of social and spatial scales such as individuals, families, the labour market and the state. Second, it takes in account social location, or how individuals and groups are situated in multiple intersecting and mutually constituting hierarchies of social differences. Third, it examines the agency exercised by transnational migrants, which is a rendition and expansion of power geometry, i.e., the recognition that people are differentially related to the flows of power and interconnections between places. Lastly, GGC considers imagination, a cognitive process through which cultural images, meanings, and values circulate and get appropriated by individuals as they plan, strategize, and move. In this study, we began with individuals' experiences in their everyday lives, examining their decision making and relationship building practices. To fully understand women's experiences in the transnational space, we also explored the social milieus and community activities to understand the social processes that may have influenced the lives and career paths of these women.

Research methods

Altogether we interviewed 15 women who had moved between China and Canada at least twice for settlement, employment, and educational purposes. Through semi-structured interviews, we traced the participants' transnational

career and life trajectories in relation to the social, cultural, familial, and economic contexts within which they negotiated options and opportunities. We paid special attention to not only their movement and decision making processes, but also their positioning practices within the geometry of power in particular social settings.

Additionally, a total of 18 key informant interviews were conducted with immigration consultants, continuing educators, immigrant services workers, sectoral researchers, HR staff from engineering companies, HR head hunters, government policy makers, entrepreneurs, and individuals and groups active in engineering, sciences, and Chinese diaspora communities. One key informant chose to respond to questions in the form of a written response. Key informant interviews were conducted to map the changing policies and practices contributing to immigrants' experiences across China and Canada. Further, we also observed public events and conferences that focused on the retention of women and immigrants in engineering and science.

Transnational movement of the women

All 15 women had moved at least twice between China and Canada for settlement purposes. Five of them also had educational and/or work experiences in a third country (UK, New Zealand, and Singapore). Additionally, one woman was still moving frequently between China and Canada to run her business and manage her family. All but two women included in this study were yet to decide on whether they would settle in Canada or China. Family related reasons (children, spousal career decisions, intergenerational care etc.), pursuit of meaningful careers (better career opportunities), and better quality lives (health, western culture and environment) were the major reasons the women cited to rationalize their transnational movement.

All 15 women were trained in engineering and applied sciences (husbandry, chemistry, mathematics, geosciences and medical sciences). Although they were all highly trained, their career paths were variegated. For example, two women had undertaken an entrepreneurial path in China prior to migrating to Canada. One other woman tried out opening her own daycare centre with a focus on science education initially in New Zealand and then in Canada. Four women had experiences working in a third country. A few others worked in foreign ventures in China, making higher than average salaries. The rest of the women worked in state-owned public institutions, such as colleges and universities.

Entry into the labour market in Canada was with different degrees of urgency for different women. A few of the women immediately began working, starting from the bottom of the labour market, given their economic needs. Other women, especially those from more privileged backgrounds, held off strategizing their next career steps upon entering Canada and focused primarily on caring work and taking a break from their high-paced professional lives. Regardless of their economic preparedness and social positionality prior to their transnational movements, all but two women were

considering or engaging in additional training or diploma programs, framing education or certificate training (for instance immigrant consultant certificate) as a pathway to further their career lives. That said, at the time of the study, only three women remained in their professional fields, one through returning to China and two through employment within Chinese-based business in Vancouver. One other woman shifted her career focus from civil engineering to information technology, while others stayed within or moved into entrepreneurship; the latter often attempted to build their career lives based upon their transnational connections and opportunities between Canada and China. Such a strategy was presented as a way in which their personal and professional lives could be integrated, enabling them to simultaneously work from home and care for their children.

Our research found that women's migratory stories were full of imagining, longing, and strategizing. Many women faced difficult choices and felt conflicting responsibilities. Nevertheless, it is misleading to assume that the women were the sole agents in weaving their transnational links. Although the women in our study voiced agency, the ability to exercise choice was found to be afforded by several social institutions and communities that women were both in contact with and distant from, which bear upon the transnational movement and outcomes the women may have experienced.

Gendering transnational spaces

In this section, we focus on a multi-scalar analysis of the institutional and community sites that contributed to the making of the transnational space lived by the women. We focus in particular on family, the labour market, communities, and immigration regulation and management.

1. Forever responsible to the family

As briefly discussed upon, multiple reasons prompted the migratory movements of the women. Yet across the interviews we conducted family responsibility was found to be a major push and pull force. For example, a number of women interviewed spoke of moving to Canada because their spouses decided and initiated the migration process. Other women came to Canada with the belief that their children would receive better educational opportunities and two women came with the plan to give birth to a second child. The youngest respondent, Emily[2], acquired Canadian permanent residence status through her parents, and although she initially planned to only spend a short period of time in Canada, through circumstances out of her control she became responsible for the care of her younger sister in Vancouver. Meanwhile, family responsibility was also found to be integral to the transitional movement back to China. This is especially true for those whose spouses remained or decided to return to China for better economic opportunities. For instance, Hong, after doing some lab-based research work in a Canadian university, returned to China with her family as her husband was unable to find a

comparable employment position in Canada. Additionally, caring for aging parents was a major reason pulling a number of women back to China. Almost all the women within our study were separated from their spouses for some time due to migratory reasons. Nevertheless, it was rare for the women to be separated from their children. Eight of our participants had lived in long-term transnational relationships and seven were still dealing with transnational spousal relationships at the time of the interview. One woman had divorced and remarried in Vancouver. Although overwhelmingly their husbands' career trajectories took precedence over their own, in one case a male spouse followed and worked for our respondent Linda, who was promoting play-based science education for children initially in China, later on in New Zealand and currently in Canada.

2. Floating capital and the organization of the labour market

Of note, a majority of the women who were working at the time of the interview in Vancouver were employed by Chinese employers. This phenomenon points to a unique coming together of labour and capital. For instance, some respondents spoke of a great deal of free-floating capital seeking investment opportunities. Some suggested that this is in part due to the number of business immigrants in Vancouver seeking investment opportunities. One informant, for instance, was a business immigrant who recently bought a spring water manufacturing company and spoke of plans to undertake massive hiring and expansion. At the time of the study, she planned to amalgamate capital internationally while expanding her business in Vancouver. Indeed, provincial and metro government tax incentives encourage such business investments. As a result, it is not rare for businesses in Vancouver to be owned by ethnic immigrants such as Chinese. Interestingly, people in control of international capital may not be as well educated as some of the professional migrants, on whose labour they have to rely. The coming together of financial capital and human capital in Vancouver as such brought about some interesting dynamics. For instance, one woman, an urban planner who was trained in the UK and gained professional experiences in foreign ventures in Beijing, read in a Vancouver-based Chinese newspaper that a Chinese constructor was looking for the kind of technical expertise and language skills she could provide. Easily getting the job, she spoke of her employer as a rich "Shandong farmer" who had to rely on her to bid for projects.

As discussed above, the difficulties transnational movement had for families was well recognized by key informants and stakeholders. Indeed, some private skill-sourcing organizations from China described changing their sourcing strategies with this in mind. Instead of attracting Chinese overseas to go back to China, they spoke of looking for more flexible ways to bring together economic capital and human capital or talents that could turn their specialized skills into business opportunities. Such strategies sought to make it possible for people to work and renew their knowledge and skills in Canada. Key informants voiced that funding

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2   All names are pseudonyms.

for talent was indiscriminate of gender. However, particular funders, such as Huamulan foundation, would only invest in women to support them to established small businesses.

In Canada, we found diversity to be an emerging discourse within industries. Although migrant groups were understood to face labour market disadvantages, key informants from the industries were conscious about the advantages of diversifying workers, especially in terms of increasing productivity and innovation. Key informants believe that immigrant engineers and scientists offered a whole host of skills and attributes which may be utilized by employers to increase productivity, innovation, client relations, and flexibility. There seems to be pressure from investors and clients, such as the government, for industries to diversify their workforces, either for social equity purposes, or to improve the social profile of companies. Despite these new sensitivities, many still spoke of the need to increase awareness and step "outside their comfort zone" in order to fully take advantage of immigrant groups.

3. Communities of support

Although the majority of the women within our study lived in ethnically concentrated Chinese communities, such as Richmond and Burnaby, a sense of social isolation was reported by many. Often, their personal and support networks were built through meeting other parents at their children's school. Some also mentioned meeting people through church and religious activities. Others discussed making friends through the training and educational programs that they attended. Curiously, many women reported that their strongest communities of support were online, such as virtual communities with alumni connected through Wechat. This particular network was reported to meet their needs for intellectual conversations.

Another grassroots movement that could have served as a community of support for the women was the emerging communities of advocacy for women in engineering and sciences. Key informants discussed several groups based in Vancouver that aimed to serve women in engineering. The origins of these groups are multifaceted, connected to institutes of higher education, immigrant serving organizations, engineering associations, and advocacy groups for women. Some programs had a long history, such as a UBC-based advocacy organization that began in 1993 after receiving a major endowment. Others were limited term projects spanning a few years. A majority of these advocacy groups provide professional development, networking, and mentorship opportunities for women studying, working, or seeking employment in engineering and science fields. Additionally, a number of organizations also provide community-based advocacy to raise awareness on the issues women face in engineering and science and commemoration of the École Polytechnique Massacre in Montreal in 1989, where 14 female engineering students were killed. However, our study found little overlap between these communities and the life worlds of the immigrant women we interviewed.

4. Migration regulation and management

Migration and settlement policies and practices were found to be directly related to the decision and direction of transnational movement. Underpinning these policies and practices are discourses of technological and scientific competition on the global scale. Our Chinese informants framed Chinese scientific knowledge production as lagging behind the West, and spoke of the need to bridge an international gap of knowledge and technological development. Contrastingly, key informants in Canada spoke of the possibility foreign-trained engineers and scientists offer in terms of new and innovative skill and knowledge. Chinese informants sought to bridge the perceived technology gap by gaining the scientific knowledge and technological innovation of international talent and internationally educated workers. Interviewees emphasized cultivating something new and different – either as *chuang-xin* (innovation) or *chuang-ye* (entrepreneurial) – an ideal step to expedite technological advancement, especially in an international comparative field of cutting-edge technological development.

Although the potential for economic successes was spoken of in an assured way, analysis uncovered ambiguous imageries of mobilizing human resourses. That is, although policy discourses of transnational talent were present within interviews, the practices and social background of such individuals were unknown and unclear in practice. This finding intensified when women in science and engineering were discussed. In the study, we found little policy geared towards promoting women engineers and scientists to return to China. This lack of policy attention is framed within an equality framework; that is, women and men should be treated the same.

In our interviews with stakeholders in the fields of immigration and settlement in Canada, discourses of which immigrant groups were privileged and which were not was found. Privilege was spoken of in multiple ways, such as convenient entrance to the Canadian labour market for people from USA, British Commonwealth countries, and some European countries, or the number of immigration offices and officers in a source country. For example, headhunters spoke of how the Free Trade Agreement between the USA and Canada allowed them to expand their search for talent to the USA. Other privileged pathways to immigrating to Canada include guest worker programs and policy and programs that aim to recruit international students at Canadian universities. The landscape of immigration policies and practices were discussed as uneven, with some migrants entering Canada with a comparatively secure status, while other groups were framed as experiencing difficulty and having a lack of privilege. As far as immigrant women are concerned, it is the kind of educational background and work experiences that they had acquired that enabled them to ride the wave of migration. In other words, the notion of skill stands in for their gendered bodies and gendered career pathways. However, what enabled them to be mobile may not work out for them in the long run.

Conclusion

In this paper, we traced the transnational movements of 15 Chinese immigrant women, and mapped some of the social processes that shaped the transnational space forged through the women's acting, visioning, and relationship building. Regardless of their economic backgrounds, these women had familial ties being the major force to push and pull them across the Asian pacific areas. Negotiating their roles in the family seems to have been a dominant theme for the women. Obviously, the women's movements were facilitated by (im)migration policies. Paradoxically, while the women's movements were driven by the global competition for talents, the majority of our participants were derailed from their fields of specialization. This, however, does not mean that the women stopped playing an important economic role. Instead, they sought out niches in a context of free-floating capital, and in some cases, they were even the mediators of the flow of financial capital. They have also tried to take advantage of their transnational links and integrate their professional and personal lives through setting up small avenues of entrepreneurship. While only one woman was working in mainstream business at the time of the study, we found emerging diversity policies and advocacy initiatives within the industry that focused on recruiting and retaining women in engineering and sciences in Canada. Yet at this point in time, such policies and initiatives had found little relevance in the lives of women such as those who joined our study.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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From Critical Pedagogy to Critical Participation: Young Adult Learners and Liberal Democracy

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ABSTRACT

In the face of declining rates of electoral participation among Canadian young adults, a growing body of academic and not-for-profit sector research is preoccupied with how best to educate for engagement in the democratic process. Even in the midst of this heightened theoretical attention, however, there remains a significant paucity of research that meaningfully problematizes normative (read: electoral) forms of political engagement, and considers their troubling tendency to uphold corporate and elite interests in neoliberal contexts. This study therefore strives to conceive of pedagogical approaches to educating for formal political engagement that simultaneously disrupt the status quo and the primacy of state-sanctioned methods of participation. Drawing from life-history interviews with a diverse group of progressive young adult Canadians actively engaged in electoral politics, this paper asks how various pedagogies appear to influence the nature of young progressives' political engagement, and what these diverse outcomes mean for social change.

Introduction

In recent years, Canadian young adults' perceived disengagement from politics has precipitated a flurry of research concerned with how best to educate for engagement in the democratic process, and advocating the use of pedagogical methods believed to nurture voting, political party membership, political candidacy, and more. More and more, research argues for so-called 'democratic classroom practices' such as dialogue on controversial topics (Hess & Avery, 2008), student involvement in rulemaking (MacMath, 2008), and service learning (Billig, Root & Jesse, 2005) as paths to political engagement. With limited exceptions (e.g. Pachi & Barrett, 2012; Kennelly, 2011; Haste, 2010), however, existing literature fails to meaningfully problematize the pedagogical goal of promoting youths' increased electoral engagement. Scant attention is paid, for instance, to the troubling capacity of normative, state-sanctioned forms

of political engagement to uphold corporate and elite interests (Gilens & Page, 2014). Civic engagement research that is even nominally critical of liberal democracy itself, meanwhile, remains even more elusive.

It is important to note that the oft presumed 'fact' of Canadian young adults' increasing political disengagement is itself contestable. During the country's 2011 federal election, voter turnout among 18-24 year olds was indeed considerably below the average at just 38.8 percent (Block, Larrivée & Warner, 2011). As well, political party membership and campaign volunteerism have declined markedly among young people (DeBardeleben & Pammett, 2009; Putnam, 2000). At the same time, however, many statistics suggest that many youth are far from uninterested in politics, overall, so much as electoral/conventional politics, *specifically* (e.g. Anderson et al, 2013; Kyranakis & Nurvala, 2013; Lima & Artiles, 2013). Overall, the notion that youth are simply apathetic is, by and large, refuted by an ever-growing body of evidence that reveals young people to be actively seeking out new, alternative forms of political engagement.

In Canada, this evolution in the nature of young people's political participation has aligned with the 'Harper Decade'—now more than fourteen years with Conservative party leader Stephen Harper as Prime Minister. This intersection appears to be more than merely coincidental. For instance, recent polling data suggest that if more 18-24 year olds had voted in the 2011 federal election wherein Harper's Conservatives obtained majority government status, Canada would almost certainly have elected a Liberal minority government, and popular support for the Conservative party would have been dramatically reduced (Grenier, 2010; Bryden, 2014). Such findings reveal that if more youth participated *conventionally* in politics, a number of the racist, colonial, and environmentally destructive policies that have been implemented under the Harper regime might never have seen the light of day. Importantly, youth have been at the forefront of many *unconventional* political mobilizations

against Stephen Harper's gutting of environmental oversight, stifling of dissent, and implementation of policies that have dramatically increased income inequality in Canada. At the same time, however, young adults' disengagement from conventional politics has arguably facilitated the continuation of Harper's tenure, and permitted conservativism to become a more dominant ideology in Canada (and elsewhere) than if younger voters were more equitably represented in electoral politics (Levine, Flanagan & Gallay, 2008; Madland & Logan, 2008).

Young adults' transference of political participation from conventional to unconventional fora therefore signifies at once: (1) a potentially counter-hegemonic shift away from a liberal democratic politics of manufactured consent, and (2) a significant advantage for those committed to the unfettered proliferation of neoliberal reforms. This paper explores this contradiction qualitatively, drawing its data from a series of semi-structured interviews with ten 18-34 year old Canadians identifying as left-wing and participating formally (i.e. conventionally) in politics. An analysis of these interviews offers important insights into how pedagogy is related to different forms of political participation and, by extension, different visions of social change.

Theoretical Framework

In her introductory text on Karl Marx, critical adult educator Paula Allman (2007) writes that liberal democracy is "the form of government most conducive to capitalism… [wherein] citizens alienate their political power and capacities by handing them over to elected representatives, over whom they have little or no day-to-day influence or control" (p. 35). Allman's lucid articulation of the degree to which liberal democracy and capitalism are not just related, but *actively constitute each other* is central to this study's analysis of young progressives' political participation in the Canadian context. As well, this paper draws on Marxist historian Ellen Meiksins Wood, who conceives of the relationship between liberal democracy and capitalism by tracing the historical emergence of each, alongside the other. In particular, Wood highlights the fact that modern democracy works to obscure persistent (indeed worsening) material inequality by emphasizing citizens' *legal* equality. This position is neatly summarized by the following passage from Wood's book, *Democracy Against Capitalism*:

> "In capitalist democracy, the separation between civic status and class position operates in both directions: socio-economic position does not determine the right to citizenship – and that is what is democratic in capitalist democracy – but, since the power of the capitalist to appropriate the surplus labour of workers is not dependent on a privileged juridicial or civic status, civic equality does not directly affect or significantly modify class inequality – and that is what limits democracy in capitalism" (1995, p. 213).

It is liberal democracy's dialectical relationship to capitalism – expressed so cogently by Wood and Allman – that renders this system of governance so easily co-opted by elite interests. Indeed, a recent review of nearly 2,000 policy cases by Gilens and Page (2014) found that "[w]hen a majority of citizens disagrees with economic elites and/or with organized interests, they generally lose" (p. 23). Though unsurprising, this empirical finding confirms what Marx himself long ago observed in *The Communist Manifesto*: that the "executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx, 1977/1848, p. 35).

Overall, the notion that young adults' conventional participation in liberal democracies might be uncritically promoted by social-justice oriented educators is definitively belied by this brief overview of the essential relationship between modern democracy and capitalism throughout modern history. As discussed in the introduction, however, this does not necessarily mean that young progressives should be encouraged to forgo voting. Rather, this article argues for their critical participation in politics by conventional *and* unconventional means. As well, this study considers whether pedagogical approaches to promoting youths' political engagement might simultaneously promote an explicit critique of the liberal democratic 'system' youth are engaged in.

Review of the Literature

As discussed, a majority of recent research on the relationship between education and political participation focuses on pedagogy—used chiefly to refer to particular classroom practices and instructional methods, but also encompassing the development of course content, assessment practices, and more. In reviewing this literature, pedagogical interventions having to do with the maintenance of an 'open' or 'democratic' classroom climate are among the most frequently examined. David Campbell (2008) defines an open classroom climate as one which facilitates unfettered discussion of political issues, leading to students' acquisition of political knowledge, and – more importantly – the cultivation of skills required for democratic participation. His analysis of data from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) determined that of 14-year-olds in 28 participating countries, those who reported having experienced more open classroom climates were subsequently less conflict-averse, more civically knowledgeable, and more likely to indicate their intention to vote as adults. As well, Campbell's study determined that "[a]n open classroom climate has *more* impact on adolescents with lower SES [socioeconomic status]" (p. 449; emphasis added), suggesting that pedagogical interventions intended to foster political participation may have an important ability to compensate for the well-documented tendency of youth from privileged families to engage more readily in formal politics (Bachner, 2011).

Additional studies – new and old – provide further evidence for a link between an open classroom climate and students' immediate and intended political engagement across a

variety of fronts. Sidney Verba and Gabriel Almond (1963) determined that adults who recalled high rates of participation in classroom discussions and rule-making were significantly more likely to feel capable of influencing government through formal and informal channels alike. Judith Torney-Purta (2001) writes that "experience with democracy at school and civic engagement in the broader society are reasonably congruent" (p. 286). And Ellen Quintelier and Marc Hooghe (2013) find that students' perceptions of a democratic classroom climate "are positively associated with [their] future likelihood of political participation" (p. 576). Although many of these studies do differentiate between formal and informal means of engaging politically, however, few of them provide a meaningful critique of how different forms of participation might foster or *hinder* social change.

There is also a notable emphasis in the literature on experiential learning initiatives, and simulation-based learning in particular. Cynthia Rocha (2000), for example, examines the apparent longitudinal effects of participation in a Masters of Social Work course wherein students were required to design and implement a 'change effort' of their choosing. Her findings reveal that school-based participation in an experiential module like this one provides students with important opportunities to acquire skills that equip them to more easily participate in formal politics following graduation. Conversely, however, research by Bernstein and Meizlish (2003) considers the apparent effects of students' participation in an elaborate government simulation exercise, spanning three weeks of an introductory political science course at Eastern Michigan University. By interviewing two groups of students enrolled in the course – only one of which participated in the simulation – they arrived at the surprising conclusion that some students who completed the simulation were actually *less likely* to participate politically (formally and informally) three years later than students who did not. These contradictory findings underscore the need for further research that consults with young adult learners themselves about how they have been affected by particular pedagogical experiences, rather than merely measuring their voting/non-voting behaviour, etc.

With this very brief review of the literature in mind, experiential learning initiatives and open classroom environments are two primary examples of the kinds of pedagogical initiatives that I expected my research participants to cite as having contributed to their (formal) politicization. Again, the degree to which prior research on these types of interventions considers the differential roles of conventional and unconventional political participation in achieving social change remains distinctly limited. A primary theoretical goal of this study was therefore to conceive of participants' descriptions of their past pedagogical experiences in relation to their varied conceptions of liberal democracy, as well as the nature of their commitments to conventional and unconventional forms of political participation.

Data and Methods

Data for this study comes from ten in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 18-34 year old Canadians, identifying as left-wing, and formally engaged in politics. All participants were born in Canada, some of them to immigrant parents. Altogether, six women and four men were recruited from across Canada. Interviewees were recruited through leftist political parties and through a variety of not-for-profits engaged in various forms of civic engagement promotion. Interviews lasted between forty minutes and two hours and were conducted in person or via Skype. My conversations with participants typically began with the nature of participants' current political engagement and then followed a life history approach, cataloguing some of their earliest experiences of political participation and moving through their formal schooling years in a chronological fashion. Haglund (2004) suggests that such an approach is especially well-suited to research intended to yield "data that help researchers gain insight into how past events and relationships might influence current phenomena" (p. 1309). Following the interviews, I relied on an open coding procedure, reading transcripts closely to identify recurring trends in the data. Above all, I focused on particular pedagogical practices that participants themselves branded as formative. As well, I concentrated on participants' conceptions of the relationship between conventional and unconventional political participation. Finally, I paid attention to the manner in which familial relationships appeared to have influenced participants' experiences of particular pedagogies.

Overall, participants' accounts confirmed that pedagogical interventions in formal schooling contexts have an impressive capacity to engender participatory tendencies among young adults. In particular, data provided ample evidence of the participation-fostering character of many of the pedagogies identified in the preceding literature review, as well as some other less-researched pedagogical practices. At the same time, however, the narratives of these young progressives revealed that these same pedagogical experiences do not *necessarily* promote a critical analysis of liberal democracy or the potentially profound limitations of formal engagement therein.

Findings

Many participants in this study attributed their formidable engagement in formal politics, at least in part, to a particular historical moment. Kevin, a second generation Canadian and co-organizer of a major get-out-the-vote initiative, cited a local candidate's mayoral campaign as an 'activating' moment. Municipal organizer and electoral educator Jenn referenced a provincial referendum on electoral reform. Dedicated NDP volunteer and campaigner Ali spoke of the party's assent to official opposition status under Jack Layton's leadership in 2011. Lucas, who works for a civic engagement charity in Ontario, recalled the provincial teachers' strike during Mike Harris's tenure as premier. Additionally, however, participants identified numerous pedagogical moments which they say served as catalysts for their formal

political engagement, and – in many cases – contributed to the transformative character of these *historical* moments. Chief among the many pedagogical experiences cited was having the opportunity to play an active role in determining course content, a practice very much in keeping with the aforementioned literature re: 'open' classroom climates. Ali, for instance, described how exciting it was for him to be able to play a role in the curricular design of a high school course:

> "In one of my classes we were able to give feedback on what we'd like to see in the class at the beginning of the year… It was a newish teacher who had only been there for a couple of years so she said, 'If you have any suggestions, it's the first time I'm teaching this class, so let me know if there's anything you're interested in specifically.' [She] didn't come in with no classroom plan like 'Okay, choose whatever you want to do!' She had a plan, but also asked for options… and I think that was really important and really interesting."

Other participants shared similar recollections. For example, Lucas expressed fond memories of a high school teacher who endeavored to select course content based on its relevance to students: "He'd just like finesse every single piece of it so that it was grounded in experience… and relevant to our lives," he recalled.

Further evidence in support of the hypothesis that an open classroom climate begets participatory tendencies among youth came from participants' many accounts of educational spaces where teacher/student and student/student dialogue was encouraged. Jenn (whose analysis of the relative value and function of conventional and unconventional political participation was markedly sophisticated) expressed her appreciation for teachers who were willing to listen to students in a meaningful way:

> "The best teachers that I had who I learned the most from were always teachers who delivered the subject matter with passion and ingenuity, right? And who were *excited to hear what we had to say* about it, which is unfortunately fairly uncommon… And who used our interests as the jumping off point to explore those issues."

Relatedly, many participants emphasized the profound influence of teachers who were overtly political themselves. Civic engagement promoter Emma, for example, spoke about her school as a very politically-charged place: "I've never been in a schooling environment where… people's political views aren't known," she said. Ali also applauded teachers willing to speak their minds:

> "The teachers that I had were always very vocal with their opinions… If [a politician] was screwing them over they would say so. They'd be willing to talk about that. Maybe not in front of the whole class, but certainly with me and other students who were interested… Often it's a touchy

issue and teachers may not want to cause debate, but… personally I would like to see more of that. And I think that one day, if I have kids, I'll [make sure their teachers know] that talking about politics in the classroom is good with me!" – Ali

There are, of course, many potential obstacles to teachers' ability to speak freely in the average classroom. For instance, in their study of civic learning in four Ottawa secondary schools, Llewellyn, Cook & Molina (2010) write that "some teachers admitted that they were afraid to speak because of potential consequences of job security and status." In many cases, participants in my study attributed their teachers' relative ability to facilitate the communal construction of curriculum and open discussion of potentially controversial topics to smaller class sizes and tight-knit school communities. Kevin, for instance, was enrolled in an International Baccalaureate program that assigned a mere 8-10 students to the average class. Similarly, Amy – who works as a political pollster and volunteers on election campaigns – referred to her high school as hitting the "sweet spot" in terms of institutional size, arguing that "in a bigger school, it's easier to fall to the side and let other people take up space." This suggests that exposure to the kinds of pedagogies discussed herein may become more elusive with the persistent expansion of class sizes across Canada (Bascia, 2010).

Regrettably, a more comprehensive review of the pedagogical experiences of study participants is beyond the scope of this paper, but interviews did routinely address both experiential learning (in particular, initiatives such as model G20/UN) and innovative assessment practices (e.g. portfolio/participation-based assessment) as well as the dynamics of classroom climate, dialogue-based instruction, and class/school size discussed above. Notably, however, *none* of these pedagogical interventions appeared to be related in any significant way to participants' varied analyses of social change and political participation. Allusions to *unique* pedagogical practices – unreferenced by other participants – were exceedingly rare. Variation in participants' analyses of how social change is achieved through liberal democratic participation, however, was common-place.

Three participants whose analyses were relatively sophisticated were Emma, Jenn, and Lucas. Emma and Lucas both work for not-for-profit organizations that do non-partisan work related to civic engagement and democracy promotion. As well, they each had experience volunteering in election campaigns, writing letters to elected officials, and more. Jenn, meanwhile, is an activist and organizer, whose conventional political participation is characterized by her involvement in a major initiative to educate voters in her city on municipal politicians' platforms. All three are markedly progressive—variously committed to feminist organizing, labour organizing, migrant justice, and more. Together, they shared a keen sense of liberal democracy's profound limitations, as well as an impressive commitment to participating strategically in electoral politics. The following quote from Emma effectively summarizes the three participants'

shared rationale for conventional participation in the context of capitalist democracy:

> "To engage in formal politics is not necessarily to disrupt the status quo. But I recognize that you need to work within those channels as well. Because those are the channels that are available to us. When I think about it, I'm like, *Okay; if we have another four years of [Stephen] Harper, that's going to have disastrous implications for a lot of indigenous people and for people who rely on social welfare… It's going to get worse for refugees. They're going to keep building prisons and not deal with mental health as a public health issue, but as something to be criminalized.* So I guess in that sense I'm a proponent of using formal political channels… even while buying into like Marxist or maybe more like Gramscian ideology."

Jenn argued similarly that voting and other forms of conventional political participation should be thought of as 'part of the toolbox:'

> "It's great that young people are building their own ideas for new systems… But what would also be great is if they could understand that while doing that: cast your friggin' vote too, you know?! Like, it's not going to take that long and it's better that your voice be a part of that system too, while you're over here doing this other stuff."

For his part, Lucas also expressed a keen (indeed uncomfortable) awareness of the contradictions implied by liberal democracy, going so far as to call it "fundamentally alienating," but nevertheless promoting participation therein. He began to suggest a possible explanation for this nuanced position when asked about the role family members played in his own politicization:

> "My mother was always super emphatic that I should just ask question after question after question… I remember I would often fall asleep with my mom and my dad and it would just be me asking questions, and questions, and questions… and them answering as much as they could until we both fell asleep or until I fell asleep. So that was like in me pretty deep… I would say that inquiry, in general, is my predisposition."

This quote raises fundamental questions about the role of family in mitigating the effects of the various pedagogical interventions examined above. Emma and Jenn also described family as integral to their development of critical political analyses. In fact, all three participants came from profoundly political households. Many of the participants who were less critical of liberal democracy, meanwhile, described their political engagement as uncharacteristic of their families, referring to themselves as 'anomalies' and 'black sheep.' Some went so far as to say that their family members seldom participate (conventionally or otherwise) in politics, and approach them for advice on the rare occasion that they even vote.

Conclusions

Cumulatively, my data suggest that pedagogical interventions in formal schooling contexts do have an impressive capacity to promote political participation. In fact, many of the participants who came from families they described as apolitical categorically attributed their political engagement to pedagogical experiences in formal schooling contexts. "I didn't get these discussions at home," said Amy, who called school her "first introduction" to political participation of any kind.

The notion that education is a 'great equalizer' has been fairly thoroughly debunked by evidence of schooling's tendency to reinscribe social difference and inequality (e.g. Edgerton, Bickmore, 2006; Nesbit, 2006). Nevertheless, testimony such as Amy's suggests that pedagogy can still play a significant role in correcting societal disparities—at least in terms of political participation. At the same time, however, this data provides little evidence for any argument that formal, state-run educational settings are likely to provide students with opportunities to meaningfully critique liberal democracy. This is in keeping with Jacqueline Kennelly's assertion that contemporary citizenship education initiatives are "a form of governance designed not to enhance youth political participation but, in fact, to shore up state credibility and undermine challenges to its legitimacy" (2011, p. 20). As discussed, research participants who expressed developed critiques of representative democracy and conventional forms of political participation, tended to attribute that criticality to the influence of their families. Although ample research has been conducted on the degree to which young people's civic engagement is predicted by that of their parents, this key finding suggests that further investigation of how family dynamics mitigate particular pedagogical experiences is warranted.

In the meantime, pedagogies that promote political participation among young people who might otherwise be deemed 'apathetic' remain worthwhile, even if they stop short of imbuing critical consciousness. After all, much of the literature mentioned herein suggests that the same pedagogies that (uncritically) foment conventional political participation, also have a tendency to increase levels of *unconventional* engagement—which arguably have a greater capacity to disrupt the status quo (Haste, 2008). As well, studies of young people's ideological persuasions consistently reveal that their increased participation in electoral politics could render Canada's political landscape dramatically more progressive, even if the method of their engagement is seemingly compliant (McGrane, 2015). Finally, liberal democratic states such as Canada face the perennial risk that their pedagogical efforts to empower students to participate politically in ways that legitimize the state might in fact compel them to supplement state-sanctioned forms of engagement with a critique of the very state that sanctions them.

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Gathering Stakeholders: Education About The Salish Sea Ecosystem for Vancouver's Adult Residents

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research project explored marine environmental adult education about the Salish Sea ecosystem in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada from the perspective of local stakeholders: the Coast Salish First Nations peoples, education organizers, marine advocates, City of Vancouver, and a sample of Vancouver's adult residents. The Salish Sea, one of the most rich and diverse marine ecosystems in the world, is considered to be an environment-at-risk due to the effects of urbanization. Marine educational programs exist in Vancouver; however, they are poorly attended and attract repeat participants described as the "already converted." Case study methodology was employed and research methods used were semistructured interviews, a focus group, researcher observations, and document review. Findings were discerned through thematic analysis of the data and reflections on the literature review. The findings include: (a) residents are connected to the Salish Sea ecosystem in a variety of ways but know little about it, (b) increased understanding could benefit the ecosystem and residents, and (c) intentionally designed programs may positively influence attendance patterns. Suggestions for designing programs that intend to foster deep and meaningful understanding of the Salish Sea ecosystem for Vancouver's adult residents are presented.

Preface

This study was inspired by my personal experience of discovering the uniquely biodiverse and exquisitely beautiful Salish Sea ecosystem. I had lived in Vancouver for 30 years, yet knew little about the ocean environment in my backyard or the rivers that flowed into it. One summer, however, I serendipitously came in contact with over 90 southern resident killer whales travelling together in the waters off of Vancouver, British Columbia (BC). At close range from shore, I observed them for hours as they played, fed, and cared for their young. This transformative life experience single-handedly brought the Salish Sea ecosystem into my conscious awareness—the once invisible became visible—and I wanted to know everything about the orcas and their habitat.

I attended many of the ocean-related educational events available in Vancouver. Although inspiring each in its own way, all events were "one shot deals" and unconnected to each other and primarily drew an audience already "in the know." I was determined to find a program that could introduce me to the entire ecosystem and accommodate the educational needs of a curious and enthusiastic beginning adult learner. I eventually discovered the Marine Naturalist Training Program (MNTP) offered by the Whale Museum in nearby Washington State. This unique program is designed to connect adults of all knowledge levels to the Salish Sea ecosystem in deep and meaningful ways. I wondered what a made-in-BC program inspired by the MNTP might look like.

My life has been imbued with meaning and purpose as a result of knowing about, becoming connected to, and falling in love with the Salish Sea ecosystem. I undertook this study to explore a marine environmental adult education in Vancouver in the belief that others' lives might be affected in a similar way.

Problem Statement

> Think about me, pay attention to me; don't forget that you wouldn't be here if I wasn't here.
>
> —The Salish Sea Ecosystem, given voice by a marine environmental educator, June 2014

The Worldwide Trend of Urbanization

By the year 2050, the Earth's population is projected to increase from 7.0 billion to 9.3 billion and 70%, or 6.3 billion people, will be living in urban areas (Bloom, 2011). One consequence of urbanization is that city residents can

become physically separated from the rural environments that supply the essentials for human life (Goleman, Bennett, & Barlow, 2012; Stapp, 1969). This estrangement of urban dwellers from "their own sources of food, water, livelihood, recreation or sacred inspiration" (Woodhouse, 2011, p. 1) can result in a decline in caring for local wild and natural places upon which humans depend.

The Salish Sea is one of the largest and most biologically diverse inland seas in the world (Environment Canada & US Environmental Protection Agency, 2011). Approximately 8 million people currently live in areas bordering the Salish Sea in BC and Washington State (Transboundary Georgia Basin-Puget Sound Environmental Indicators Working Group, 2002) and have influence on the health of the ecosystem through their actions and decisions. Many BC residents may not be aware of this influence nor of the intimate connection between their quality of life and the health of the ecosystem. The BC government, however, has deemed anthropogenic climate change responsible for floods, forest fires, reduced air quality, heat waves, water shortages, and seawater temperature and acidity rise (British Columbia Ministry of Environment, 2014). Parks Canada (2012) identified the southern Georgia Strait, the region of the Salish Sea that borders the City of Vancouver, as an environment-at-risk due to the environmental impacts associated with Vancouver's economic activities that cause habitat destruction, pollution, and fish stock depletion.

According to my observations, the marine environmental adult education that currently exists in Vancouver could be classified as nature study, conservation activities, awareness campaigns, and opportunities for activism. Although Vancouver residents are fortunate to have such a rich variety of educational opportunities, entry points are unclear, workshop-style programs dominate, and accessibility is limited. Programming designed specifically for the curious and beginning learner is lacking. This programming could combine ecological, social, and cultural knowledge; opportunities for emotional bonding with local environments; and learning practical problem solving skills.

Literature Review
Environmental Education
How can we inspire people in large growing urban centres such as Vancouver to develop an ethic of care for their environment? One way is through environmental education specifically designed for city dwellers who do not have a strong connection to the wild and natural places in their own backyard (Goleman, Bennett, & Barlow, 2012). Environmental education can counteract this disconnection by providing opportunities for learners to rediscover local places in a way that fosters an emotional connection (Orr, 1992). Observation and respectful interaction with environments enable learners to build relationships with the world around them, which in turn can foster a motivation to care for these environments (Sobel, 1995).

Environmental Adult Education
In 1969, Stapp acknowledged the importance of environmental education for adults in urban centres due to their influence on political systems that drive ecological policies. This influence includes voting on issues, electing representatives, serving on committees, and being leaders and role models within their communities (Stapp, 1969). Ardoin (2006) corroborated this imperative by highlighting the inordinate impact that adults have on ecosystems by exploiting and consuming the world's resources. Ardoin (2006) acknowledged, "Adults, as well as children, can have deep, transformational relationships with place" (p. 120). Ardoin, Kelsey, and Clark (2012) identified a "distinct opportunity and challenge" (p. 18) for environmental educators to adapt to the urbanization of society by designing programs that engage a diverse, urban population and citizens who may not identify as environmentalists but who have an interest in sustainability.

Challenges in Implementing Environmental Adult Education
Place-based environmental education does not offer a simple one-size-fits-all program design template; "generic curricular models are inappropriate" (Smith, 2002, p. 587). Each program is as unique as the bioregion in which it is being offered and reflects the local "cultural, political, social and biological context" (Woodhouse, 2011, p. 1). This uniqueness requires initiative and commitment on the part of program organizers to conceive, fund, design, market, and implement programs and courses. Environmental adult education programs, however, are often designed and delivered by enthusiastic volunteers who may or may not have the experience or training needed to design and deliver effective programs, such as the specialized discipline of teaching adults, fundraising, marketing, and program evaluation (Woodhouse, 2011). Often these programs run on shoe-string budgets.

Methodology
This study followed a qualitative research design drawing upon a case study approach as conceived by Merriam (1988) and Stake (1995). The data gathering methods were the semistructured one-on-one interview, the focus group interview, document review, and researcher observations. Stakeholders of marine environmental adult education in Vancouver were adult learners represented by residents who were connected to the ocean through their participation in a recreational activity but not engaged in marine environmental education, and one representative from each of the following groups: marine environmental educators; marine advocates; City of Vancouver; and the Coast Salish peoples in Vancouver, the Musqueam First Nation.

Findings
My findings were discerned through a thematic analysis of data from the stakeholder interviews, researcher observations, and document review, and through reflections on the literature review.

Residents Are Connected to the Salish Sea Ecosystem in a Variety of Ways but Know Little About It

The learner stakeholder representatives attributed living near the ocean as integral to their identity as Vancouverites and British Columbians and said, "I'm so connected to the ocean that I can't think of not being close to it," and "If there's an image that goes with my home and represents my home, it's everything to do with the ocean." At the same time, they acknowledged not knowing much about the ecosystem: "It's so precious, yet we have very little understanding of it." Given residents' proximity to the ocean and watershed areas, interview questions sought perspectives on why residents might lack understanding of the ecosystem's unique qualities and relevance to their daily lives. One reason, expressed by several stakeholder representatives, is the difficulty of seeing below the surface of the ocean; the underwater world is simply invisible to most people. One learner described it as a "steel grey plate; it looks like nothing is going on out there; it seems uninteresting." The educator said, "It's so very difficult to connect people to an undersea world," and the advocate posed the question, "How do you draw people in, in that [marine] environment that you can't touch or see below the surface?"

Engagement. Adult educators do not have captive audiences as in the formal school system, which creates the challenge of generating participant engagement. One stakeholder representative said, "People with almost no knowledge are not showing any degree of interest [in marine education]"; however, information from other representatives and the reviewed literature suggested that low attendance may not be a function of disinterest or apathy but of engagement strategies that are not designed for the beginning or "unconverted" learner.

The stakeholder representatives recommended that participant engagement should be an active process that acknowledges the unique characteristics of Vancouver's urban and diverse population. Suggested strategies included targeting sectors of Vancouver's adult residents by their demographic characteristics, interests, and readiness for education; collaborating with local partners and champions; being aware of and reducing barriers to participation; appealing to residents' wide range of ocean connectedness; using current events and issues to spark interest; linking marine environmental issues directly to the lives of Vancouver's adult residents; and targeting those who have the most impact on ocean health.

Increased Understanding Could Benefit the Ecosystem and Residents

The educator spoke about the need for Vancouver's adult residents to understand and experience the Salish Sea as a diverse yet fragile ecosystem, one that needs protection, rather than as a vast, infinitely resilient natural resource. The advocate remarked that the local marine ecosystem is negatively impacted by the residents' lack of understanding about it: "We live in a society that condones polluting; polluting has simply become the norm. Our waterfronts are being ignored. We don't get that we are doing things every day that harm it [the ocean]." Increased awareness and understanding of the Salish Sea ecosystem could "open up a door in an individual's life and get them to think differently; it [understanding] can reverberate through their life; they become aware that their laundry soap has toxins which end up going out to the Georgia Strait" (Educator).

The Musqueam representative expressed a similar sentiment and said that when city residents are "uninformed about the ecological impacts of industries on our waters," they allow large corporations "to do what they want [to the environment] unchallenged." He added that this lack of understanding and engagement is particularly relevant in a political climate in which governments are failing in their responsibility to regulate the activities of the big corporations. The results are pollution of the marine ecosystem and destruction of the shoreline habitat. According to the advocate, "When people are more aware [of issues], they become less tolerant of businesses and governments having all this control, making decisions that are harmful, because they begin to question. You want people to fight for a healthy Salish Sea ecosystem." Learners remarked that education could enable them to have a greater understanding of controversial issues and the reasons behind protests and could provide them with the skills and abilities to advocate for the well-being of the Salish Sea ecosystem. One learner said, "It means that we can speak with strength next time we have that oil tanker conversation."

The Musqueam representative acknowledged the potential health benefits of environmental education by encouraging people to "get outside more often" to explore the environments to which they have been introduced. The advocate spoke about the beneficial role that adult education can play in serving as an entry point to other educational and advocacy initiatives and said, "We still have the issue of not enough people knowing who we are and what we are doing. More collaboration between groups working on ocean issues would probably help with that."

Intentionally Designed Programs May Positively Influence Attendance Patterns

Stakeholder representatives expressed the importance of location in program design. Programs offered in distinct neighbourhoods could incorporate features of the neighbourhood into their design such as culture, language, landscape, and wild and natural elements. For example, a recently daylighted stream in east Vancouver could be the nexus of a curriculum that includes geography, history, colonization, shifting baselines, keystone species, food, industry, current issues and threats, and citizen actions and behaviours that promote sustainability.

Centrally located programs, on the other hand, could be advertised to a larger number of residents and might draw out those who have an already established interest in the ocean. For these already curious learners, issues such as travel time may not be a deterrent.

Drop-in, unconnected public educational events may appeal to residents whose busy lifestyles or lack of readiness

for marine education renders a series of classes unappealing. Several educators, however, thought that a curriculum-based program might attract those who are looking for an educational experience beyond one-time offerings. Although curriculum-based programs may appeal to fewer adult residents, the impact of these programs may yield greater influence on attendees and result in more tangible impacts on their lives and on the lives of those in their sphere of influence. As the advocate explained,

> We can do this "one time" thing, but its impact is lessened unless it's connected to other things. Actually what we need is a series. It goes back to the need for resiliency by bringing a group of people together and creating something that's a bit bigger.

The establishment of social networks provides support for participants to maintain and develop new interests and behaviours. Clover, Jayme, Hall, and Follen (2013) described workshop initiatives as "fleeting learning portals" (p. 27) and emphasized that the relationships with fellow learners and connections to community organizations and movements are what remain after a program is over.

Clover et al. (2013) highlighted the need for inclusivity in program design to appeal to broader sectors of adult populations. Not all adult learners are familiar with or interested in educational approaches that include PowerPoint presentations, note taking, and speaking up in large groups. Alternative program designs could include artistic creativity, nature walks, museum and interpretive centre tours, and awareness events and gatherings. Overall, adult education should be "fun, enjoyable and memorable" (Clover et al., 2013, p. 27).

Ardoin (2006) cautioned program designers against focusing primarily on engaging long-term residents and challenged them to recognize the growing numbers of transient and new residents whose connection to the land may be distinctly different from those with "a rooted, ancestral connection" (p. 120). This challenge has special significance for adult education programming in Vancouver, a city where approximately 42% of its population is classified as a visible minority and 52% have a first language other than English (BC Stats, 2013). One learner stakeholder representative who was a member of a visible minority group raised the concern that most nonformal adult education in Vancouver requires learners to be proficient English language speakers. The advocate stated, "If we don't include the multicultural nature of the Lower Mainland, then we are literally missing out on half the population." Offering language interpretation could increase program attendance and have the added benefit of mixing ethnic and linguistic groups and expanding learners' sense of community.

Clover et al. (2013) advocated for the use of expert instructors and guides in adult education in recognition of the past experience and knowledge base of adult learners. The educator representative said that expert presenters add the "wow" factor to nonformal adult education, enticing participants both to attend initially and to come back for more. Also, teaching opportunities provide experts with a venue to share their extensive and up-to-date knowledge and to disseminate conservation messages and sustainability practices with the general public.

Woodhouse (2011) and stakeholder representatives recommended the use of multisensorial and active learning approaches to capture learners' attention and to augment learning. The educator said, "Use props and dissect seaweed. Words are not always the best way." Urban environmental educators Kudryavtsev, Stedman, and Krasney (2010) recommended learning approaches that combine outdoor experiences with interpretation and instruction to instill a sense of place in program participants.

Woodhouse (2011) recommended that local historical knowledge should be the foundation of multidisciplinary environmental adult education. The stakeholder representatives also voiced the importance of grounding curriculum in the natural history of the Salish Sea ecosystem from the Coast Salish First Nations perspective. Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) acknowledges that we are all part of the same ecosystem and that "we are all in relationship with one another in this world" (Brown, 2003, "Introduction," para. 3). Corsiglia and Snively (1995) described this concept as expanding the boundary of what we care about from ourselves and our family to larger communities and ultimately to nonhuman animals and the biophysical environment. One learner said, "I would be interested in knowing more about the synergy of the ocean, how things live together, how things contribute to one another's lives, or the opposite of that too; the whole pattern or the rhythm of the ecosystem."

Stakeholder representatives suggested tying marine environmental curriculum to something Vancouver's adult residents already love or to something in which they have a keen interest, such as killer whales; local, sustainable seafood; birding; current events; and "hot" issues in the news. One learner suggested, "How about field tours whether by kayak, boat, hike or bike?" Another suggested putting educational information in places where people come in contact with the ocean, such as along the seawall, the sea bus terminal, and on aquabuses.

Learners expressed an interest in knowing more about living sustainably and becoming better advocates for a healthy environment. Clover et al. (2013) said that instilling "a love of nature and a yen to preserve the green spaces" (p. 26) is not enough; the political causes of environmental degradation need to be core components of environmental adult curricula, thus preparing people to be agents of socio-environmental change.

Stakeholder representatives voiced the concern that learning about the gravity of the environmental crisis might make students feel hopeless about their potential to effect change—what Clover et al. (2013) called "green fatigue" (p. 27). The urgent need to reduce planetary levels of greenhouse gas emissions (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate

Change, 2013, 2014), however, and the increased visibility of the effects of climate change in the Salish Sea ecosystem suggest that education could be designed to directly address these potentially devastating and irreversible effects. This approach may sound contrary to environmental theories that recommend bonding to places first before being asked to save them (Chawla, 1988; Sobel, 1995). As the advocate said, "When people love something, they are more likely to fight for it." Nevertheless, as climate change denial recedes in the face of increasing visibility, this pathway could be reversed. Learning to save local environments could become the entry point to education that leads to falling in love with local places, such as the Salish Sea ecosystem.

Conclusion

My involvement in marine environmental education of the Salish Sea ecosystem taught me that the tides are connected to the phases of the moon, the rotation of the Earth, and to the geology of the ocean floor. The majestic Fraser River reaches a long arm out into the ocean and creates conditions for the uniquely biodiverse ecosystem and for welcoming the salmon home. Vancouver's shoreline is home to millions of creatures who struggle to survive every second of every day in strange and wondrous ways. Intricate food webs based on microscopic phytoplankton enable charismatic megafauna such as orca whales to wow and inspire humans with their grace, beauty, and intelligence. In the gritty sand of Vancouver's beaches, the turbulent waters of Active Pass, and in the brilliant colour of a crab, I discovered the most profound of all teachings: all phenomena are interconnected and interdependent, and moment-to-moment everything changes. The world is not about things; it is about relationships.

This study identified (a) a clear direction for the development of education initiatives that will add to the marine environmental adult education programs currently being offered in Vancouver, and (b) implementation strategies that could engage local residents in new and existing programs and courses. My hope is that these findings will provide Vancouver's marine environmental adult educators with insights and tools to design and deliver educational programming to local residents that fosters deep and meaningful understanding of the Salish Sea ecosystem. I also hope that this study raises awareness of the importance of marine-focused environmental education particularly for residents living in coastal urban centres.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Successful Female Apprentices And Their 'Feel For The Game'

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I draw upon data gained through life history interviews involving six successful female apprentices working in B.C. and Alberta. The objective of my research was to gain insights into which factors and experiences may have helped contribute to the participants' successes. Framed by sociological concepts developed by Pierre Bourdieu, the findings suggest that the structure of the field of skilled trades acts to reproduce culture and gender through its expectation that the apprentice's doxa is aligned with that of the field. Furthermore, the findings depict the field of skilled trades as one dominated by men and masculinity, but also one in which the female apprentice can succeed through her possession of field-pertinent cultural capital and her portrayal of a field-appropriate vocational habitus.

Introduction

For over two decades, industry, employers, governments, and trainers in Canada have been working to fill job vacancies in the skilled trades (Sharpe & Gibson, 2005). Meredith (2011) suggests that instead of focusing on the "sheer volume of registrations" (p. 324) of new participants, it may be more practical to concentrate on apprentices and their skills, and apprenticeship completions. In addition, Watt-Malcolm and Young (2003) explain that historically the Canadian skilled trade sector has been dominated by men, while Braundy (2011) describes its culture as one that is generally hostile to the notion of increasing female inclusion, resulting in women being "46 percent of the workforce, but fewer than 3 percent of the tradespeople" (p. 5). My experiences as both an electrician and a trade school instructor support these scholars' claims. In light of these points, my interest in the gendered character of the skilled trades and how it pertains to low apprenticeship participation can be summed up with Vojakovic's (2008) following statement: "Given that women constitute nearly a half of the workforce and that they are well educated, it is baffling that this pool of

labour has not been effectively tapped into in order to mitigate...worker shortages in the skilled trades" (p. 8). Lastly, one additional finding by Meredith (2011) provides a basis for added concern. Although there are 57 Red Seal certifiable skilled trades (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2014) female apprentices are "heavily concentrated in traditionally 'pink' trades such as hairdressing, cosmetology and cooking" (Meredith, 2011, p. 324), which "typically do not award a living wage" (Vojakovic, 2008, p. 1).

I find the issue of women's low participation in the remaing 55 male-dominated skilled trades mysterious for two reasons. First, apprenticeships in the male-dominated trades provide women real opportunities for achieving wage parity. As Mayer and Braid (2007) point out, "On average, women in construction earn 98.8% of what men make in the same trade" (p. 6). Second, as with the female skilled trade workers involved with Smith's (2013) study, most of the female apprentices I have met describe their work as pleasurable, satisfying, and motivational. Together, these points force the question: Why are so few Canadian women undertaking apprenticeships in the male-dominated trades?

To address this question, I concluded that successful female apprentices could perhaps illuminate contributors and hindrances to their accomplishments. By focusing on the experiences of successful tradeswomen, my inquiry was informed by three primary questions: What factors and/or experiences influenced the women's decision to enter into an apprenticeship? What additional factors and/or experiences emerged during their apprenticeships and influenced their decisions to remain in the program? Which factors and/or experiences did they view as important to the successful completion of their programs? These questions suggest my own orientation to the issue of gender in the trades – one that is, as I now explain, influenced by the sociological thinking of Pierre Bourdieu.

Conceptual Influences

Bourdieu argued that structure and agency must both be accounted for when performing sociological research (Grenfell, 2012). To that end, Bourdieu asked that sociologists consider applying a "relational (rather than more narrowly 'structuralist') mode of thinking" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 96-97). As Bourdieu put it, "*the real is relational* [emphasis in original]: what exist in the social world are relations—not interactions between agents...but objective relations" (p. 97). Therefore, as Swartz (1997) notes, Bourdieu believed that sociologists must use a "relational method" (p. 62), which acts as "a basic tool for imposing the necessary epistemological breaks with both subjectivist and objectivist forms of knowledge" (p. 62). Bourdieu claimed that thinking relationally enables such breaks because doing so "extracts an object of inquiry from the context of everyday assumptions and perceptions" (p. 62). This notion of thinking relationally led to Bourdieu (1977 [1972]) developing his theory of *practice* and its formula: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979], p. 101). I now explore briefly the formula's components, showing how each contributes to thinking relationally.

First there is *field*. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) states that "to think in terms of field is to *think relationally* [emphasis in original]" (p. 96). Swartz (2002) explains that Bourdieu sees society as "a complex arrangement of many fields....The concept of field posits that social situations are structured spaces in which actors compete against one another for valued resources" (pp. 65s-66s). The characteristics and parameters of a given field are generated and maintained by each actor's **doxa**, his or her "undisputed, pre-reflexive, naïve, native compliance with the fundamental presuppositions of the field....The pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world" (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980] p. 68).

Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) defines *habitus* as "Systems of durable, transposable dispositions...principles which generate and organize practices" (p. 53). Bourdieu envisions field and habitus as the two main components of practice, proclaiming that "social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). Bourdieu refers to this "double and obscure relation" (p. 126) between habitus and field as a way of further illustrating what he believes relational thinking entails, stating, "on one side... field structures the habitus....On the other side....Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world" (p. 127). Lastly, according to Swartz (1997), Bourdieu emphasized that there is a "collective basis of habitus" (p. 105). This notion suggests that individuals who are provided with similar influential opportunities and models often develop similar habituses.

The last variable in Bourdieu's formula is *capital*, which he claims is relational to both field and habitus. Swartz (2002) says that capital provides one's habitus with leverage in relation to the demands of a given field, noting "the dispositions of habitus draw on types of power resources, or capitals, to enact practices....Expectations generated by habitus

depend on capital holdings, either inherited from the family or accumulated" (p. 65s). As for capital's relationship with field, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) claims that "*a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field* [emphasis in original] (p. 127). Elaborating on this, Swartz (2002) explains that "fields are competitive arenas of struggle over different kinds of capital....Individuals are motivated by valued resources, or what Bourdieu calls forms of *capital* [emphasis in original]" (p. 65s). Thus, capital has a double relation of its own. On the one hand, capital is a resource for one's habitus to draw upon during field competitions. On the other hand, capital becomes a reward for participating in those competitions.

Finally, *practice* is the outcome of the relations between field, habitus, and capital. Maton (2012) explains:

> One's practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)....Practices are thus not simply the result of one's habitus but rather of relations between [emphasis in original] one's habitus and one's current circumstances. (pp. 50-51)

In summary, Bourdieu's theory of practice is meant to provide sociologists a way of viewing social practices as outcomes of the nuanced relations between habitus, capital, and field, rather than mere interactions between persons. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) argues that "habitus, field, and capital can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (p. 96). Through this relational lens, one can see that for an actor's practice to succeed in a given field, two phenomena must occur. First, one must possess sufficient quantities of field-pertinent capitals to provide oneself an advantageous field position. Second, one must experience what Maton (2012) terms a "field-habitus match" (p. 58), which only arises when field actors "share the *doxa* [emphasis in original] of the field" (p. 58). Colley, James, Diment and Tedder (2003) add that when successful practice occurs within a vocational field, the actor's field-matched habitus can be termed "vocational habitus" (p. 471). This concept of vocational habitus proposes that the successful actor

> aspires to a certain combination of dispositions demanded by the vocational culture. It operates in disciplinary ways to dictate how one should properly feel, look and act, as well as the values, attitudes and beliefs that one should espouse....[Successful actors] must have social and family backgrounds, individual preferences and life experiences that predispose them to orientate to the vocational habitus and become 'right for the job.' (p. 488)

The notion of correctly matching one's habitus with the demands of a given field—in this case, having the correct vocational habitus for a certain job—is yoked in what Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) calls a "practical sense....A 'feel for the game'....The almost miraculous encounter between habitus

[emphasis in original] and a field" (p. 66). As I illustrate in my findings, it appears that the six female apprentices who participated in my study succeeded in part because they had this practical sense. Essentially, their vocational habituses seemed to be adequately field-matched and sufficiently capitalized in relation to their fields of work. Before I expand on these findings, I will first describe the methodology I used in my study.

Methodology

This paper focuses on the findings that emerged from analyzing data collected from interviews with six successful[1] female apprentices. I approached my research via the social constructivist paradigm, which is exploratory in nature and aims to help the researcher to understand rather than explain (Creswell, 2009). I chose life history research as my methodology because it is a form of inquiry that considers both the individual's biographical history and the social contexts in which that biography expresses itself (Alheit, 2005). The data collection method I used was consistent with what Brinkmann and Kvale (2009) call a "semistructured life world interview" (p. 3). I chose this format because it allowed me to keep the interviews short in duration to respect the time-limited availability of the participants while still allowing the questions to remain open-ended and easily supplemented with critical follow-up questions. My interview schedule consisted of 12 questions, beginning with a focus on the participants' childhoods, families, role models, and early connections to career planning. The questions gradually changed focus to the participants' social interactions while at work and trade school. I began contacting potential participants and scheduling interviews after receiving the necessary ethics certificates. Each participant received a copy of her transcribed interview to confirm its accuracy. With no requests for revisions, I then tabulated and organized responses. Together with the existing literature, the information and stories constructed, gathered, and shared during this process yielded the data that I turn my attention to now.

Findings

Overall, my findings indicate that the six female apprentices that I interviewed were successful in part because they had what Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) referred to as a "'feel for the game'….A practical sense…a proleptic adjustment to the demands of a field" (p. 66). My findings indicate that this practical sense was formed by the components in Bourdieu's formula co-operating relationally, thereby allowing the participants to successfully practice in their respective fields. These findings emerged through analyzing and grouping my collected data into themes relative to Bourdieu's theory of practice.

The first theme that emerged was that when asked who modeled success for them while growing up, all but one of the participants identified a male family member. Regardless of the model's biological sex, each was described as a handy do-it-yourselfer who encouraged the participant to be so as well. Generally, the participants reported that their models for success inspired them to value many of the characteristics which Belotti (as cited in Arnot, 2002) associates with masculinity, such as "'being aggressive, independent, competitive and superior, learning to take the initiative,… [and to] lead an active out-of-doors life'" (p. 115). Additionally, this pattern of participants growing up with comparable models and subsequently developing apparently similar vocational habituses seems to support Bourdieu's notion of a collective basis for habitus.

Another theme that emerged in the findings was that the participants all provided evidence that they individually performed gendering in response to the hegemonic masculinity which undergirded the male-dominated cultures in which they were embedded while at work. It appears as though such gendering was essential for the participants to be accepted by members of the dominant, highly-masculinized, masculinizing group. Smith (2013) notes that "Male domination of trades is maintained through…hegemonic masculinity….Trades are not only dominated by men but are places where men produce and reproduce a kind of masculinity…used to justify exclusion" (p. 862).

In addition to Lupton's (2000) proposition that masculinity "can be performed by men and women" (p. s33), my findings seem to indicate that women can also perform masculinized/masculinizing gender reproduction. An example of this was provided by one participant in my study named Lauren[2]. Lauren mentioned that because of her elevated status within her work crew's social inner circle, she was partially responsible for choosing which new employees were kept and which were fired. Lauren's following comments speak volumes about how she appreciates, supports, and reproduces her field's culture of tough, competitive masculinity: "We kind of weed out the [new employees] that can't… really keep up. For the social aspect as well as, you know, the work aspect" (Lauren, interview, May 29, 2014). Illustrative of how her crew's culture is reproduced, Lauren told me that when she was a first-year apprentice she had considered quitting after a particularly miserable day working in the rain and mud. She said that her decision to persevere earned her respect with the crew's (male) superiors, giving Lauren a new understanding of her place in the hierarchy, both immediately and in the future. She shared with me what she remembered of her thoughts on that day: "I am a first year [apprentice], I have to deal with the shitty stuff now, so I can be a journeyman and give the shitty jobs to… [future first year apprentices], you know, four years from now" (interview).

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1   For this paper, the term "successful" refers to apprentices who had successfully completed the requirements necessary for them to write their licensing examination.

2   All participant names are pseudonyms, provided to protect the privacy of participants, and to maintain standards of confidentiality.

Apparently, Lauren's practical at-work strategy was initiated through her doxa being aligned with that of the field in which she worked. Consistent with the other participants' comments, Lauren's acquiescing to her subordinate position seemed to be "natural" to her in that she saw it as a taken-for-granted, common-sense fact stitched to her position as a woman in a male-dominated field. Such acquiescence is what Bourdieu (1977 [1972]) called "symbolic violence" (p. 191), the "*violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity* [emphasis in original]" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167). This complicity illustrates how the participants exercised their practical sense, for as Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) explained, one's practical sense "is the basis of 'sensible' practices" (p. 66). Furthermore, he said that "Practical sense, social necessity turned into nature...is what causes practices...to be sensible [emphasis in original], that is, informed by common sense" (p. 69).

So far, I have shown that doxa was a staple in many of Bourdieu's theories and concepts. He saw doxa as a catalyst for enabling symbolic and cultural reproduction. He also saw it as generative and constitutive of both field characteristics and of one's practical sense, which allows one's habitus to align with those characteristics. In addition, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) claimed that one's doxa need not be recognized by the individual for it to perform its functions. In fact, Bourdieu suggested that the more that an actor is unaware of her doxa, the more she misrecognizes her dominated field position as taken-for-granted, a scenario which appears to have been illustrated by Lauren. As Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) put it, "everything that takes place... seems *sensible* [emphasis in original]: full of sense and objectively directed in a judicious direction" (p. 66).

Participants in my study generally indicated that they had begun attaining their practical sense with regards to gender at an early age, mostly through interactions with models of masculine strengths. Each individual's practical sense appears to have then developed further, as part of a "sensible" strategy for coping with being immersed in a masculinized culture while at work. Here, I use the word "strategy" as Bourdieu did. For Bourdieu, "*strategy* [emphasis in original] does not refer to the purposive and calculated pursuit of goals" (Swartz, 1997, p. 67); rather, strategy refers to how "actors attempt to derive advantage from situations" (p. 67).

Swartz (1997) explains that "new arrivals to fields must pay the price of an initial investment for entry, which involves recognition of the value of the game and the practical knowledge of how to play it" (p. 126). My findings indicate that each participant's doxa acted as a form of cultural capital which allowed her entrance into the field. This doxa was also the initiating factor in her individualized practical field strategy for success. Each participant's strategy also indicated an alignment to a certain collective habitus, which in these cases was a vocational habitus deemed appropriate within the highly-masculinized field of skilled trades. Along with her doxa, each participant's vocational habitus acted as a further form of cultural capital, providing the female apprentice increased cultural credibility, or what Bourdieu

(1990 [1980]) calls "honour" (p. 16) with her male counterparts. Earning this cultural capital was tied to her ability and willingness to portray somewhat of a manly vocational habitus. I asked one participant if she believed that being a tomboy would provide a female apprentice advantages while working in overtly masculinized environments. She responded with "you have to be a, not even a tomboy, you have to be a, a man!" (Michelle, interview, July 18, 2013).

Swartz (1997) calls Michelle's willingness to emulate the dominant agents' habituses a strategy of "succession" (p. 125). This strategy is often used by new entrants to a field who tend to maintain rather than disrupt the field's existing orthodoxies. Swartz claims the two other strategies that field members can utilize are "conservation...[and] subversion" (p. 125). While incumbent power holders tend to apply the strategy of conservation because it helps them maintain their domination of the field, subversion is a strategy typically exercised by challengers, those who "oblige the old guard to mount a defense of its privileges" (p. 124). Only one of the participants in my study made use of the subversion strategy. Interestingly, the participant was Michelle, the same participant who first situated herself as a succession strategist.

Michelle told me that in the past she had quit skilled trade jobsites because of sexism aimed towards her. Unwilling to repeat this pattern perpetually, Michelle promised herself that at her new job she would lodge a formal complaint the instant she sensed sexism. Immediately following Michelle lodging her first formal complaint, her supervisor reprimanded the perpetrators. As Michelle put it, "The crew was forced to respect me" (Michelle, interview, July 18, 2014). Michelle told me that after that day, she was in possession of a type of political capital, an ace up her sleeve, so to speak. This allowed Michelle to exercise a certain degree of dominance over the so-called dominant males. She told that now when male co-workers make sexist jokes while she is present, she retaliates in kind, making demeaning comments regarding their virility. For instance, Michelle told me that recently she had retaliated by holding her large hammer in front of her pelvis, proclaiming to the male instigators, "'My hammer is a lot bigger than all your guys'…I trip over mine. I bet you wish you had that problem'" (interview). Michelle's performing of such gendering is indicative of doxa's role in matching one's habitus with a field. As Thomson (2012) says, "agents who occupy particular positions understand how to behave in the field, and this understanding not only feels 'natural' but can be explained using the truths, or *doxa* [emphasis in original] that are common parlance within the field" (p. 68). Providing a rather interesting twist, although she appeared willing to engage in such highly-masculinized banter, Michelle told me that she considers herself a "princess" (Michelle, interview, July 18, 2014), to the point that she insists on wearing a pink tool belt, full makeup, and a feminine hairstyle while on the job. Perhaps these are ways for Michelle to maintain a connection to her feminine identity while immersed in such a highly-masculinized culture, similar to the efforts of Smith's (2013) participant named

"Maria" who wore "really girly hairstyles" (p. 866) while working as an automobile mechanic.

In contrast to Michelle's feminine mien, the other participants relied on outwardly exhibiting characteristics of their masculinized field-appropriate vocational habituses as ways to blend in with their male co-workers. To appreciate this phenomenon, it is useful to consider that the concept of habitus "has broadened in scope over time to stress the bodily as well as cognitive basis of action" (Swartz, 1997, p. 101). Similarly, Reay (2004) lists "*Habitus as embodiment*" [emphasis in original] (p. 432) as one of four pivotal tenets that habitus entails, stating that, "One of the crucial features of habitus is that it is embodied, it is not composed solely of mental attitudes and perceptions" (p. 432).

In summary, it becomes apparent that for an agent to succeed in a given vocational field, she must hold a doxa that is in alignment with that of the field, she must carry and/or earn certain field-pertinent forms of capital, and she must actively exhibit a field-appropriate vocational habitus. The six successful female apprentices I interviewed apparently each had varying yet adequate measures of these necessary components, and as such, they all had the necessary practical sense required for succeeding in their vocational fields.

Conclusions and Discussion

The main point of my study was to investigate what factors or experiences contributed to the successes of the six female apprentices whom I interviewed. I was hoping that the data I obtained would help me understand why so few Canadian women are participating in and successfully completing apprenticeships in the male-dominated skilled trades. After examining my findings in relation to Bourdieu's theory of practice and to the existing literature, I propose that not all women—or men for that matter—are predisposed to working in the skilled trades. Moreover, my suggestion to those interested in attracting potential apprentices is to consider the concepts of vocational habitus and field-pertinent capital before signing up new recruits. With an understanding that this sector is highly masculinized and masculinizing, it is advisable to attempt to recruit women and men who have a practical sense of the characteristic demands of such a field. Unfortunately, this tactic illustrates exactly what Arnot (2002) describes as an, "acceptance of gendered expectations and conventions" (p. 9), which tend to fuel the reproduction of a gendered field's dominant culture. Still, as Vojakovic (2008) points out, "Ensuring that women reach a critical mass in the trades is the ultimate goal, which greatly depends on retaining more women in skilled trades careers" (p. 23). To those charged with attracting young women to the highly-masculinized field of skilled trades, I suggest that in light of my findings, adequate attention be given to assessing potential apprentices' perceived practical sense, their "feel for the game."

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Migrating Medical Knowledge: Challenging the Culture of Deficiency

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ABSTRACT

Thirty-seven percent of doctors in the UK completed their qualifying medical education outside of the UK (General Medical Council, 2012). This paper draws on interview data from a qualitative research project on the experiences of European educated doctors who have migrated to the UK for employment. The doctors we interviewed were working as specialists and general practitioners in UK hospitals. We explore the ways in which EU doctors transition into the UK medical system, focusing on their experiences of working in UK medical settings and how their knowledge is validated in the UK. This paper counters the ideological construction in Canada of immigrant professionals' knowledge as "deficient, incompatible and inferior" (Guo, 2009, p. 37), and will be relevant to researchers and practitioners of other OECD nations where the exclusion of medical professionals has been a pressing policy concern.

Introduction

Recruitment of migrant health professionals from various parts of the globe is a strategy employed by Western nations such as Canada and the United Kingdom (UK) to cope with labour shortages. In Canada the employment prospects for non-Canadian educated doctors has been described by Jean Augustine, Ontario's Fairness Commissioner, as 'anything but rosy' (Brennan, 2014, para 1). Barriers such as English language competency, different professional practices, and knowledge of social and cultural protocols have been cited as challenges to the integration of medical doctors into practice (Galabuzi, 2006; Goldberg, 2006; Xu, 2012). It is a national problem with varying degrees of intensity between the provinces. The problem of deskilling for immigrants with professional education and experience is so severe and widespread that the province created the Fairness Commission in 2006 with the mandate to 'assess the registration practices of certain regulated professions and trades to make sure they are transparent, objective, impartial and fair for anyone applying to practise his or her profession in

Ontario' (Fairness Commission, n.d.). Despite the efforts of the Fairness Commission it has been estimated using Statistics Canada data that there are 6,540 International Medical Graduates living in Ontario, 'many of whom are left without a hope of ever practicing medicine in the province' (Brennan , 2014, para 4). In Canada, immigrants' professional knowledge and qualifications are framed by a discourse of "deficient, incompatible and inferior" (Guo, 2009, p. 37). Researchers have shown that disconnect exists between employers' perceptions of migrant workers' human capital assets and the high levels of skill and knowledge that they actually possess (Liu, 2007).

While the qualifications and professional competence of medical doctors can be viewed with some suspicion in the UK (Jinks et al., 2000), European labour mobility legislation ensures that professional knowledge and education is transferrable across Europe. This paper draws on an empirical qualitative research project funded by British Academy / Leverhulme that investigated the migration and work experiences of EU educated doctors in the UK. Based on interviews with EU educated doctors working in the UK, we discuss the practices and processes that contributed to their transition into medical practice. We asked questions such as: How are the doctors initiated into practice in the UK? What are the perceptions about their professional competence? How does their communicative competence in English influence their initiation into practice? How does the type of work they do (temporary v. longer term posts) impact on their medical practice? This paper takes the research on deskilling in Canada as a starting point, and will focus on the situation in the UK. This research provides a sharp challenge to the underlying assumptions made in Canada about the value of the knowledge and skills of non-Canadian educated doctors, and the professional, social, and cultural barriers they face in Canada.

Labour Mobility in the EU

The free movement for workers within the European Economic Community was established in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome. According to this treaty workers shall be secured in being able to move within the community; no racial criteria should determine employment, remuneration or other work conditions; workers shall be able to move freely for employment purposes from one member state to the other maintaining their right to public health and security (Article 48, p. 21). The Treaty states that workers of any kind and of any educational background can move around freely in Europe assured that their qualifications, skills and competences will be acknowledged and integrated in the local system of another member state. Consequently, since 1957, medical professionals have been able to work around Europe regardless of the fact that medical educational in Europe differs from country to country.

In the UK, the General Medical Council (GMC) is responsible for the regulation of doctors. Its administrative council includes both doctors and members of the public and its function is determined and defined by the Medical Act of 1983. GMC's main aim is "to protect, promote and maintain the health and safety of the public" (Humphrey et al., 2011, p.2). In this respect, the GMC is responsible for assessing doctors' performance and revalidating their "fitness to practice". Doctors who have graduated from medical schools in the European Economic Area and wish to practice in the UK apply for a provisional license. The application process includes the payment of non-refundable registration fees, proof of identity, and the submission of key documents, translated into English, such as the Primary Medical Qualification, Certificate of Good Standing, employer references, and a Declaration of Fitness to Practise. After doctors have received their provisional license and their names are added to the Medical Register, they can apply for fellowships for specialist training or locum work (short-term temporary positions).

Thirty-seven percent of doctors in the UK completed their qualifying medical education outside of the UK (General Medical Council, 2012). Although the majority of non-UK educated doctors come from outside of the EU, the UK is one of the most popular destination countries for EU professional medicals. Jinks et al. (2000) located the reason for the UK popularity being either the lack of specialist training positions in home countries or the reported higher quality of medical training in the UK. Another important reason was the English language itself, since English is taught as a second language in most European countries. A decline in the European doctors that opted for the UK as an employment destination country was noticed in 1996-1997 (Jinks et al., 2000), with data until 2002 showing that the number of doctors from Poland, Greece, Italy and Germany coming to the UK significantly increased, compared to the preceding years (Garcia-Perez, Amaya, & Otero, 2007). Interestingly enough, Greek doctors argued that it was not easy for them to find employment in the UK during the early 2000s.

Theorizing Professional Practice

In this paper, we draw on the concept of knowing in practice (Bruni, Gherardi, & Parolin, 2007; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015) to make sense of the participants' experiences. Knowing in practice conveys the idea that knowledge is not an entity that people possess inside their heads, but something that people construct through interactions in a context (Corradi, Gherardi, & Verzelloni, 2010). In the case of professional practice, the social interactions of a professional community determine what is recognized as competence (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). Competence, however, is not a static entity, but is the dimension of knowing that is negotiated among community members and constitutes a regime of competence. When a new member enters a community of practice, their experiences are transformed by the regime of competence and in turn, their prior experiences have the potential to transform the community. Acceptance of a newcomer's competence, however, is not ensured as the definition of what constitutes competence in a community is situated within relations of power. "[C]ompeting voices and competing claims to knowledge [exist], including voices that are silenced by the claim to knowledge of others. This creates knowledge hierarchies among practices" (pp. 15-16).

Doctors, like other professionals, do not occupy a single community of practice, but instead work in multiple communities that constitute a landscape of practice, "a complex system of communities of practice and the boundaries between them" (p.13). Learning in this complex system involves processes of orienting and reorienting oneself to the regime of competence in relation to one's personal experiences. Boundaries between practices also exist and internationally educated professionals who migrate to a country with different a socio-cultural history often encounter boundaries. Practices come into being through a sustained history of social learning (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015) and practitioners who do not share this history may find themselves at the boundary of a practice in a community.

The Research Project

This qualitative pilot study is informed by interviews with eight EU educated doctors from Greece and analysis of relevant policy documents developed by the General Medical Council and the National Health Service. It draws guidance and inspiration from institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005), an approach to inquiry that examines ruling relations – how the constellation of institutions such as governments, shape local experience and organize work practices through written policy and protocols.

We conducted thirty-minute interviews with the two female and six male doctors who were training as specialists in ophthalmology, radiology, orthopedics, and cardiology, two of whom had experience working as locum doctors. Their years of experience as qualified medical doctors ranged from eight to twenty-two years. Two participants had only

been in Britain for three months at the time of interviewing. Most participants came to the UK because of the opportunities and expertise the medical system has to offer with respect to specialty training.

Valuing Medical Knowledge: The Experiences of Migrant Doctors in the UK

Strikingly, when the Canadian situation is considered, all the participants were working in medical positions commensurate with their qualifications and experience, many as Specialist Consultants. Rather than having to prove their competence through examinations, the EU educated doctors' knowledge and experiences were valued and they were able to make strong contributions to the UK medical system immediately upon their arrival in the UK. Following, we discuss the doctors' observations and experiences with respect to their transition into professional practice, and their workplace experiences.

Induction and learning in the UK system

All the doctors were specialist consultants in training or held fellowships and two had worked as locum doctors for training purposes. They spoke positively about the support they received when they began working in the UK. They were often paired with a senior consultant whom they job shadowed and consulted with about practice. In particular, the doctors spoke highly of the specialized training provided, and indeed this was one of the main reasons the doctors sought positions in the UK. Whether they were learning to be a cardiothoracic surgeon, ophthalmologist, radiologist, or orthopedic surgeon, the research-based training system enabled them to develop their expertise. Entering into these communities of practice fostered a transformation of their existing practices.

> "When I first started in Manchester they trained me in … they had training on voice recognition, because now we report and you know we used to write by hand the exams and reports but now we report on some system either way. So they trained me in everything after I started and they even trained me they helped me the first month. They helped me a lot, the other consultants, they showed me how to report with this because it's a different way of reporting, and it slightly is a different system, so I didn't know my way, you know." (Radiologist)

The doctors' observations about the UK medical system drew attention to the ways that the boundaries between medical practices differ from those in Greece. They explained that the division of labour among health professionals in the UK is more pronounced than in their home country. Some of them spoke positively about the clear division of responsibilities and they saw it as beneficial for carrying out their daily practice. Participants explained that in Greece they were expected to complete tasks that are usually designated to nurses or paramedics in the UK, taking away their focus on more specialized care. The strict division of

responsibilities enabled the doctors to focus on developing the skills required by the specialization.

> "The training I think is much better, much more hands on experience. So as you get more familiar with the procedure and everything, you get your lease, or you are more independent at work…. They are more training-oriented on the surgical skills and everything, so this is much appreciated from many Europeans. That is why most of us come here. So this is a big advantage and I have to point it out because I know pretty much about the German, the Swiss and the Belgian system. So, I can tell you with accuracy what's my knowledge of the systems, and it's a huge difference. From I have seen so far, it's a huge difference. Training is more focused here and they want you to be independent on your work." (Orthopedic Surgeon)

A few other doctors, however, spoke to the detrimental aspects the division among practices might hold for doctors. They described it as "setting aside" the general knowledge they had learned in Greece. The UK systems offers good surgical experience and UK-educated doctors have very good specialized knowledge, but the Greek doctors explained that general knowledge within a specialization is not strong. In Greece, doctors are expected to have broad knowledge within their specialization so that they can serve a wide variety of patients.

> "They are very highly qualified for example on glaucoma or only macular degeneration but if you ask them to do something different, probably they can't or they fail. This is what I take in comparison to my country…. I think that probably it's because in the UK they are trying to be more qualified in certain areas while in smaller countries, that an eye doctor would need to serve different posts and cover everything actually in a hospital, they are interested to give you more general knowledge." (Ophthalmologist)

While most of the doctors interviewed spoke positively of their transition into the medical practice, two (2) of the doctors we interviewed explained that locum doctors receive little assistance in learning about the protocols of hospital procedures. They were expected to begin working immediately and given no training for using the computer system. Colleagues were also unwilling to offer assistance.

> "I had my own list [of patients], but when I went to the hospital they gave me immediately my own list and other doctors that were around were not happy even to tell me… to let me watch how are they examining one patient and how they are using the computer system. They were very competitive without any reason…. It was like they had a competition about the posts in the hospital with each other and this is why the arrival of a new doctor made them likely stressed." (Ophthalmologist)

The boundaries that demark medical practices seem to be starkly clear for locum doctors. They talked about receiving little support and devoting more of their personal time and energy in learning the protocols of a particular hospital. While they didn't necessarily view these experiences as negative, learning did require additional effort. Even though locum work offers better earning potential than consultancy or fellowship positions, most of the doctors we interviewed would not consider undertaking it. They felt that stress and lack of opportunities for career advancement were not worth the money, and they would only consider it as a last resort.

> "[Locum work] is like 3 or 4 times more highly paid. The thing is that they have to make a sacrifice. I don't know if you know how it works here but if you actually get only locum jobs it's like a dead end in professional progression. It doesn't mean anything. So you have something in the middle. You know it's a compromise." (Orthopedic Surgeon)

With the exception of locum work, the doctors we spoke to felt supported for the most part as they transitioned into medical practice.

Perceptions about professional competence

To be able to practice in the UK, EU educated doctors must apply for registration to the GMC. None of the participants we spoke to experienced any difficulty in having their qualifications evaluated and accepted by the GMC; one participant, however, indicated that the paperwork was a hassle. Participants received their provisional licenses to practice in a timely manner. The speed at which their applications were processed is a stark contrast to the complicated and lengthy process international medical graduates in Canada face (Goldberg, 2006).

Unlike international medical graduates in Canada, all participants in the study stated that colleagues and other staff members recognised their professional knowledge and expertise. Although an initiation period existed for most participants, they felt it was not long before they were valued members of the medical team.

> "In the beginning everybody is out of the system, so everybody including me, we seemed to be like aliens from this place. But the good thing is that if you prove yourself, you are working hard and you adapt to the system and of course you are a good doctor and clever doctor, then the opportunities are in front of you." (Cardiologist)

> "I think it's quite fair. You cannot start directly with a consultant job but at least you have an introduction to the system and it gives you a chance to train and understand how they work here. I think it's good. It gives you the chance to have good training." (Orthopedic Surgeon)

Through the interactions involved in carrying out their practices, they negotiated the demonstration of their competence within the community. Even though boundaries of practice existed for the Greek doctors in that they had to learn the logistics of hospital protocols and different sociocultural practices, a common history of medical knowledge meant that they encountered minimal questioning of their competence. As one participant explained, "medicine is medicine." A shared understanding of medical knowledge and an acceptance by UK colleagues of the Greek doctors' expertise seemed to ease the transition into the practices of the particular communities.

> "There are always people that are suspicious about you, your level of skills or whatever, because you come from a different system. But I am used to that because I have worked in many different systems so I am used to that. But I think most of the people tend to be okay, maybe a little cautious in the beginning, but as they can see how you work, they accept your skills. I don't sense any kind of discrimination to tell you the truth." (Orthopedic Surgeon)

The locum doctors, however, seemed to be an exception. From their perspective they commented that locum doctors are subject to more scrutiny that consultants or training doctors. While those doctors entering the UK through fellowships or training posts are initiated into medical practice, the nature of locum work keeps some EU doctors at the periphery of the boundaries of practice. One medic reported, 'It's difficult to be honest, when you go from hospital to hospital, new people, new systems, new things'. However, unlike for many internationally-educated doctors in Canada, they are actively engaged in medical practice, providing essential medical services.

Discussion

The situation in the UK for EU doctors could not be more different than the situation in Canada for internationally-educated doctors. Despite the fact that medical education varies greatly across the member states of the EU, the Treaty of Rome ensures that European education is treated as transferrable and equivalent. In the Canadian context, however, there is an assumption that other education systems are inferior. Internationally educated professionals are kept out of practice, often for years, and are forced to sit examinations and undertake a residency before they can be licensed. Through individual assessments, they are isolated from their professional contexts and often take numerous courses on medical knowledge, Canadian approaches to medical issues, and English language for professional practice. Underlying this classroom approach are two assumptions: (1) migrant doctors have much to learn in order to be able to work in a Canadian hospital; and (2) classroom instruction is an appropriate way to learn these skills. The successful workplace integration of EU doctors in the UK points to the importance of being connected to professional

practice. By being integrated into the professional and social practices immediately, EU doctors are able to learn about UK practices effectively and quickly.

According to Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015), 'crossing a boundary always involves the question of how the perspective of one practice is relevant to that of another ..connecting two forms of competence whose claim to knowledge may or may not be compatible' (p. 18). This research highlights that in the EU different forms of medical competence are largely compatible. In Canada, however, there seems to be a highly antagonistic relationship between forms of competence, and as a result migrant doctors are marginalized from the profession.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Complicating access: Digital learning for adults in Canada

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ABSTRACT

Access is defined in Canadian government policy as the potential, if not the means to access an Internet connection. Drawing on critical digital policy analysis and emerging findings of an ethnographic study of adults' experiences of access and inclusion in a public access café, this paper argues that access is 'complicated', contingent and provisional. Adult educators need to engage in digital policy advocacy to resist the trend to use digital technologies to manage populations rather than foster a lively democracy off and online.

Introduction

Access to digital technologies, in work and everyday life, amounts to a 'virtuous circle', where "enhanced skills work in tandem with employment experience to reinforce prospects further" (Bynner, Reder & Strawn, 2010, p. 46). In other words, the more adults use digital technologies, the more proficient they become, and so the more likely they are to use the technologies and so on. Further, Bynner, Reder & Strawn suggest that literacy proficiency is not a pre-requisite to digital technology use but rather develops through ongoing engagement with technologies. Consequently, efforts to support literacy for purposes of employment, as is the predominant focus of Canadian adult education policy, should attend to people's inclusion in emerging digital cultures in terms of access to technologies (working computers and high speed Internet connections), employment opportunities that promote digital technology use, and access to ongoing instruction as technologies change.

However, contemporary Canadian digital policy has little to say about digital inclusion for adults and concepts of 'access' are constrained to the *potential* for people to connect to the Internet in their homes (Industry Canada, 2014). This is reflected in comments by an Industry Canada official when it proposed to cut the Community Access Program (CAP) that provided public access to computers and instruction:

"The vast majority of Canadians are now connected to the Internet at home, while many more have access through their mobile devices" (CBC, April 8, 2012).

This paper reports on the Adult Literacy and Digital Inequalities (ALDI) study, an ethnographic exploration of digital learning in a public computer drop-in centre with the goal to understand the everyday experiences of access and inclusion among people who may not constitute the 'majority of Canadians' but whose experiences as new learners of digital technologies tell a story of digital inclusion as provisional, contingent and sensitive to Canada's patchy digital policy regime. I begin with a review of digital policy in Canada, focusing on its implications for adult learning and the cultivation of a 'virtuous circle' of digital inclusion. I then describe the study context and modes of inquiry through which stories of digital inclusion were elicited, and present one such story that 'complicates' understandings of access and leads us, hopefully, to more textured and responsive pedagogies and practices.

Digital policy and adult learning

In April 2014, Industry Canada published its long awaited digital policy strategy, *Digital Canada 150*. According to Industry Canada, Digital Canada 150 is designed to create a "truly digital country" (Industry Canada, 2014, p. 3) by Canada's 150th birthday in 2017. In his introductory comments to the rather brief document, Prime Minister Harper described it as a "bold plan to chart the country's future" (Industry Canada, 2014, p. 3), and the introduction elaborates, noting that, "Digital Canada 150 represents a comprehensive approach to ensuring Canada can take full advantage of the opportunities of the digital age. It envisions a country of connected citizens armed with the skills they need to succeed" (Industry Canada, 2014, para. 1). The five pillars of the vision: "Connecting Canadians, protecting Canadians, economic opportunities, digital government and

Canadian content" (ibid, para. 2) emphasize the creation of an investment and regulatory climate that promotes choice in content subscription, competitive pricing and access to an Internet connection, with the goal that "By 2017, 98% of Canadians will have access to a connection of at least 5mps" (Industry Canada, 2014). With the exception of support for Computers for Schools to re-furbish and re-distribute affordable (if old) computers to community organizations and schools, and to train youth in these refurbishing skills (Industry Canada, 2014, p. 3) there is in fact no mention of digital skills or access to adult education (Geist, 2014). Instead, a hyperlink is provided to the Canada Jobs Grant, which had already been introduced in 2013, and is geared toward training in "high demand jobs" rather than to digital learning more generally (Government of Canada, 2013, para 2).

Although "affordability is a consideration" (Industry Canada, 2014b, para 10) in awarding contracts to Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to make broadband available to Canadians in remote and rural areas, there is little attention in the new strategy to how low and middle income Canadians will afford new data caps and rising Internet costs, nor how people will acquire and maintain digital devices. This is a concern because computers are designed for obsolescence within 2 – 3 years, and Internet use is highly correlated to income: 58% of households with incomes of $30,000 or less subscribe to the Internet (Statistics Canada, 2013). In a report on Internet affordability, the Public Interest Advisory Committee (PIAC, p. v) found that among low-income households, Internet-related costs account for almost 8% of monthly household expenses. However,

> [C]onsumers were reluctant to cancel their communications services, even in the face of increasing costs and tight household budgets […] Some consumers were even willing to cut other basic expenses, including food, clothing and health care, rather than cancel their communications services. Others insisted that they would not know where they could cut back in their household budget. (PIAC, March 2015, p. iv)

Thus, the number of Canadians who subscribe to the Internet should not be interpreted as a sign of its affordability, but rather of the importance people place upon its access.

Scholars argue that the high cost of the Internet in Canada is predicated on Canada's communications regulatory framework that has allowed for market dominance of large service providers. When governments incentivize and subsidize Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to extend broadband to small and rural communities, these communities become beholden to this service provider. This dynamic also affects upload and download speeds, which are another strand of access allowing for the creation, viewing and sharing of large files and data streaming central to digital participation. *Digital Canada 150*'s proposed download speeds of 5 mps for all Canadians are described as 'disappointing' and "slower than comparable targets around the world" (Geist,

2014, para. 5). For example, the United States' Federal Communications Commission considers its 2010 broadband speed targets of 1 mps (upload) and 4mps (download) as "dated and inadequate" (FCC, 2015, para. 2). The FCC has recently announced upload and download target speeds of 3 mps and 25 mps respectively (ibid., para. 2), in an effort to address the "digital divide" in American citizens' access to high speed Internet and to support "today's digital learning tools" (para. 3).

In contrast, small towns and First Nations communities in BC are currently considered "connected" with 'high speed' Internet of 1.5 mps and monthly data caps of 5GB (about 5 hours of low definition video streaming) (Xplornet, 2014). Moreover, sole ISPs p contracted by the BC government, such as Xplornet (a subsidiary of Telus), have placed data caps on daily Internet use that prevent and in fact penalize engagement in streaming and other online activity. Xplornet throttles a connection (slowing or stopping it) when the data cap is exceeded in any given 24 hour period. Subscribers are charged $2 for every GB used in excess of the monthly (Xplornet, 2014). These plans already cost over $50 per month; the fear of incurring high data charges and a lack of control over data usage and costs (PIAC, 2015) can keep people offline. Such 'plans and rates' are undoubtedly replicated across the country and it can be quite tedious to examine their inner workings. But these regimes of access merit investigation because in preventing free use of the Internet they matter to people's digital proficiency and fluency. Moreover, as Carrizales (2009, p. 351) observes in his review of Mossberger, Tolbert & McRae's (2007) *Digital citizenship*, "the building blocks for citizenship in the information age are quality public education combined with universal access to the Internet. Occasional use of the Internet is insufficient for digital citizenship" (p. 351).

Just as meanings of connectivity are contested, so too are digital literacy practices. What it means to be digitally literate is changing, as technologies change and new dimensions of access erupt with the pace of new information storage, surveillance and e-government. In their study of Internet use in the United States, Jaeger, Bertot, Thompson et al (2012) summarize the situation that pertains in Canada, "Internet and other digital technologies continue to outpace the capabilities of many Americans to access and use them. Moreover, new access issues grow and persist as much new information is created and stored electronically" (2012, p. 2).

The emphasis in *Digital Canada 150* on efficiency, service delivery and entrepreneurship reflects what Naomi Fraser refers to as a 'model use' of digital technology that privileges the management of populations over democratic engagement and consultation with people. Indeed, how access and inclusion are defined is central to how people are positioned as learners and citizens in a digital economy. This premise underpins the guiding questions of the study:

1. What are the digital learning experiences of adults using public access computing sites?

2. What policies and practices in these sites contribute to digital inclusion or inequality?

3. How might we understand digital inclusion in the context of broader policy discourses of digital economy and culture?

Study context and modes of inquiry

The study adopted a multi-scalar (Burrell, 2012) approach designed to connect people's computer learning experiences (Question 1) to the design of tools themselves and the digital culture and regimes of access in which practices and tools are produced (Question 2 and 3). The study was located in a Central Community, a community resource centre in the Lower Mainland of BC that offered a two-hour digital drop-in classes each week. The classes were free and run by volunteer tutors. The computers were quite old, artefacts of the former Community Access Program but some people brought their own computer devices if they had them and the research project contributed two newer laptops. The small room was often full by before the 3pm start time with adults between the ages of 35 and 75 (though most leaning toward 50); most were new immigrants, with formal education levels ranging from Grade 10 to university graduation. 83% of people who attended the café during the 12 months of the study reported having an Internet connection at home, but did not have anyone to help them with the things they wanted to learn and do on the computer.

The research assistant and I attended the café together as participant observers, keeping running records of tutor and learner conversations and happenings as people engaged in computer learning; we captured images, when possible and with permission, of the screens people were working on, and tools and resources people drew upon for learning (hand written notes, slips of paper with reminders, keyboarding strategies). Our field notes were independently analysed in the form of 'memos and think pieces', which we shared with one another with the goal to test new meanings and themes through further observations and interviews with research participants.

As the research unfolded over the weeks and months, we became co-learners and co-explores of computers, sometimes more expert, other times more novice, as people with different skills and knowledge passed through the drop in. We learned about inclusion and access in the doing of things on the computer with people, as Ingold describes, "by joining with them in the same currents of practical activity, and by learning to attend to things – as would any novice practitioner – in terms of what they afford in the contexts of what has to be done" (Ingold, 2011, p. 314). It was in these side-by-side relationships that stories of access and inclusion unfolded over time.

Malek

Malek was the very first participant we met in the digital café. He was a student in the ESL class that met just before

the computer drop-in. When Jan, a volunteer tutor in the ESL class discovered that Malek was an artist, she eagerly suggested he 'google' the name of an upcoming art festival that she thought he would enjoy. Jan was all about creating authentic contexts for students to use their English language skills. But Malek hesitated, then laughed her off. "No, no computer!" "No computer, why no computer?" "Just, no computer…" Malek waved politely and left. R, the community outreach worker arrived to find Jan and I standing in the middle room. "Does Malek not like to use computers?" I asked. "Malek would probably like to use computers" R replied, but I don't think he has ever tried. I know he has no computer at home because I have been helping him fill in some government forms".

Malek came to Canada twelve years before to teach but things did not quite work out and he worked predominantly in building maintenance until an accident made it impossible to continue this work. When life changes suddenly in this way, people need to acquire new literacies quickly – from finding and filling in forms to researching ones' rights and possible courses of action. No such forms and information can be found in print anymore in the community; indeed when Malek goes to government offices, he is re-directed online to find information and forms there. Never mind that he does not have an Internet connection or computer at home. In fact, social assistance rates do not cover the costs of an Internet subscription even though access is a pre-condition to even apply or qualify for social assistance! And, government offices do not help people fill in forms; in fact, we discovered that government offices refer people to libraries and community agencies such as Central Community for such help. Never mind (again!) that Central Community is a volunteer-run society that does not receive core funding for any of its programs.

Although Malek had communicated with government agencies with the support of R, he had not engaged with computers for his own pleasure or interest, and he had in his words "never used a computer before". At R's suggestion he began to attend the computer drop-in classes. The first few sessions were rough. One of the first tasks for new computer users is to get an email account. This is difficult for people who are not yet proficient typists, because three-step verification processes require accurate encoding of a password (often without the ability to verify what characters one enters in the field), an email of cell phone number to which a verification code is sent and so on. Malek, and many of the computer class learners, had no secondary email or cell phone, so tutors used their own. Keeping track of usernames and passwords was chaotic at first; it involved the creation of a code Malek could remember (or at least write down in a secret place he could find) in a language he did not speak fluently (the languages in which he was proficient used characters and symbols not found on an English keyboard, and no, converting the public access keyboard to Malek's language was just not plausible).

Nevertheless, after a few weeks of painstaking trial and error during which Malek was the first to arrive at the café

each week, notebook in hand, he came to recognize the icon with which to launch the Internet browser, key in the name of his email provider, find the username and password field and enter his information accurately. His new proficiency was expressed in the flow of his hands across the laptop, his frown of concentration (rather than the look of despair of earlier times) as his hands and eyes moved together with the keys, the smile of satisfaction when he landed in his email account.

Soon Malek moved onto Facebook and this changed everything. Although Malek was able to call his adult children in his home country from time to time on a landline, he had very sporadic contact with other friends and family. With a Facebook account, he found pictures of his grandchildren, kept up with politics and happenings at home, posted short messages to his friends. It got to the point he was complaining that when he opened up his email, there were too many Facebook messages for him to handle. But his complaint came with a smile. Malek was thrilled. He still did not have a computer of his own and he did not feel confident to go to the library to use their computers for extra practice and online time. What if he got stuck? He worried his English wasn't good enough to ask for help and maybe the librarians would be busy.

A few months later, Malek arrived at the computer drop-in with a laptop computer. It was enormous, heavy, something the young tutors said they had never seen before but a friend had lent him and at least it worked. He decided to get an Internet connection at his home and forego other amenities to cover the cost. Malek was connected! He had a 'new subscriber' Internet rate he could just afford, and a working laptop. At the drop-in, Malek learned how to search on the Internet and practiced this at home, following instructions from the tutor that he wrote down for himself. He joined a typing tutor program to increase his typing fluency and again, practiced at home. His proficiency flourished; he was much more able to learn new tasks with his faster and more accurate typing, and he had a feel for the keys on his own machine.

And then the 6-month 'starting rate' expired and Sasha could no longer afford his Internet connection. He changed to another provider, and waited for the ISP to send someone who spoke his language to get it set up. And then his laptop crashed. In fact, its operating system was too old to connect to the new Internet and things went downhill from there. Persistent and good-humoured, Malek continued on at the computer café, connecting to the Facebook wall that that had established for him flesh and blood connections with his family.

Discussion

Malek's story offers a complicated but perhaps more robust understanding of digital inclusion as provisional and contingent upon the assembly of scarce and shifting resources: Internet affordability; software design (such as that of email programs); the generosity of a friend and the affordances

of mentorship and collaborative learning offered by the tutors; the contradictory practices of access and exclusion of e-government; pictures of grandchildren. For people on the margins of the economy, these come together and flow apart in ways that are unique to individual lives, but also caught up in prevailing regimes of access. They are often outside the control of individuals, particularly those who rely upon public access sites. Malek was persistent, resourceful and in some ways fortunate to enjoy the resources of the computer drop-in, which are not widely distributed across communities. What does Malek's story suggest to adult educators?

Implications for practice and further research

Access is not a generational or age-related issue and contrary to some projections, instructional needs will not go away when the older generation passes on. Technologies are changing rapidly and the implications of "super high" speeds, planned obsolescence in computer hardware and the need to constantly update and revise Operating Systems and other software, means that people will always need support learning new ways of digital participation.

The ALDI study was carried out over 15 months. A shorter observational study would not have been able to trace the wavering of access over time. Access is multi-faceted and contingent on the coming together of various inter-related strands, like strings on a guitar: if some are missing the guitar won't play, or it sounds terrible, or indeed, it is not a guitar anymore. These strings are: connectivity (speed and ease of connection), affordability, use-ability (tool and software design) compatibility (plugs, adapters, software, modems, copiers/printers) and capability (access to timely and appropriate instruction). This holistic framework for digital inclusion is elaborated in Mossberger, Tolbert & Franko's (2013) *Digital Cities: Geographies of Opportunity*, a study of the Internet and geographies of opportunity that informs Chicago's digital strategy. This study merits a closer look by Canadian adult educators seeking a holistic framework for democratic citizenship and equitable access to digital learning.

The emerging findings of the ALDI study suggest that when we pay close attention to people's experience digital access, we gain insights into inclusion as provisional and contingent rather than some kind of fixed status or individual accomplishment. In this way, we should not be planning digital strategies for the "model user", who is already "connected", but rather for those who are currently excluded from one or more of the strands of access. Many more studies of access among diverse adults who rely on public computing sites, and those who do not, are needed to deepen understandings of 'what counts' as inclusion and access.

Digital economy researcher Catherine Middleton (2010) asks a good question: Why *should* people go online? Given the costs, the frustrations and the inscrutability of many e-government efforts, why would people want to engage? Governments may well respond, "because they have no choice". But if we anticipate that it will be vital in the future to communicate digitally then designers of online experiences

need to pay more attention to the 'users" experience. Digital literacies and learning flow from the pleasure of use, which leads to proficiency and so more fluency, in Bynner, Reder & Strawn's (2010) 'virtuous circle'. We should not be emphasizing digital inclusion primarily as a gateway to e-government efficiencies, leaving aside people's own engagements and experiences as somehow unimportant.

Planning digital learning and digital policy requires anticipatory foresight. In other words, educators and digital policy makers alike should trace the trends and issues that are happening today into a future that we can shape, rather than one that we land in, unpleasantly surprised and caught out. For example, if we know that connection speeds will increase but that costs are currently unsustainable, what should be done now? If we know that ongoing learning about and with computers is central to adoption and access but that computer classes and other adult education opportunities are closing down, how can we respond? If we know that one must apply for jobs online but most people are not able to do this easily or fluently with any kind of success, what does that say about the viability of our employment strategies? And, if we know that big telecom may sequester data, herd users to their sites, charge for data at unaffordable rates, then what policies are needed to intervene? Digital inclusion should not be about managing populations digitally but rather creating a lively public sphere off and online where people can come together to learn, work and participate on their own terms.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Ernest Becker, Heroism, and the Need to Moving Military Trauma out of the Realm of Psychiatry and Into a Becker-Informed Feminist and Community-Oriented Framework

Lauren Spring

ABSTRACT

This paper problematizes the notion of combat-related PTSD and argues that the ideas brought forth by cultural anthropologist and interdisciplinary educator Ernest Becker (especially those related to culture, heroism, and immortality striving), provide a more appropriate framework for exploring military trauma. While there is a fair amount of literature by Becker and his followers (contemporary scholars who have used Becker's ideas as the basis for the development of Terror Management Theory) about the heroic appeal of militarism, there is a notable gap in the literature when it comes to suggestions about implementing Becker's ideas surrounding heroism and symbolic immortality on a practical level in a consciousness-raising environment when working with traumatized soldiers transitioning out of military culture. This paper seeks to fill that gap and also to offer a feminist critique of Becker's solutions to coping with trauma.

Since 2001 Canada has deployed more than 40,000 military personnel to the war in Afghanistan (also known as Operation Enduring Freedom or OEF). Whether taking on direct combat or peacekeeping roles, countless members of the Canadian Armed Forces have been witness to serious atrocities overseas. Many return home deeply traumatized by their experiences at war and have great difficulty adapting to civilian life. It is clear that if left unaddressed, military trauma can lead to (among other things) drug and alcohol dependence, spousal abuse, homelessness and even suicide (Braswell, 2010; Gibbons et al., 2012; Hoge, 2004; Seal et al., 2007).

The issue of military trauma has a long history and whether due to general public misconception, attitudinal barriers amongst soldiers themselves, or the unwillingness of states to acknowledge their role in contributing to this trauma—the depths of it have largely gone unrecognized. As a diagnostic category, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was first included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) in 1980. Since that time, and especially in recent years, there has been a trend in military and activist circles to de-stigmatize PTSD, and to increase access to and funding for psychiatric 'treatment' for soldiers who've received the diagnosis. Though such campaigns may seem positive at first blush, there are serious problems with the way military trauma is currently being viewed, assessed and 'psychiatrized.' As a significant amount of emerging literature indicates, the very notion of PTSD itself as laid out in the DSM is profoundly paradoxical, and the vast majority of "treatment" approaches it engenders are inadequate and ineffective (Cukor, 2009; Hoge, 2004). It is becoming increasingly clear that we, as a society, need new, interdisciplinary approaches to understanding and helping those living with military trauma that take into account deeper existential and cultural questions that go well beyond the 'superficial symptoms' laid out in the DSM.

In this paper, I will argue that the ideas brought forth by cultural anthropologist and interdisciplinary educator Ernest Becker (especially those related to culture, heroism, and immortality striving) may prove a useful framework for exploring military culture and specifically the difficulties associated with veterans' transitions out of it. Such a framework will allow us to begin to move beyond the medical/psychiatric model—wherein military trauma currently resides. I will also, however, critique the sexist nature of Becker's theories, and argue that they will prove helpful to military veterans only if combined with a feminist and community-oriented framework.

The Life and Work of Ernest Becker

Though not given the recognition he deserved in his lifetime, in recent years academics and others have begun to acknowledge that Ernest Becker was indeed one of the most important social scientists of the 20th century and have thus started to incorporate his theories and spirit of thinking

outside the "conventional cannons of the social science discipline" into their own research and counseling work (Martin, 2014, pg. 72; Munley & Johnson, 2003).

Guided by the question "why do we (humans) act the way we do?" Becker published several books throughout his lifetime. Many who have encountered Becker's poetic and penetrating words in *The Denial of Death* consider it to be his magnum opus. In it, Becker takes as a starting point psychoanalytic theory and brings together the work of a diverse group of scholars to develop his own theory of death anxiety. Becker argues, essentially, that humans are unique amongst all animals because of our awareness of our own mortality and hence share an "innate and all-encompassing" fear of death. It is this fear, he argues—successfully repressed or not—that motivates all we do (Becker, 1975, preface). Becker felt that human beings are met with a "grotesque" paradox—aware of our 'creatureliness' and physical mortality (our basic animal existence) we also have "symbolic identities" that bring us "sharply out of nature" with minds that "soar out to speculate about atoms and infinity" that give each of us "…the status of a small god" (Becker, 1973, p. 26). In order to cope with these fears, and in an attempt to transcend our 'creatureliness' or physical mortality, humans rely on culture and create culturally-constituted hero systems and symbols that may provide us with a sense of symbolic or cosmic immortality (Becker, 1973; Becker, 1975). That is to say, as humans, we fear not just death, but more specifically, death without significance.

Becker outlines several such 'culturally constituted hero systems' in his book. He also argues that for an individual, the absence of such a system or the impression that one is failing to achieve or find meaning in these culturally constructed symbols almost always leads to "neurosis." Culture then, according to Becker, is essentially "a collective heroic denial of creatureliness" or a sort of "shared illusion" to help us cope with our existential dilemma (Becker, 1973, p. 160). Without such illusions, he argues, life is utterly unbearable. Becker goes on to declare that certain illusions are more effective or "desirable" than others. Becker however, didn't ignore the grim reality that even the "most pardonable illusions" have a disconcerting downside as well.

In his final book, *Escape From Evil*, Becker takes his core theory one step further to give a realistic "sufficient account of truly vicious human behavior" arguing that "man's natural and inevitable urge to deny mortality and achieve a heroic self-image is the root causes of human evil" (Becker, 1975, p. xvii).

War is especially fascinating to many of us, Becker argues, because it reveals both the horrific and the noble side of man's "urge to cosmic heroism" and recognizes that soldiers are seen as rare heroes as they are literally willing to give up their own lives for others (Becker, 1973, p. 6; Becker, 1975). A soldier, Becker says, will

> …lay down his life for his country, his society…
> He will choose to throw himself on a grenade to
> save his comrades, he is capable of the highest gen-

erosity and self sacrifice but he has to feel and believe that what he is doing is truly heroic, timeless and supremely meaningful (Becker, 1973, p. 6).

If each human being has a need to feel as though they are "an object of primary value in the universe… a heroic contributor to life," it is easy to see how military culture, with its strong customs, rules, ranking systems, and badges for service would provide a sense of shared meaning for those playing a role within this culture and thereby fulfill this need for heroism and "make available the opportunity for continued self-esteem" (Munley et al. 2003, p. 365) Military personnel, arguably to a greater extent than any other members of Canadian society, are unwaveringly referred to as "heroes." There are public monuments set up across the world in remembrance of fallen soldiers, their names often carved into stone so as to affirm their heroism for generations to come, long after their physical bodies have been washed out to sea or buried in the ground. It is understandable why members of the army, even though putting their physical lives at greater risk than most of us, would feel their symbolic immortality to be secured.

What I am suggesting here, is not only that Becker's ideas may have broad-reaching implications for military personnel while participating in war, but I am also proposing that perhaps, for veterans, the transition out of military culture and into civilian life might be traumatizing in and of itself or at least contribute to what Balfour (2009) refers to as the "secondary trauma of return?"

In recent years several scholars, intrigued by Becker's view of death anxiety, have come to develop compelling methodologies and a theory they term "terror management theory" in order to test and prove Becker's ideas empirically. Though space constraints prohibit me from outlining their work and findings in detail in this paper, their research has provided much evidence to support Becker's hypotheses (Greenberg et al., 1990; Greenberg et al., 2002; Martin, 2012; Solomon et al, 1998).

While these researchers have tested Becker's ideas with many diverse populations and have concluded that self-esteem or confidence that one is playing a key role within a culturally constructed hero system does indeed serve a death anxiety buffering function (Greenberg et al, 1992; Solomon et al., 1991), there is a gap in the literature when it comes to working with and understanding military personnel through this lens. Moreover, I have yet to come across a study that takes these findings one step further through applying Becker's ideas when working with those whose worldviews have been shaken to the core, who have lost faith (either due to circumstance or by force) in the culture that provided them with symbols, self-esteem, and the promise of symbolic immortality, who are suddenly made aware of their own 'creatureliness' but are no longer sure which worldview to turn to defend against it.

Military Veterans and PTSD

The concept of, and public awareness surrounding "mental illness" has become increasingly psychiatrized since Becker passed away in 1974, in large part due to the publication of three new editions of the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) and the media attention given to its revisions. There are also a growing number of critiques of the DSM and the ways in which the diagnoses and language within it tend to be activated by psychiatrists.

In the discussion that follows, I will argue that the current incarnation of PTSD is especially dangerous for military veterans—not only because it pathologizes their ordinary human reactions to horrific events while failing to take into account their own role in instigating such events, but also because a diagnosis of PTSD often results in some sort of psychiatric intervention that risks further isolating a traumatized veteran from his/her own experiences and coping strategies as well as from civilians who have not been to war. Furthermore, such approaches that push veterans to seek 'professional help' also deny the general public the opportunity to hear about these experiences, to reflect upon the important questions they engender, and to connect with military personnel in meaningful ways (Caplan, 2011; Caplan, 2013). I will follow up this critique by proposing solutions for new approaches to helping traumatized military veterans that take as a starting point Becker's ideology, but are feminist and community-oriented in nature.

The creation of PTSD as a mental health disorder was well-intentioned, perhaps. Intense lobbying efforts by American veterans themselves after the Vietnam war, eventually resulted in the APA's recognition of "the long-term psychological damage incurred by soldiers in combat" and to the inclusion of PTSD in the DSM III; this "pave(d) the way for therapeutic services" for these veterans (Burstow, 2005, p. 430). For a comprehensive history of government and public conceptions of military trauma up until this point, see Boone (2011). Of course, a diagnosis of PTSD may bring with it certain advantages (i.e. feelings of legitimization, insurance policy coverage, an end the culture of 'blaming the victim' etc.) but, as has become awfully clear in recent years, the consequences of viewing post traumatic stress as a 'disorder,' and of developing and implementing diagnostic criterion for PTSD, must not be overlooked (Boone, 2011; Kashen-Kashi, 2014; Smith & True, 2014).

Though there continues to be much debate at present as to whether the definition of PTSD as laid out in the DSM IV and the DSM 5 is too broad or too narrow, what is indisputable is that diagnoses of PTSD are on the rise for OEF veterans. In fact, PTSD is now the most common military-related mental "illness" amongst this population (Cox et al. 2014; Seal et al., 2007). What is similarly indisputable is that "treatment" options that exist for Canadian military personnel diagnosed with PTSD are largely inadequate and ineffective, in large part because such approaches are almost entirely focused on the eradication or reduction of superficial "symptoms," and therefore fail to address the bigger existential questions with which many soldiers are grappling (Boone, 2011; Cukor et al., 2009. Cox et al., 2007).

As far as PTSD treatment is concerned, the already strikingly high failure rates (44% according to one 2005 meta-analysis) are made even more arresting when one considers that "recovery" from PTSD, is considered achieved when an individual no longer meets every single criterion for PTSD as outlined in the DSM (meaning that the successful suppression of a single 'superficial symptom' indicates the person is 'recovered') (Bradley et al., 2005; Cukor et al., 2009). There are many problems associated with viewing treatment and recovery in this way, (especially when considering the fact that many of the treatment options available for those diagnosed with PTSD are said to be "complete" after only 1-3 sessions) the least of which is that, as even a quick glance at any community-run online military support group will tell you, trauma is long-lasting and must be viewed as a continuum, not a straight progression from "illness" to "recovery." Such discussions around "disorder" and "recovery" or "success" and "failure" are meaningless when it comes to trauma and do little more than undermine the hard work that most traumatized individuals continue to do on a daily basis to identify their triggers, and to find and implement their own coping mechanisms when encountering distressing situations. Because, after all, is it not "normal" to have nightmares about being blown up by an IED in the desert, if that was a real possibility in one's daily life for months or years? Is it not "normal" to be haunted by images of innocent civilians killed when caught up in your army's crossfire? As neuroscientist and psychiatrist Nancy Andreason pointed out in the American Journal of Psychiatry (1995): "PTSD is the only disorder that patients want to have: unlike all other psychiatric conditions, which imply defects of some kind, a diagnosis of PTSD confirms the patient's normality" (Andreasen, 1995; Boone, 2011, p. 2). Also, as Balfour (2002) points out, it is in many ways ludicrous to group together individuals suffering from combat-related trauma, with those living with non-combat related trauma.

> While PTSD sufferers in general are often victims of an event, military personnel may be perpetrators and victims. Many combat veterans develop PTSD as a result of traumas they have caused, such as killing people. Veterans are also likely to have experienced sustained exposure to traumatic experience over weeks and months. Further, the ontological impact of engaging in legitimized acts of violence, authorized and sanctioned by the nation, places an individual in a complex moral and immoral, legitimate and illegitimate weave. (p. 3).

It is for this reason that Becker's ideas about military culture, heroism, and the potential for symbolic-immortality through culturally-sanctioned violence would provide a more appropriate framework for looking at military trauma than would any added criterion in the DSM. As Balfour goes on to say, "symptoms (related to combat trauma) are not just

emotional or cognitive, but deeply moral and philosophical" (Balfour, 2009, p. 3; Haley, 1974).

Remarkably few research studies conducted in recent years with returning OIF/OEF veterans have problematized the notion of PTSD. Those that have, and whose findings take into account soldiers' full individual stories rather than just the superficial symptoms they may experience, prove relevant many of Becker's ideas. Smith and True (2014) for example, who conducted more than 26 in-depth interviews with US service members, argue that military trauma represents an "identity crisis" that is much deeper than haunting nightmares or triggering recurring memories (p. 149). The authors' research (and that of Gibbons, 2012) also helps us understand why so many soldiers, even if badly injured in battle, express an interest in returning to the military and encourage friends to do the same. It also provides an interesting explanation as to why suicide rates are higher amongst young, single veterans than older veterans who are married and/or have children, and proposes that this might be the case because those who are married or parenting may have another identity ready and waiting for them outside of the military. Using Becker's ideas as a analytic framework would take this proposition one step further and observe that military veterans with spouses and children might not simply have another firm identity (acceptable in civilian culture) to hold on to, but that this particular identity likely also provides them with a sense of symbolic immortality through familial transference (i.e. "a piece of me will live on in the form of my child").

Though there are certainly other populations that may have difficulty adjusting to civilian life or culture after being removed from it for a prolonged period of time (prisoners, for example)- and who also might experience a "crisis of identity," the fact that military culture is uniquely and inextricably linked to the masculine notion of heroism, is a subject that begs for further exploration. (For a compelling discussion on the way military personnel are depicted as heroes by the media, and the backlash that occurs when one challenges this depiction, see Wright, 2012)

Soldiering on…

Becker, an ardent critic of psychiatry, has provided us with masterful and pertinent ideas to help explain why humans behave the way we do and has passionately made the case that philosophy can help expand the "narrow medical views of human ills" (1964). However, Becker falls short in two respects—and these deficits are particularly problematic if applying his theories to trauma work with military populations. Firstly, he describes certain "standard" (non-religious) cultural solutions to which those who feel lost may turn to assure their death transcendence but focuses only on notions of individual heroism. (Becker, 1973). In focusing exclusively on the individual, Becker, to the enormous detriment of this theory, overlooks both cultures in which the idea of collectivity and collective meaning may triumph over the individualism predominant in North America

and Western Europe, and also fails to recognize the value in collective approaches to consciousness-raising. In viewing "neurosis" as an individual struggle, he fails to consider potential benefits that may be seen when people who have been traumatized in similar ways—like military veterans—create forums in which they feel less alone together.

Secondly, Becker disappoints us with his claim that those living with death anxiety due to loss of culture or 'neurosis' would do well to turn towards organized (Judeo-Christian) religion—which he views as being the most "pardonable" of all illusions. I, along with an increasing number of feminist scholars who otherwise see potential in Becker's theories, take issue with this claim and profoundly disagree that organized religion is a viable or "pardonable" solution to which anyone (even North American white men) should turn (Mowrey, 2002, p. 276). Academics like Merlyn Mowrey (2002) for example, pronounce that Becker willingly ignored the fact that patriarchal religions do not provide women with an appropriate hero system and instead tend to scapegoat them. When it comes to soldiers transitioning out of military culture (which itself deifies the masculine) it is all the more vital that a new paradigm be put into place; perhaps one that, as Mowery suggests, could glorify ideas of mother, lover, and friend in a secular fashion.

Astute to the fact that many current 'treatment' approaches are actually making things worse for traumatized veterans, some scholars and activists from outside the field of psychiatry are beginning to take note; they have begun experimenting with alternative methods for helping—methods that embrace explicitly feminist values— often involving family, friends, and members of the general public in a consciousness-raising process. Another reason that a feminist critique is so apt here, is because (like traumatized veterans) women have a long history of being declared "hysterical" or "mentally ill" by the very institutions that have power over them and an interest in maintaining the status quo. Women are especially accustomed to having their normal human reactions to injustice and abuse pathologized, but have also managed to find creative ways to support one another and work towards societal change (Allen, 1970; Diamond, 2014, Gardner, 1971). The Consciousness-Raising groups that emerged in feminist circles in the 1970s were decidedly not "group therapy" sessions—that is to say, they were not set up so as to help participants fit better into "normal" society. Rather, these groups provided a forum during which individual women could bring forward their lived experiences, relate with one another and begin to recognize the larger power structures and sexist patterns at play that contributed to their feelings of malaise and oppression.

There is an increasing amount of evidence that reveals how valuable it can be when military veterans are brought together in 'story-sharing' environments that focus not on specific "symptoms" or traumatic memories but rather on the horror that occurs when masculinity (and the masculine idea of heroism) is suddenly found wanting. By learning to communicate and define personal and professional goals that may increase self-esteem in new ways, veterans help

one another ease death anxiety within civilian culture. Cox et al. recently took an in depth look at the Veteran's Transition Program (VTP) in Canada—a group program that uses a retreat-style model (where participants meet for approximately 80 hours in total). The VTP is unique in that its programs focus on helping participants develop empathy and interpersonal communication skills so that they can (among other things) listen more deeply to one another's stories. The VTP also uses writing and image theatre-based activities to help veterans address their own traumas and develop "actionable goals" that they are encouraged to implement in their own lives between VTP meetings (Balfour et al., 2014; Cox et al., 2014, pg 371). The fact that many of the group leaders at the VTP are former veterans themselves (who seem to have found a new sense of self-esteem through helping others in the program process their traumas), and that, in the study by Cox et al., not a single veteran dropped out of 'treatment' (whereas typically drop-out rates in group treatment sessions is very high amongst veterans), seems to indicate that the work being done in the VTP is resonating with participants in ways that many other PTSD 'treatment' approaches do not (Cox et al., 2014; Sloan, 2012).

Anti-psychiatry and feminist activist Paula Caplan notes the importance of veteran-civilian relationships, and has begun to do innovative work in this field. Insisting that it is not a mental illness to be devastated by war, she suggests that no amount of medication or talk therapy with "professionals" will be enough to truly help traumatized veterans in the long run. Caplan argues for greater community engagement. In her recent book, *When Johnny and Jane Come Marching Home: How all of us can help veterans*, Caplan asserts that society at large has a role to play in addressing military trauma (2005). She proposes that ordinary citizens make time and space to sit one-on-one with returning soldiers to simply hear their stories. Doing this, she says, not only helps the listener to better understand and perceive what goes on overseas, but also demonstrates to soldiers that they need not be relegated to the sidelines of society until they 'recover' or are able to operate more 'normally' within it. It is helpful as well, Caplan outlines, if those who listen to veteran's stories are strangers at first as "many veterans hesitate to talk openly for fear of upsetting loved ones (or) facing harsh judgment" (2005). Though these discussions can be difficult ones, it is vital that those who were on the front lines do not continue to feel isolated or to bear the burden of their trauma alone (ibid).

Conclusion

In light of the large numbers of men and women returning to Canada after fighting in the war in Afghanistan, we urgently need to re-frame the way we conceptualize military trauma. The current approach, minimizing it to a set of criterion laid out in the DSM, and labeling it "PTSD" is not only profoundly paradoxical as it pathologizes veterans' natural, human reactions to terror, but also results in dangerous pharmacologically-based "treatment" approaches that inappropriate for this population. I have made the case

that we, as a society, would do well to view military trauma through the lens of Ernest Becker's multidisciplinary theories. Such a framing would enable us also to take into account the difficulties veterans face while transitioning out of military culture into civilian life, and to move military trauma out of the realm of psychiatry and, through a feminist and community-oriented approach, toward more nuanced and philosophical discussions about heroism and symbolic immortality.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Crossing Borders: The potential of participatory and artistic approaches in critical research on migration and adult education

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the methodological framework of a research project which explored the representation of professionals with migrant biographies in Austrian adult education. The potential of participatory approaches for critical migration research is discussed and deepened by means of an example: the production of a documentary film within a research workshop. The theoretical reflection highlights aspects of representation as an element of social justice. Furthermore, the challenge of dealing with 'Othering' in migration research is discussed in relation to the processes of producing a (documentary) film. The concept of the described example is intended to present research outcomes and also to lay open the 'illusionary' character of film at the same time, therefore finding a language for the inclusion of a self-reflective dimension for the medium as well as the responsibilities of the actors.

If you want to tell the untold stories, if you want to give voice to the voiceless, you've got to find a language. (Salman Rushdie)

1. Introduction

Research on adult education in migration societies often deals with 'migrants' as a specific target group. A research project which I conducted together with a transdisciplinary team in Austria (2012-2014) took on a different perspective; we explored the representation and access of people with migrant biographies to professions in the field of adult/continuing education. Working closely together with stakeholders in adult and continuing education, one aim of the project was to develop strategies for moving institutions towards diversity and anti-discrimination.

The findings of the study have already been presented in several publications and will not be the focus of this paper (Kukovetz, Sadjed & Sprung, 2014; Kukovetz & Sprung, 2014). Its aim is rather to present a kind of meta-reflection upon challenges for critical migration research by asking for appropriate methodological approaches. This reflection includes questions concerning the research process itself, and also the dissemination of outcomes in terms of engaging in public and scientific discourses. In the first part of the paper I will give some theoretical remarks on representation as a central topic of our project. Subsequently, the potential of participatory research workshops with members of a group which is at the same time the 'subject' of research ('insider research') and of artistic approaches will be discussed. I will illustrate the reflection using a concrete example from the workshops that was a part of our project – the production of a film.

The title of this paper – 'Crossing Borders' – characterises our research in many respects – not only because it is associated with the topic of migration or because we have shown that migrant professionals have to overcome many limitations in order to enter the field of adult education. Crossing borders furthermore points to working together with other disciplines and community actors where borders may also mark hierarchies between different modes of knowledge. We tried to realise a model of participatory research with migrant actors – and therefore to cross the border which is often constructed between a (White, hegemonic, academic, etc.) 'We' and the (migrant) 'Other'. Finally we tried to work with non-traditional methods by crossing borders towards the sphere of arts by producing a documentary film. The film sheds light on our research outcomes and provides a (self-) reflection on 'Othering' (Said, 1991) by questioning the role of the filmmakers (analogous to the role of researchers) in portraying (or in other words representing) professionals with migrant biographies in adult education.

2. Theoretical Framework: Representation

The theoretical framework of our research was built on ideas of representation and social justice – meaning here that all

people living in a society should have equal access to the economic, social, cultural and political resources (Perko & Czollek, 2007, p. 162). In most immigration countries there are underprivileged groups of migrants which do not have sufficient opportunities to participate equally in the named spheres (Broden & Mecheril, 2007; Sprung, 2011). This is also true for the scientific field and for adult education. Shibao Guo's (2010) framework of 'transnational life-long learning for recognitive justice and inclusive citizenship' helps to problematise unequal forms of representation in adult education. Based on the criticism that 'notions of equality and liberation that entail ignoring difference merely perpetuate cultural imperialism and disadvantage groups whose experience, culture and socialised capacities are different from those of privileged groups' (ibid., 164), Guo proposes the notion of 'pluralist citizenship' as an alternative that recognises migrants' multiple attachments to specific traditions, values, languages and other cultural practices and that in turn fosters plural ways of belonging.

Representations are always connected to power relations (Broden & Mecheril, 2007) That has been shown for example in cultural and postcolonial theories through a critical reflection on practises of external representation which generates knowledge about others (Said, 1991; Spivak, 2010; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2004). Critical migration research consequently has to consider the phenomenon of Othering. Research can contribute and point to discrimination and to barriers that avoid equal representation of minorised groups. At the same time, migration research often reproduces the categories on which exclusion is based.

The question of who talks about whom puts the focus on issues of representation. The practice of speaking for or about others makes hierarchical social structures apparent. In Austria, current forms of migrant representation in public or scientific spaces are still dominated by external representation by members of the majority society (Sprung, 2011). In these scenarios, the perspectives of the individuals, groups and communities of minorities remain largely unconsidered; the voices of migrants tend to remain unheard.

The crisis in terms of the representation of others constitutes an especially important challenge for research which has been discussed – not only in terms of migration but also more generally – since the 1990s (cf. Berg & Fuchs, 1999). Academics (and in the concrete field: White academics) have to reflect on their privileged position to speak, and the related power of their interpretations. A common answer to the problem is to promote self-representation of minorised groups in politics, social life, science etc. From a critical viewpoint, it has to be stated that representation always means the proxy or the depiction of a special group and thus automatically creates a categorisation and as a result homogeneity within this group (Broden & Mecheril, 2007, p. 12).

The demand for spaces of self-representation for migrants in research was a central aspect in our project. That's why, in addition to reflecting on these issues theoretically throughout the whole project, we also tried to find appropriate methodological approaches to involve migrants and their knowledge beyond addressing them as interviewees.

3. Participatory Approaches

Participatory approaches in research, especially in the social sciences, are connected with the history of social movements and emancipatory struggles. 'Participatory Action Research' or PAR aims to encourage actors to engage in changing the circumstances/structural conditions of their lives. Another important idea of PAR is to 'redefine the relationship between researchers and the participants in a non-hierarchical manner' (Glassman & Erdem, 2014, p. 215). Glassman and Erdem recently show that there are distributed origins of PAR which include anticolonial movements as well as feminist ideas and other perspectives. Important people who contributed substantially to the development of PAR are Paolo Freire and Budd Hall (1992), who published intensely about the topic.

In our project, we first aimed to open up a space for representation of migrants in research as a general goal. Second, we wanted to create opportunities to bring diverse perspectives and voices into a dialogue. Such a setting might (potentially) evoke alternative outcomes concerning the research questions and facilitate critical reflection. Finally, we aimed to include different modes of knowledge within a non-hierarchical perspective, such as embodied knowledge which is usually seen as not being equal to academic knowledge (Pilch-Ortega & Sprung 2010; Hall, 1992).

Nevertheless, the approach of 'insider research' also implicates questionable assumptions as mentioned above, for example because it reconstructs 'the migrant' once more and reproduces problematic understanding of group belonging (Nowicka & Cieslik, 2014). A critical debate about the (dichotomist) insider-outsider divide in migration research suggests a more differentiated view on positionality. One has to be aware that insider-outsider divides are often a relational construction and that a migrant biography does not necessarily cause a different perspective, moreover there are other intersectional aspects that might play a role (Carling, Erdal & Ezzati, 2014).

The methodological framework of our project also covered 'classical' methods such as qualitative interviews and online surveys. The development of the design and the interpretation of results were embedded in discussions within focus groups with experts from migrant communities and from the field of adult education. We thus followed the idea of participation and transdisciplinarity in the sense of going beyond academic disciplines and involving actors from different social spheres. Klein et al. defined transdisciplinary research as follows: 'The core idea of transdisciplinarity is different academic disciplines working jointly with practitioners to solve a real-world problem.' (Klein et al., 2001, p. 4). The core project team also consisted of people having different origins. Furthermore, experts with migrant biographies were involved as researchers within a special setting of participatory research – research workshops which will

be described in more detail in the following section. I have already used and developed this kind of participatory methodology in other research projects between 2002 and 2014.

Research workshops as a method for participatory research

Research workshops offer possibilities for participation to people whose circumstances and strategies are being explored (Bergold & Thomas, 2010). They aim is, for example, to integrate specific groups into the entire research process. That means that all participants are included in the decision-making process – the research topics and the methods are chosen collectively, and the analysis of data is made through an interactive communication process. The contribution of each member opens a multi-perspective space which implies at the same time a collective learning process (Pilch Ortega & Sprung, 2010; Willis, Jost &Nilakanta, 2007).

The 'social architecture' of research workshops often covers different modes of knowledge and different experiences. Also several asymmetries occur, for example in terms of social status or educational background. Therefore dealing with questions of power and hierarchies can be an important issue. Looking at asymmetries between modes of knowledge, I want to point out that experience-based and action-based knowledge tends to be embodied in the person bearing the knowledge. In contrast, theoretical knowledge is an "objectified" and a previously formulated knowledge which carries the advantage, or in fact the risk, of dominating the communication processes. A dialogue between different approaches of knowledge needs to be reflected upon, especially because of inherent structural inequalities.

For the concrete workshops within our project, we invited seven people with migrant biographies[1] who are active in adult education and/or research. Three members of the project team also took part in the workshops. The group was to take up the general questions of the project by developing self-defined subprojects. The process ranged over one year and took place on a remunerated basis. It was open to a variety of interests and ideas of the participants, did not rely on specific predetermined methods or outcomes, and encouraged creative approaches and border-crossings to other spheres like the arts. Finally, the group decided to realise five subprojects (in teams of two); that meant phases of work in pairs with specific interests were combined with meetings of the whole group to discuss the projects and exchange knowledge and experiences. The chosen topics ranged from racism and Islamophobia to institutional discrimination in adult education. The analysed data originated from interviews, surveys, diaries and video material. In this paper I will focus on one example which I know best because of my own participation – the production of a documentary film which portrays careers of adult educators with migrant

backgrounds and picks up the question of representation – implicitly and explicitly.

The film can be seen as a concise summary of the overall research outcomes, as a space for representation and critical reflection on migration and adult education research, and also as a challenging mode of disseminating research findings to the broader public. Some reference points to 'artistic research' (Peters, 2013) or Performative Social Sciences can be found which have recently become more popular (Forum Social Research Vol 9(2), 2008). Artistic research often deals with minorised groups, for example via theatre work. Most approaches aim to link different modes of knowledge as well, follow a political, emancipatory goal and engage community members in diverse action. In the field of 'Performative Social Science', artistic approaches are seen as methods to help in answering the research questions, but also to disseminate the results to a broader public. Performative Social Sciences highlight spontaneous moments of insight which elicit awakening and a change of perspective. From my point of view, artistic approaches have great potential to unearth tacit knowledge, and also to speak diverse 'languages' which helps to address different people in terms of participation. Things can be made understandable in a special way because diverse dimensions of perception are inspired.

4. Documentary Film as an Experimental Tool in Critical Migration Research

Idea and concept

As was already mentioned above, the idea to shoot a 30 minute film was developed within the research workshops. My colleague Klaudija Sabo[2] and I worked out a concept and handled the production, while the research group participated in ongoing discussions about the script, the choice of protagonists, the mise-en-scène and especially the question of how to deal with the tension between representation and the problem of Othering. The production process lasted about 15 months. The film is entitled 'On the Other Side of the Desk', which is a quotation from a scene in the film where the adult educator tells us about the empowering effects which occur for migrant participants just because of the fact that there is a migrant in the teaching position, expressed by the picture of being 'on the other side of the desk'.

The core idea behind our project was to open up a space for self-representation in the context of the research topic. We asked adult educators with migrant biographies (in a kind of interview setting) to tell us their individual career stories and also to share their expert view on diversity in adult education in general. The stories covered issues like the motivation for their career choice, influential factors and people in their lives, individual strategies and the meaning of the migrant biography as cultural capital and/or as a disadvantage. We tried to enable a mostly free and self-directed narration. The film should be released later on to present

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1   We also included members of the so-called second generation in our research. They were able to share specific experiences, for example ethnic ascription and discrimination, with immigrants.

2   Klaudija Sabo is a cultural scientist and filmmaker whose parents emigrated from former Yugoslavia to Germany in the 1970s.

research outcomes to a broader public and to institutions involved in adult education. We finally invited four people (two men, two women) to participate in the film. They had diverse family backgrounds (in terms of origin, social and the educational status) and worked in different fields and positions in adult education. To give an example, the parents' education level ranged from a university professor to an illiterate labourer. By selecting such socio-demographic characteristics, we wanted to consider intersectional aspects.

In the first part of the film, the protagonists are shown individually telling their stories against a black background. The decision for the 'talking heads' format was made after long discussions in the research workshop. We wanted to put the subject at the centre, and no other factors should deflect from their (verbal and non-verbal) narration[3]. For the first episode of the film, cuttings from the four interviews were edited along thematic lines. In the second part of the film we show a cinema screening room where the four protagonists sit together with the filmmakers and discuss the draft version (rough cut) of the film, which they just have watched for the first time. The cinema room points to the idea of the film as a reflection of itself. While we discussed the first screening critically, the camera was again in operation and generated new material. An important point at this stage was that we, as filmmakers, stepped out to the scene and became visible. Thus we explicitly put our role (and power) as constructors of images and assertions up for discussion.

Potential and challenges of the medium

A central idea we wanted to deal with in the film was to reflect on the phenomenon of Othering – also by questioning the medium as such in this respect. What is described in theory and numerous studies had also been confirmed in our empirical findings: Adult educators with migrant biographies often have to struggle with ethnic/racist ascriptions or simply a general 'otherness' (Said, 1991). The diverse ways of dealing with ascriptions and discrimination range from total denial of one's origin up to creative ways for using migration-related experiences and embodied knowledge for career advancement (Kukovetz, Sadjed & Sprung, 2014).

Because of the visual and the acoustic dimension the medium of film, self-representation in a wider sense in comparison to a written depiction is allowed. On the other side, it is obvious that visual media are often used to generate stereotypes – not least about 'migrants'. A film project therefore could – potentially – be a chance to promote alternative images and question usual (hegemonic) pattern of perception.

There are several analogies between research and filmmaking. The director of a film choses the topic and decides on questions and perspectives. The material – be it interview transcripts or film – is edited by somebody. Finally the presented results are always a construction – created by the researcher or the filmmaker. According to critical migration studies, research often contributes to reproducing images of 'otherness'. The researcher as well as the filmmaker usually holds the more powerful position and creates meanings (Koch, 1992). In particular *documentary film* pretends to be a representation of 'reality' (maybe another analogy to the sciences…). Therefore we felt challenged to find an appropriate 'language' and methodology to make our film a reflective space and to lay open the illusionary character of the medium (Meyer, 2005). Basically we reference the movement of Cinéma Verité which was developed in the 1960s (Beyerle, 1997). In particular, we drew inspiration from the film 'Chronique d'un été' (Chronicle of a Ssummer, 1960), produced by the sociologist Edgar Morin and the anthropologist and filmmaker Jean Rouch. This film also involved the protagonists in the process and engaged the filmmakers as part of the story. Morin and Rouche aimed to make visible the fictional character of documentary film, breaking with conventional approaches within the genre in these times. Questions of authenticity thus could be reconsidered.

What does this mean for our concept? Even if positioning the camera directly in front of our speakers, giving space for free narration and leaving out all kinds of props, symbols etc. – it was still us, the filmmakers, who finally cut the material and designed the story through our own lenses. To set up a corrective procedure, we organised the common screening of the rough cut with a follow-up discussion in a cinema. With the collective reflection upon our product, we tried to create a participatory space which had different functions: Firstly, the status of the protagonists and the power relations within the process should be shifted. The protagonists were invited to criticise and to correct (or confirm) the interpretations which we had suggested, after having gained a more distanced perspective on their own dialogue. The group makeup should also support this process. Secondly, they also had the opportunity to comment on our role as filmmakers and we decided together how to develop the script and how the discussion should be included in the final version. Thirdly, we thought that a debate in the group would bring up new perspectives on the subject of the film – this was definitely the case. Here is just one example: After having watched the film together, one of the protagonists criticised the omission of negative experiences and aspects of discrimination in the film. He had the impression that we had just shown a 'happy story' about four successful migrants. This statement opened up an interesting debate because we learned that some of the protagonists could not even remember that they had been asked explicitly about experiences of discrimination. They thus started to reflect on the reasons for their not talking about any negative experiences, while the message of mainly positive career development seemed somehow biased to them now when watching the film from a more distanced position. Subsequently we had an exciting discussion on dealing with discrimination and on strategies to counter victimisation. Furthermore, within this discussion the influence and intersection of race, class and gender clearly emerged. These sequences play an

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3   We are aware that there is no 'neutral' background, but in the end we decided for the colour black; aesthetic and technical aspects also played a role.

important role in the second part of the final version of our film.

In general, the protagonists felt very well represented. Furthermore they appreciated the process as a chance to reflect on their own biography and especially on their own dealing with their migration background in terms of self-representation. I would say that the process of realising the described documentary film was not finished with the final cut, but when it was premiered at the closing conference of the research project. Around 100 stakeholders from the field of Austrian adult education watched the film and were engaged in a public discussion with the protagonists in the cinema afterwards. Once again, the protagonists had the opportunity to comment on the reactions of the audience and to answer questions.

5. Conclusion

The film should contribute to the aim of PAR to intervene in discourses about migrant participation by making their voices heard. We received a lot of positive feedback, and viewers told us to be inspired to develop new perspectives on the topic; the film had uncovered nuances that might have stayed invisible in a conventional research report. The research workshops had essentially supported the whole process by providing input, evaluating suggestions, offering critical feedback and challenging the filmmakers to share and expound upon their own intentions, images and positions. Aside from the concrete subproject, the research workshops had encouraged all participants to reflect on their thoughts, identities, responsibilities and not least the way in which we can take action to contribute to social change. The opportunity to also articulate practises of resistance and to find a language which supports a critical discourse showed the potential of the methodology for critical migration research – not only in terms of transfer but also as a research methodology.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

The potential for MOOCs to reflect insights from adult learning

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ABSTRACT

One of the most talked about developments in education over the last several years is MOOCs—Massive Open Online Courses. These courses are offered by some of the highest status universities in the world, and are open to anybody who chooses to participate. Many of the participants are over traditional university age, raising questions about the extent to which MOOCs represent a potential new modality for adult education. Such potential depends on the extent to which MOOCs are able to represent the philosophies and theories of adult education within their structures, a question this paper addresses through empirical analysis of the first MOOC offered by McGill University in Montréal.

There are many very grand claims made for MOOCs, mostly suggesting that MOOCs will create a revolution in access to learning. Taken more soberly, the claims fall into two general categories: access to education through MOOCs, and the radically different type of education that will be available. Both of these are areas of interest to adult educators, and we possess a good body of theory and knowledge concerning these possibilities. Our aim is to examine some of the claims around MOOCs from the perspective of adult education, using original empirical date from the first MOOC offered through McGill University in Montréal. As will be seen, we remain fundamentally skeptical about many of the claims made by promoters of MOOCs, but also believe that some interesting insights can be found in the analysis of MOOCs. Even if they do not continue in their present form they may influence perceptions of adult learning.

MOOCs: Definition and history

The meaning of MOOC is spelled out within the name itself. They are, firstly, massive. This means that many thousands of people can take courses simultaneously; the biggest single course at the time of writing involved about 200,000 learners. The management of this number of participants is a key consideration in the design of the courses. The first O refers to "open," meaning that participation in the courses is not restricted by geography, age, student status, or money. The courses are free and freely available provided that the participant has the necessary computer and connection. The second O stands for "online." MOOCs are exclusively internet-based courses. Finally, the C refers to "courses." In summary, MOOCs are online courses that serve many thousands of people simultaneously.

There are two broad types of MOOCs. The first, cMOOCs, hold to a connectivist theory of knowledge, with participants coming together to create the course through their own efforts and using their own resources. This type of MOOC was the earlier type, and is a Canadian innovation of 2009/2010. The second type, xMOOCs, are far more reminiscent of traditional online higher education instruction. There is a set of pre-determined lessons, usually in the form of video lectures, and a series of tests.

cMOOCs were based on the concept of wikipages used in teaching (Downes, 2011). In wikipages everybody can edit the content of the course, leading to a very fluid experience for participants. The step to MOOCs was made possible by the development of reliable and easy-to-use social media, allowing video, chats, and far richer forms of interaction. The original slightly anarchic period of MOOCs passed quickly, and within two years of the start of MOOCs they became more institutionalised. The dominant form is now the xMOOC, most often delivered by well-known American institutions. It's not clear what the advantages for these institutions actually are, on a practical or economic level, but they are associated with brand-building and the search for cheaper ways to teach undergraduates (Masi, 2013). It is not at all unusual to hear comments such as: "173,810 students. That's more students than have enrolled in Vanderbilt's history. 170k new members of the Vanderbilt community.

They're not paying tuition. But their presence counts" (Bruff, 2013, p. 21).

MOOCs are delivered through consortia—edX, Coursera, and Udacity— often led by well known US institutions such as Stanford, MIT and Harvard. In the first year of HarvardX and MITx MOOCs (later combined in the edX consortium) 841,687 students registered. The consortium hosts the course, covers the cost of the bandwidth associated, and provides infrastructure such as the platform, marketing, registration, and basic student support. Institutions provide the content in a form that is ready for uploading. The videos are actually hosted on YouTube in private, non-searchable channels. While MOOCs are most often free at the point of consumption, the cost of production can be several hundreds of thousands of dollars. Currently the most pressing question for MOOC providers is what the business model should look like (Haggard, 2013).This underlies the interest in charging for certification, where the course would be free but participants would pay for a verified "certificate of completion."

Linking MOOCS to adult education

The literature around MOOCs brings up many issues that are familiar to adult educators. The participants are generally older than those in traditional initial schooling, participation is voluntary, and motivation is a key concern. The same sorts of questions arise: is the main aim of MOOCs vocational and employment-orientated, or does critical thinking matter? To what extent should the educator determine and define the key aspects of the course? How can the courses be effective and respectful to participants? Given the power of the claims made for MOOCs—and the sheer numbers of people involved—it seems important to tackle them.

The first category of claims for MOOCs centres on issues of access. When discussing these claims, we take the position that increased access to educational opportunities is a fundamental value of adult education. By increased access we do not mean adult education as a pipeline to higher education, but adult education in the sense that it represents access to learning in and of itself (for a recent discussion of access and barriers, see Desjardins & Rubenson, 2013). The evidence from our study is that older learners do engage with MOOCs and tend to stick with them longer. We are not going to examine this evidence in depth in the current paper, but we can be confident that MOOCs are not *prima facie* inaccessible to adult learners or off-putting for many of them.

The second set of claims for MOOCs emphasises the potential for them to drive radical changes in teaching and learning. The "radical" ideas arising from MOOCs are perhaps more of a change in higher than adult education. For example, the idea of voluntary, student-driven learning is fairly commonplace in adult education. In this discussion we have chosen to examine the extent to which the ideas driving MOOCs are consistent with those valued in the education of adults. We frame this discussion within Knowles'

(1980) principles of andragogy. While this approach can appear somewhat limited as a learning theory (St. Clair, 2002), it still has value as a framework for practice and seems to have considerable currency among practitioners. While we would dissuade unreflective acceptance and application, we do still see Knowles' work as offering a strong starting point for the development of a personal philosophy of practice.

Within Knowles' framework the first of the four principles is the concept of the learner (this discussion relies on Knowles, 1980). While in initial schooling there has been a tendency to see learners as reliant on the teacher for their learning, andragogy holds that learners are already moving towards independence and self-direction. Learners are expected to take an active role in shaping their learning processes and defining the outcomes that are most valuable for them. The second principle calls for recognition of adults' experience within the learning and teaching process. This applies not only to the content of a course, but also the meta-cognitive aspects of learning, where adults know what works for them. Knowles (1980) argues that respectful work with adult learners requires acknowledging and finding ways to apply this experience. Using it as a resource in the class validates this knowledge and respects learners.

The third principle concerns the learners' readiness to learn. As with the teachable moment, the notion suggests that there are times when learners will be most receptive to a new idea or information. Learners are ready to learn specific things at certain stages in their development. Not every learner will be ready for the same thing at the same time; this principle underlines individuality once more. Finally, Knowles (1980) claims orientation to learning matters. Learning is driven by adults' need to know and understand something. Motivation arises out of this need, so the more pressing the requirement to understand, the more application to learning will result. It's less important that the need is immediate, what matters is that the learner perceives it.

As we analysed MOOCs generally, and the McGill MOOC in particular, these principles helped us to think through the extent to which the pedagogy in MOOCs really did differ from traditional formal education settings and how much they aligned with adult education concepts. If that alignment could be found, then it would be possible to consider MOOCs as a potential modality for adult education; if not, then MOOCs really are more about expanding a formal mode of learning than offering a viable alternative.

The current study

The MOOC at the centre of the current discussion was called *CHEM181x "Food for thought,"* which focused on making healthy and informed nutritional choices. The MOOC was medium-sized, starting out with some 32,000 registrants. Of these, around 9,000 were active in the course and just over 1600 achieved a "pass." The MOOC was offered on the edX platform. This size of MOOC creates an unimaginable amount of data within the edX systems, because the platform was designed to be robust under tremendous load, not

to provide easy data extraction. Questions that seem very simple to educators, such as "how often did the average student log on to the course for?" might take several months to answer.

One challenge is that people can access as much of a MOOC as they want, meaning that it is unclear what completion means. That is the whole point of an open course. This prevents a series of questions from being asked, such as whether a particular pattern of engagement with the course is more likely to lead to "success." This is illustrated by the first report from HarvardX and MITx (Ho et al., 2014), which was almost entirely demographic and provided few insights into learning and teaching aspects of the courses. The authors state that "course certification rates are misleading and counterproductive indicators of the impact and potential of open online courses" (p. 2) and the average certification rate was 5.1% of registrants across the 17 courses offered. However, the remaining 94.9% (some 792,000 registrations) showed a huge variety of interaction with MOOCs—they might tackle every component except the tests or might just look at one or two favourite lessons.

The current research team wanted to look more closely at teaching and learning in the MOOC environment, and were involved in the development of the CHEM181x from the earliest stages. We put entrance and exit surveys for MOOC participants in place (with ethical approval and without implications for progress in the course). These surveys were not intended to be the final word in MOOC research, but to contribute a step forward in understanding MOOCs and their participants. The current paper reports on the quantitative results (there was also a small number of open-ended questions). There were 9,623 respondents completing the entrance survey, and on whom we have baseline data (this represents 29.9% of the initial 32,205 registrants).

We discuss completion rates despite the caution from Ho et al. (2014). We have elected to include "passing" and "completing the exit survey" as a proxies for engagement. They do, however, represent different forms of these qualities. Getting a pass is dependent upon the participant completing quizzes and questions and electing specifically to follow this route, whereas completion of the survey demonstrates a voluntary commitment to the course and the research agenda. There were 1608 people who passed, and 1484 who completed the exit survey, with an overlap of 78%. We use the language "persistence to pass" to underline that a passing score should not be taken as a universal goal or signal of anything more than the fact that people invested a certain level of time and effort. In our discussion we avoid discussion of the people who chose not to be in the pass or exit groups as we know little about them.

Pedagogic potential

The data examining the actual educational practices within the MOOC is limited, but does raise interesting questions. Here we present the data and then discuss it in terms of the andragogical principles discussed earlier. We asked if

participants had taken a MOOC before. Around two thirds (62.4%) had, and these participants were more likely to complete the exit survey (20.0 vs. 13.4%) and to pass (22.7 vs. 13.8%). Participants who had taken MOOCs before were also asked how much they enjoyed the previous MOOC, with 62.5% saying that they "really enjoyed it." These respondents were considerably more likely to persist to the exit survey and to pass. The corollary is that it is less likely that somebody without experience in a MOOC will persist.

We also asked about the work background of participants. Of the 8598 who responded, 25.9% stated that they worked in chemistry, nutrition, or a related field. Respondents who worked in a related field were more likely to end up with a passing score (17.5 vs. 16.0%) and to complete the exit survey (19.7 vs. 17.5%). There is some evidence that working in the field strengthens engagement.

Due to the emphasis on collective work in adult education (St.Clair, 2015) it is informative to whether people worked collectively or independently. While cMOOCs emphasise collective learning, xMOOCs tend to be more individually oriented. Participants were asked whether they knew someone else who was taking CHEM181x. If they stated that they knew somebody, they were more likely to persist to pass (19.7 vs. 17.0%) and to complete the exit survey (17.7 vs. 15.9%). The vast majority of participants (94.3%) worked completely on their own.

	Total		Pass Rate	Exit Rate
	N	%	%	%
I am just visiting	180	8.3	8.3	4.4
I am only interested in some topics in this course	799	7.0	7.0	7.0
I am planning to audit the course only	2133	9.2	9.2	6.0
I am considering, but not committed to, earning a certificate	3011	16.1	16.1	17.8
I am committed to do all of the work earn a certificate	2821	24.2	24.2	28.8
Total	8944	16.0	16.0	17.2

Table 1: Intentions in taking CHEM181x

Table 1 shows the intentions people had when they registered for the course. The "total" columns show the numbers and proportions of participants who chose each intention (this was a forced single choice). The "pass" and "exit" columns show the percentage of people who reached these outcomes. For example, people who said they were "just visiting" reached "pass" 8.3% of the time, and "exit" 4.4% of the time. The people who said they intended to keep going to certification were more likely to persist to pass and to complete the survey.

Reason for taking the course:	Total N	Pass rate %	Exit rate %
Personal challenge	5384	18.0	16.0
Certificate/credential given for successful completion	1731	28.9	23.3
Increase in knowledge and skills	6820	18.4	16.6
Social community of the course	387	18.1	16.8
Interest in topic	7067	17.9	16.4
Entertainment value of the class	1014	19.8	17.6
Review of chemistry/ nutrition concepts	3315	20.4	18.4
Employment/job advancement opportunities	1090	22.1	19.1
Total	8978	17.2	15.9

Table 2: Reasons for taking CHEM181x

Table 2 looks at the reasons people gave for participating in the MOOC. In this case, respondents could give multiple answers, so there are no overall percentages. People who took the course for the certificate/credential were most likely to persist to pass and complete the exit summary. The second highest pass and exit survey rates were found among people who mentioned employment as a motivation.

	Total		Pass Rate	Exit Rate
	N	%	%	%
0	645	6.7	9.9	8.8
1	2319	24.1	12.8	13.8
2	1350	14.0	12.8	12.2
3	2193	22.8	17.4	15.4
4	1719	17.9	19.5	17.7
5	883	9.2	23.8	21.6
6	379	3.9	29.0	23.5
7	80	0.8	28.8	18.8
8	55	0.6	27.3	23.6
Total	9623	100%		

Table 3: Number of reasons for participating in CHEM181x

Table 3 presents a different look at the same data. This represents how many reasons people actually gave for taking the MOOC. Respondents could select from zero to eight reasons, as shown in table 3. The "total" column suggests that most people chose one or three reasons. The persistence to pass and exit survey rates were higher among those who identified five to eight reasons for taking the course.

On insight from adult learning is that learner self-efficacy is vital. Participants were asked if they were confident that they could understand the most complex material presented. The "total" column of table 4 shows that 75.6% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they were confident. The persistence rates demonstrated do not reflect the initial level of confidence very strongly, however. It appears that there is some gradient across the categories (from 14.4% to 20.9% in the case of pass), but less than could have been anticipated. We suggest (with some caution) that MOOC format may be effective for learners with lower confidence and self-efficacy.

	Total		Pass Rate	Exit Rate
	N	%	%	%
1 - Strongly disagree	436	5.1	14.4	13.5
2	1654	19.3	14.6	14.8
3	3584	41.7	17.2	15.9
4-Strongly agree	2916	33.9	20.9	18.7
Total	8590	100.0	17.8	16.5

Table 4: I am confident I can understand the most complex material presented

These data, slim though they may be, present empirical insights into the relationships between the principles of andragogy and participants' experience in CHEM181x. It seems that most participants were working alone on the course, though engagement was slightly stronger if people worked together. The notion of the learner as independent or working towards it is relevant to MOOCs. The second andragogical principle is that adults bring experience to their learning. In CHEM181x this can be seen in the way that MOOC experience is associated with greater persistence, as are working in the field and previous education in chemistry.

Participants' readiness to learn is reflected in their decision to take the course, as well as their employment in related fields. The relationship between engagement and readiness to learn is demonstrated by the fact that higher engagement is related to larger number of reasons for taking the course. At the same time, the lack of domination of any particular reason shows that the motivations for study are varied and personal. The high level of self-efficacy shown by participants (75.6% responding that they agree or strongly agree that they will be able to tackle the most difficult material) also supports the notion of readiness to learn as a factor in engagement. Similar arguments apply to orientation to learning. Participants were able to identify concrete reasons for study, though it is worth noting that intrinsic motivations such as "personal challenge" were less associated with high levels of engagement than extrinsic motivations.

Pulling together these strands, we suggest that MOOCs build engagement with learners who fit with Knowles' adult learning principles. However, our findings imply that the characteristics of MOOCs as a method for learning align well with the needs of certain adult learners.

Conclusion and some implications

The primary question driving this discussion is what MOOCs might mean for adult learning. The evidence we gathered suggests that there is surprising congruence between the factors that enhance engagement in a MOOC and the sorts of characteristics Knowles' (1980) suggested were the hallmarks of adult learning. It would be both premature and exaggerated to claim that MOOCs offer a radical new modality for adult learning, but there is little in our data to suggest that MOOCs do not have a real potential for adult learning.

Probably the most important aspect of this potential is the high degree of self-direction that MOOCs both offer and reward. Experience and independence are reflected in better engagement. The ability of learners to self-enrol at no cost and then choose how to interact with the courses (from browsing all the way to certification) potentially makes them a very powerful medium for adult learning. It is easy to imagine them becoming a resource for groups setting out to study a topic together, for example. Perhaps the most exciting form of MOOCs from an adult education perspective is cMOOCs, which reflect many of the opportunities and values of study circles with the addition of huge geographical reach. Members of the groups could be all over the world and still be able to build their course collectively.

We will end with a cautious note. As with any educational form, the outcome of MOOCs relies, of course, on the way they are used. More than this, there is need for highly sophisticated (and expensive) technology to participate. MOOCs are no silver bullet for adult education, but in the right context, used in the right way, they have a lot to offer.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

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Culture shock, disjuncture and ontological development: Fostering lifelong learning habits in a Short Term Travel Study Program

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that post-secondary students enrolled in a University of Calgary Short Term Travel Study Program (STTSP) use familial roles to help cope with disjunctured moments (Jar-vis, 2004) and culture shock (Pedersen, 1995). In the process, they begin to exhibit those charac-teristics that Barnett (2007) identified as essential for ontological development within post-secondary institutional programs. Onto-logical development, and its emphasis on holistic learn-ing, can be seen as a starting point for developing lifelong learning habits, suggesting that STTSPs can have significant learning outcomes beyond recently documented academic out-comes.

Introduction

Since 2007, I have organized and taught four short term travel study programs (STTSPs) called "Food Culture in Spain" through the Department of Communication, Media and Film at the Uni-versity of Calgary. These three-week programs are a combination of formal curriculum, informal field trips, and incidental learning where students synthe-size their experiences in Spain through academic research projects. In these three weeks, the majority of the students' time is spent read-ing, studying, working on projects, as well as informally and incidentally experiencing the cul-ture of Spain through the eyes of a Canadian Communica-tion Studies student. The 2011 pro-gram emphasized group work and group cohesion. Students were pre-assigned to academic groups before departure to Spain, and while in Spain, students were rarely alone, living, eating, working, and socializing in small or large groups virtually all the time. Students were frequently on the move as well. As a group, we moved from one city to another every few days. Students rarely had a chance to settle into a space nor did they have the luxury of learning in a familiar classroom-like structure. As a result of always being in motion and being challenged by unfamil-iar learning environments, students felt anxious, frustrated, surprised, excited and sometimes overwhelmed throughout the program. As an instructor, I was curious as to how these feelings and emotions enhanced or hindered a student's learning while in the program. Did students cope with these feelings in a productive way? How did they characterize the anxiety they obviously felt throughout the program? Were they even aware of it? Did the never ending group work help a student achieve their academic goals or did it hinder their own individual growth as a learner? These are some of some of the questions that initiated this paper.

Literature Review

Currently, there is no clear consensus amongst travel study scholars as to the benefit of Short Term Travel Study Pro-grams. Some scholars posit that programs under six weeks are often not sites of significant learning outcomes in pro-grams because the time in the field is too short for learning outcomes to develop (Bond, 2009; Rourke & Kanuka, 2013). Other scholars suggest that extra components need to be added to these programs to make their learning significant and holistic (McLaughlin and Johnson, 2006; Ritz, 2011). There are some scholars who do see the benefits of STTSPs and suggest that students can acquire intercultural sensitiv-ity (Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen, & Hubbard, 2006), under-stand globalization (Sutton & Rubin, 2004) and in-crease awareness of interdisciplinarity (Lewis & Niesenbaum 2005) from even a short time in the field and some quantitative research has been done to develop these ideas (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Cheiffo & Griffiths, 2009; Woolf, 2007). Since 2009 much of the scholarly work on STTSPs shows that reflection and continuum of experience does play a role in transformative learning outcomes for the STTSPs (Fisch-er, 2009; Perry, Stoner & Tarrant, 2012; Tarrant, Rubin & Stoner, 2014). Though the recent research is important in terms of understanding how experi-ential education is a key objective for these programs and for student development, there is still a lack of understanding of the role that group

dynamics play in how students learn in these pro-grams. This paper helps fill that research gap as it explores the feelings of vulnerability, anxiety and frustration that arise from traveling and living with a group for three continuous weeks. The coping mechanisms that participants employed throughout this STTSP are valuable and show some of the potential ontological benefits of these programs.

Conceptual Framework

To help see the unique learning that takes place in STTSPs three interconnected concepts will be used to analyze my primary data. I will borrow from and synthesize Pederson's (1995) ideas of culture shock, Jarvis' (2004) explanation of disjuncture and holistic learning and Barnett's (2007) ideas around ontological development and the pedagogy of will, to show that students in STTSP's undergo significant ontological and holistic learning despite being in the field for only three weeks.

Culture shock as proposed by Pedersen (1995) is "an internalized construct or perspective devel-oped in reaction or response to the new or unfamiliar situation" (p. vii). These reactions and re-sponses can create anxiety, frustration and even existential crisis when one is faced with a new environment. This new environment can be intercultural. Many students in STTSPs face lan-guage barriers and cultural differences when traveling outside of their home country. But culture shock doesn't have to be intercultural. Any situation that is unfamiliar and where an individual is, "forced to ad-just to an unfamiliar social system where previous learning no longer applies" (p. 1) can create culture shock. Group tensions that arise from traveling with a group of people for 21 continuous days can also create culture shock. But culture shock does not negate learning. Pedersen (1995) suggested that the process of "acculturation" (p. 7) or overcoming the shock of the moment can lead to educational impacts which motivate and help individuals learn about themselves; in other words, by coping or acculturating to the unfamiliar, they can possibly see themselves as ontological beings.

Pederson's culture shock is not dissimilar to Jarvis' (2004) definition of disjuncture, which is essential to his learning cycle. In Jarvis's learning theory, the whole person, "experi-ences a so-cial situation, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or prac-tically...and integrated into the person's individual biography resulting in a changed (or more ex-perienced) person" (p. 13). For Jarvis, when an individual is aware of his or her own lack of un-derstanding and becomes frustrated or anxious with their life biography, then there is disjuncture. Disjuncture jars an individual out of harmony with their world. As Jarvis (2004) explained, "When disjuncture occurs, we are aware of our separation from others, aware that we are, in a sense, isolated from the world in which we are, and we feel the need to re-establish harmony and connection" (p. 11). In STT-SPs, participants undergo intense moments of disjuncture, become aware of their separation from others and resort to identifying with familial roles to help re-establish harmony.

Both Pedersen's ideas about culture shock and Jarvis' notion of disjuncture can help explain Barnett's pedagogy of will which encourages educators to foster a student's ontologi-cal devel-opment as well as their epistemological growth. Barnett (2007) believed that much of the schol-arship of teaching and learning in contemporary post-secondary in-stitutions relies on an exami-nation of learning outcomes or epistemological development, rather than a more in-depth analy-sis of what it means to be a student in these institutions. Ontological development, or the learning self of students, is just as important in our globalized contem-porary world as epistemological de-velopment and both are essential if educators want students who are ready to deal with and chal-lenge the pressures of a neo-liberal society. Barnett (2007) defines a learning self as one that, "is pre-pared continually to be tested by new experiences" (p.75). Such learning cannot be measured in terms of curricula or test results; this type of learning is the fostering of the will to learn. He suggested that educators need to develop and foster qualities like integrity, carefulness, courage, resilience, self-discipline, restraint, respect for others, openness, care, compassion and sympathy for others to provide students with both epistemological and ontological development; develop-ment that increases as student's propensity for a will to learn and sets the stage for lifelong learn-ing.

Methods and Methodology [1]

This paper is part of a larger qualitative explanatory case study based on my 2011 short-term travel study program, a three week program that offered students experiential and reflective learning aimed at understanding food culture in Spain. The program was comprised of 27 under-graduate students, two instructors and a program assistant. In ac-cordance with ethics protocol, all students in the program were given the choice of whether to participate in the study. A neutral 3rd party administered a pre-departure question-naire and collected consent forms before the group left for Spain. While in Spain, I was unaware of which students had volunteered for the study. Participant questionnaires and consent forms were kept in a sealed envelope in the De-partment Manager's office until all final grades were submit-ted for the program and I was no longer instructor of record for any of the participants. 13 students agreed to participate in this study. These students were at different stages of their post-secondary programs in various de-partments and fac-ulties such as Business, Communication and Culture and Fine Arts.

Data collection consisted of pre-departure questionnaires, content analysis of reflective essays, interviews and focus groups. Reflective essays, written by participants while in the field were collected once all final grades were submit-ted for the program. One to one semi structured inter-views

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1   Part of this methodology and methods section appeared in my 2012 CASAE presentation and publication, entitled, Beyond 'Educational Tourism': Informal and Incidental Learning Outcomes as an Example of Critical Pedagogy in Short Term Travel Study

were conducted within three months of the program's conclusion. Answers from the pre-departure questionnaires were used as prompts for these interviews. Two focus groups were con-ducted three years after the program concluded. The prompts and topics for these focus groups were based on participants' responses in their interviews. The reflective essays, interviews and focus groups were transcribed, coded and analyzed using the concepts previously explained in the conceptual framework.

Analysis

Participants throughout the 2011 STTSP, Food Culture in Spain, often exhibited frustration, anx-iety, surprise, and excitement as a result of traveling with a group of peers for 21 continuous days throughout a foreign country. Many participants talked at length in interviews and during focus groups about how they coped with these feelings while trying to stay focused on their school work. It became imperative for many of the participants that they find coping mecha-nisms that helped them complete their academic requirements. One of the most common themes that came up in the data was the idea that for many of the participants the group was similar to a family. It appears that, though experiencing culture shock from an "unfamiliar social system" (Pedersen, 1995) and in constant disharmony with their life world while in the field, students were able to cope with the pressures and frustrations of the three week program by resorting to a familiar feeling of familial roles and relationships. This section will first highlight the culture shock and disjuncture experienced by participants. The final part of the analysis will explore the participants adopting familial roles as a coping mechanism and will show that participants exhib-it two of Barnett's ontological qualities, respect and care while in the STTSP.

Culture Shock and Disjuncture

While in the field, students, instructors and program assistants spent most of their time together -- classes were held with all in attendance, the group lived together, mostly ate together and trav-eled by bus or train together. Students were also pre-assigned academic groups before departure and spent much of their time in the field working with their group members on presentations and research projects. There was a lot of group time. To help alleviate and lessen group tensions, pre-departure classes were held before the group left for Spain where students got to know one another and became familiar with who they would be traveling with. Despite these group cohe-sion classes, however, group tensions arose during the three weeks in the field. These tensions were the result of students not showing up to group meetings on time, social events that took some students away from the group, students splintering off and bringing negative energy back to the group, or forming cliques based on personality or traveling interests. For many students it was not so much the cultural barriers of Spain that created culture shock. They often described having to live with a

large and diverse group of people as unfamiliar, challenging or as one stu-dent, Sarah, a second year Communications Studies student described the challenge as, "...[it] pushing me out of my comfort zone." Sometimes participants used familiar family roles to cope with group events like meal-times, which could be particularly stressful and chaotic. For one par-ticipant this comparison helped her cope, though also created strange feelings. Maia, a fourth year Communications Studies student, describes meal times as similar to a family reunion and she played the child's role because that meant, "...you don't have to pay attention you don't have to think for yourself you are just following a big group." She goes onto to describe the group as having a hierarchy that was not familiar to school groups and for her "...it was weird." Previous learning on how to navigate school groups was not useful to Maia during the STTSP. She was jarred out of the familiar academic expectations and she resorted to the familiar family role of a dependent child in a family reunion to help her cope.

Whether it is described as unfamiliar, uncomfortable or weird, the culture shock of traveling with a group of peers was often not what participants expected before the program began. The dis-juncture that the group travel created for many students is summed up by Barb, a part time Communications Studies student. She suggested that the reality of travel study does not match up with the fantasy many students had before they left for Spain:

> So before you go you have this idea of what it's gonna be like and how you're gonna behave and you're going to be like this cosmopolitan traveller, you know, you're gonna get along with all these ducklings, and you're going to try not to mother everybody in my case, but you sort of go with this idea of what it's going to be like and then you come back, with the reality of what it was like and I don't think in any situation in life that those two ever match up completely.

The fantasy and reality of travel study not matching up can be seen as a disjunctured moment within Barb's and other participants' life world.

Respect

Barnett explained that one of the qualities that helps foster a student's ontological development is respect. Participants saw the importance of respect amongst group members by identifying mo-ments of disrespect. This was one of the most surprising things I discovered during the inter-views and the focus groups, and I was struck by how strongly the participants felt about others who disrespected the group. This disrespect could take any number of forms, from not showing support to others during stressful times or by bringing negative energy to the group during group activities. For Lacey, a fourth year, Communications Studies student, during a transfer day in Barcelona, the frustration and feelings of disrespect were overwhelming:

Bags everywhere and certain people were not helping and were not being supportive and were running off and treating the family, and by this point it was all like the last four days-treating the family like shit….I felt that people in our family had been so hurtful and disrespectful to other people in the family and like I felt like just curling up in a ball and dying, I felt so terrible.

Students in this particular STTSP held these qualities — support, help, respect — in high order and were quick to notice when others did not show the same.

Disrespect was also seen when students brought negative energy back to the group. Barb saw this a s a form of betrayal and described her frustration as, "You know, go out and do what you're gonna do. But when you bring it back into the group then it affects everybody. Right? And that became really uncomfortable. Because it was like, uh, "What the fuck? I'm here to do some-thing." Clearly, the group became for most students the most important element to the STTSP. and to disrespect it did not go over well with some participants.

Caring and familial roles

Regardless of the source of the tension and frustration, most participants said that they needed to overcome those tensions and frustrations in order to make it through the three weeks. As Lacey, puts it, "In the field, I think you need it [and] you need to depend on other people because emotionally, physically, intellectually you're exhausted…" One of the ways participants managed this was they started to see the group as a family unit and not as a school group. Kaili, a fourth year Communications Studies student, in her reflective essay, described the group as such and added "We tried our best to take care of each other and support each other." Clearly, participants felt a compassion for and need to take care of each other, qualities that are highlighted in Bar-nett's pedagogy of will.

But the reference to family unit went beyond a general description of the group. Partici-pants often assigned familial roles to other members of the group or used familial feelings to help describe what they were experiencing in the field. For example Meghan, a fourth year Commu-nications Studies student, became the 'mom' when she bought food for an impromptu picnic and Sarah, described the feeling of leaving the group on the final day as, "It's like the 'Mom, it's over' type feeling."

Familial roles were also used to help describe group conflicts. Lacey said that the kinds of fights students had with each other in the field were, "the kind of fights that you would have with your brothers or sisters, occasionally the kind of fight you would have with your mom." Sa-rah, also compared the fights within the group to brother and sister fights within a family:

…it was a kind of negativity that you have with your little brothers, little sisters, and that's what it was for me, a lot of the people were like my little brothers and little sisters, and that was the kind of nitpicky crap that we were fighting about.

Sarah suggests the negativity was survivable once they realized, "…why are we doing this, we're here for three weeks are we seriously gonna waste 24 hours being jerks to each other and like, they are family for sure and I, this is a year later and I still have such a space in my heart for all of them." Like the sibling who survives the sibling conflict, students too survived group tensions while in the STTSP.

Lacey also compared the group fights to family fights and suggested it was the peace making mother figure who stepped in and made things right, "You want to kill each other for about eight seconds and then there's always the mother in the group who comes over and says 'hey guys.' Like there is always one in the group that tries to keep the peace." Despite those fights and ten-sions Lacey suggests that by the end of the program the intensity she felt for the other students was like the love one has for family members. She said "and the day that we left there I loved every single person in that group like I would love my own blood and it's fascinating to watch it happen, especially cause, well you know there were days where I was literally ready to kill people." Again similar to Sarah, Lacey compares the group dynamics to sibling rivalry. The tension is there and members are frustrated, but many participants are aware that relationships will sur-vive the three week program.

Conclusion

Preliminary analysis suggests that participants in one STTSP experienced moments of ontologi-cal development because of group dynamics. Though participants were anxious, frustrated and felt disjuncture because of the compressed period of group travel, they also suggested that caring for each other and respecting the group were important elements of the program. Caring and re-specting are two qualities inherent in Barnett's pedagogy of will that helps foster ontological development. Student engagement in these programs should not be not measured solely by academ-ic performance but also by ontological development. This shift will help educators reconsider learning objectives in STTSPs to encompass qualities beyond the traditional learning outcomes that are used to assess the effectiveness of STTSPs.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

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Language Discrimination at English Dominant Workplaces

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ABSTRACT

Today's workplace settings are rapidly changing socially, culturally, geographically and linguistically due to economic, migration, immigration and globalization policies. As a consequence, workplaces have become increasingly multicultural and multilingual as opposed to once homogeneous workplaces. Agocs & Jain (2001) point out that in the case of Canada, "racial discrimination is a serious problem that prevents the efficient operation of the labour market and causes significant losses for the national economy in terms of underutilized human resources as well as the personal sufferings and loss of fair opportunities to a large segment of the society" (cited in Crees, p.209). It is also believed that immigrant workers who speak English as a second language are discriminated based on their language performance and eventually perceived as professionally less capable individuals (Braine, 1999 as cited in Samimy; 2008). Thus, this conceptual paper investigates through an extensive literature review, how immigrant second language speakers of English are subjected to discrimination in their workplaces. Findings reveal that factors such as language anxiety, communicative apprehension affect the language use of second language speakers which is perceived negatively by standard speakers. Furthermore, differences in accent and rhetorical styles as well as pragmatic and strategic incompetence provide grounds for workplace subjugation.

Introduction

Today's workplace settings are rapidly changing socially, culturally, geographically and linguistically due to economic, migration, immigration and globalization policies. As a consequence, workplaces have become increasingly multicultural and multilingual, on the contrary, to once homogeneous workplaces. Economists talk about the importance of having a multicultural workforce to the economy of a country (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1997) but it is important to consider social, cultural and linguistic issues surrounding these new work settings and how certain segment of employees

are being victimised in the name of modernity and development. Amongst the victimized, are the second language speakers of a particular dominant society. It is believed that they are discriminated based on their second language performance and eventually perceived as professionally less capable individuals (Braine, 1999 as cited in Samimy; 2008). Hence, it is important to inquire the mechanisms by which these second language speakers become the targets of workplace discrimination based on their language use. In this paper, I would like to focus on the workforce who speak English as a second language in "inner circle" (Kachru, 1992) countries and I adopt the definition given to ESL speakers by Richard et al (as cited in Nayor, 1997) as "minorities and immigrants in English-speaking countries" (p.13). Furthermore, I will specifically consider second language speakers who migrate to inner circle countries as skilled and highly skilled workers.

Certain "inner circle countries"(Kachru, 1992) such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, US and UK allot a very significant place in their economic policies to highly skilled immigrants who come as educated professionals into the country. In Canada, skilled immigrants consist of more than half of total intake of immigrants (Zaman, 2010). These foreign professionals are brought into the country with the expectation that they would easily assimilate into the host culture and the workforce since they are educated and possess language and professional skills. However, the reality is as not as optimistic as the expectation. In these countries where monolingual hegemony is prevailing either overtly or covertly, second language speakers of English undergo tremendous pressure depending on the context they are using English. This is due to the fact that language can be considered as a powerful medium for enacting discrimination in multilingual and monolingual settings (Sik Hung Ng, 2007). McCall (2003) also states that "language competence" is a convenient tool which discriminates against other language groups in a legitimate way (p.249 as cited in Newton &

Kusmierczyk, 2011). Immigrant professionals who perceive themselves as proficient speakers of English may still experience challenges when they speak to native speakers of English in inner circle countries. The workplace can be a place which does not permit them to surface their professional skills simply because of the way they are perceived by others based on the manner of L2 communication.

Second Language Speakers and Language Discrimination in English Speaking Countries

In countries where immigrants are a major segment of their economy, language policies are adapted to accommodate multilingual and multicultural needs. For example, the Canadian multicultural policy permits the coexistence of other languages and actively encourages cultural pluralism. However, these policies seem to have minimal impact on the authentic day to day language practices as English is mostly the functional language in the dominant society. Everybody is expected to have a good grasp of English to be successful in these countries (Creese, 2009). Some countries like US and UK are more explicit in claiming this while Australia, New Zealand and especially Canada seem to be more sympathetic towards immigrants at the policy level. Zaman (2010) states that Canada has adopted a market model of neo-liberalism in which settlement process is individual, isolated and alienated. It is important to note that immigrants come to these host countries through different immigration categories such as family, skilled immigrants, business and refugees (Zaman, 2010) with different proficiency levels of English. Moreover, there are many measures taken by these countries to develop the proficiency of English of immigrants to enable them to join the workforce and assimilate into the mainstream culture. However, in Canadian case, it seems that newcomer language programs have been effective for immigrants who come with lower proficiency levels but they do not address the needs of immigrants who are at higher proficiency levels. Zaman (2006, 2007)'s research findings reveal that in Canada," ESL courses funded by the government offer only basic, rudimentary English" (Zaman,2010, p.14) and upper level ESP courses which meet the needs of immigrants with higher proficiency are available as paid courses in colleges and language schools limiting the access. Most of the highly skilled professionals have a higher level of English proficiency, but they seem to have problems in accessing English skills for their specific purposes which can affect them once they join the workforce.

These immigrants, who find work with an utmost difficulty, once again have to struggle in their new workplaces to construct their new identity as well as to be on par with the co-workers. Second language speakers are believed to be "mal-recognized" or they are "acknowledged in a way that disrespect their dignity and distorts their own self-image" (Bigdeli, 2007, p.68). Moreover, they are not seen while their voices are not heard by other members of the dominant society (Braine, 1999 as cited by Samimy, 2008) as well they are considered as less intelligent and less competent merely

due to the difference in accents (Hansen, Rakic, & Steffens, 2014). Blommmaert (2007) argues that language expertise are relatively perceived and such linguistic expertise in their home countries can be looked down upon in the new country as inappropriate in the context and genres of the specific workplace(as cited in Roberts, 2010).In order to support this claim, I would use a study done by a group of women faculty of color who carried out a collective writing project compiling their lived experiences. Most of these scholars work in the US, and they state that there is evidence of marginalization and discrimination of non-native TESOL teachers in the institutions that they work in. One writer explains that she felt as an illegitimate faculty member, and she vividly explains how she was discriminated due to her non-native speaker status.

> I have had the following disturbing experiences: being excluded from communication related to important decisions about the program that I work in, forced to do a large amount of work beyond my assigned duties, treated as if I were a teaching assistant by being deprived of decision-making power, blamed for students' complaints about a program for which I am not primarily responsible, expected to do student-teacher supervision rather than teaching a graduate course, and given the lowest salary at my rank. Even worse, I was insulted by having my cultural and linguistic heritage devalued by a senior White female administrator: "I want you to do ESL [teacher education]; XXX [my native language] isn't important" (even though I was originally hired to create a teacher education program for that language). (Lin, Grant, Kubota, Motha, Sachs, Vandrick, & Wong, 2004, p.489)

Arakelian (2009) shows how a group of minority nurses who were considered as experts in English in their countries was undermined as "inappropriate" in hospital in the UK.(cited by Roberts,2010, p.218).When others constantly maltreat or mal-recognize L2 speakers, there is a tendency for them to see themselves as inadequate and incapable. This is discussed in Bingham's (2001) typology, and he states that immigrant L2 speakers are mal-recognized through inter mirror and intra mirror reflections (Bigdeli, 2007). He further says that the new images which come out from these two types of reflections can contradict with their previous images or the personalities that they had in their previous country as doctors, engineers, professors, etc. Arguing along these lines, it can be assumed that this negative perception can harm these professionals and result in low self-esteem while damaging their self-integrity. Eventually, they can be perceived as weak persons within their professional domain. Furthermore, Vickers (2012) points out those non-native speakers cannot execute "high-status forms of talk" and this deficiency may refrain them from gaining "expert status" of a workplace, denying their professional expertise (p.136). She exemplifies a situation came up between a non-native software engineer and a native hardware engineer

and how the native speaker got his ideas ratified because of his native speaker status.

If we look insightfully, all these discriminatory and negative experiences L2 speakers go through in English speaking work settings seem to happen due to different aspects of their second language interactions which are considered non-standard and picked on by some monolingual English speakers. Language standards relate to both code of a language (grammar, vocabulary) and manner of speaking (Scassa, 1994). In addition, Scassa(1994) states that dominant speakers make use of language standards as a gatekeeper to keep their positions and roles exclusive in a society while controlling access to standard language acquisition by non-standard speakers. In the next section, I will focus on the manner of second language speaking and some of its aspects which may be considered as non-standard and eventually lead to possible negative evaluation of overall personality and professional skills of the L 2 speaker.

Second Language Anxiety and Communicative Apprehension

Second language anxiety.

Bigdeli (2007) describes second language anxiety as,

> …a negative emotion, a state of an unwanted uneasiness and apprehension, uncertainty, and fear caused by anticipating threat to one's identity. It mostly arises from the psychological and social influences of the second language and the host society. ESL anxiety is related to different aspects of the second language and one's status in the new society. (p.52).

When someone experiences language anxiety, it can obstruct the fluency of the speaker and portray the speaker as an unintelligible and incompetent person. Rose (2008) further clarifies that second language speakers can become anxious towards negotiating in English in English-dominant workplaces if they don't feel confident "that they can successfully negotiate an identity comparable to their previous understanding of who they are" (p.135). Second language anxiety is investigated in many research projects mostly in the English as second/foreign language learning contexts (Liu, 2006 as cited in Trang and Moni 2013; Shabani, 2012). However, there is a need to look at the phenomenon outside L 2 learning context as language anxiety can be realer and high stakes in contexts outside the classroom as great deal of real life communication takes place outside the classroom. In a qualitative study done by Bigdeli (2007) about ESL anxiety of educated Iranian women, she points out that some of her female university educated participants who had good IELTS and TOEFEL scores felt incompetent and anxious about their proficiency level in English after arriving in Canada and refrained from social interaction. She also states that the participants' language anxiety seems to limit their linguistic proficiency which may block immigrants' opportunities for acculturation and social mobility.

She further states that "ESL anxiety is a paradox: in some cases it acts as an incentive for the immigrant sufferer to move forward, but in many other cases (such as those we have read about in this thesis) it holds them back" (p.154). Another reason for this anxiety could be the asymmetrical power relationship built up between native/expert speakers of English and L2 speakers in different contexts. According to Vickers (2010), "power asymmetries affect the non-native speakers ability to engage in the second language context as a legitimate peripheral participant while such participation is crucial for to learning to become a core member of a community of practice" (p118). This may be a reason why a woman scholar of colour (Lin, Grant, Kubota, Motha, Sachs, Vandrick, & Wong, 2004) felt as if she was an illegitimate faculty member in an academic institution in the US. Therefore, asymmetrical power relationship which is built up when communicating with native speakers of English can be a main cause for L 2 speakers' language anxiety or apprehension. This argument can be affirmed by looking at the findings of the study done by Woodrow (2006) to conceptualize L 2 speaker anxiety and also to investigate the relationship between anxiety and L2 performance and the causes of L2 anxiety. The findings revealed that the most frequent cause of L2 anxiety is interacting with native speakers such as initiating conversations, answering native speakers and interacting with more than one native speaker. Furthermore, the same study posits that speakers from Confusion heritage are more anxious than speakers from other ethnic groups. There are different types of second language/foreign anxiety such as negative evaluation (Shabani, 2012), acculturative stress (Rose, 2008), communication apprehension (Shabani, 2012) as well as test anxiety (Shabani,2012) a type of anxiety which is seen only in academic or schools settings.

Communication apprehension.

Communication Apprehension (CA) is defined as "an individual's level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons" (MacCroskey, 1977, p.78 as cited in Aly & Sterling Gowing, 2001). Communication Apprehension is also a condition very much similar to language anxiety, but it can be present in monolingual individuals and Hye Yoon Jung, & McCroskey (2004) consider CA as a cross-linguistic state. Although it may be present in any speaker, it can be argued that L2 speakers are more vulnerable to this situation if they already experience second language anxiety. Russ(2013) summarizes literature written on CA and states that there are predominantly three causes of CA such as cultural modelling(Richmond and MCcroskey,1998), personality characteristics (Butler,1986) and biological /neurobiological influence (Beatty and McCroskey, 2001). In considering CA as a trait, it is believed that "CA is a learned condition that has its beginning early in a person's life and arises as a result of unpleasant experiences while interacting with others" (Friedrich & Gross, 1984 as cited in Aly & Sterling Gowing , 2001, p.209). Considering all the aforementioned details, it is quite possible that L2 speakers are good candidates for CA since they may frequently face unpleasant experiences

while interacting with dominant speakers. Causes of trait-based CA have been explained using cognitive-based theories. This paradigm directly puts the onus on the speaker's biological/neurological factors for experiencing CA while implying the fact that situation or context has a very little to do with triggering CA. Likewise it is believed that "it is the speaker who must discover the rules and then behave in ways that meet the expectations of the audience in order to be evaluated as appropriate and therefore competent" (Cupach & Imahori, 1993 as cited in Aly & Sterling Gowing , 2001, p.3). On the other hand context based CA which can be attributed to "cultural modelling" (Richmond & McCroskey, 1998) is supposed to be caused by attributes of the situation such as novelty, formality and unfamiliarity with the audience as well as the conspicuousness of the speaker (as cited in Aly & Sterling Gowing , 2001).These are very common situational attributes L2 speakers possibly inherit in different workplaces/work orders as well as within the society at large in which they are trying to assimilate into (Beat1994; Yates, 2005 as cited in Wigglesworth ,Yates, Flowerdew, & Levis, , 2007). Thus, it is possible that L2 speakers experience CA at English dominant workplaces. Another study was conducted by Winiecki and Ayres (1999) in order to examine communication apprehension (CA) and receiver apprehension (RA- the degree of anxiety that is felt by an individual when receiving a message) in the context of an actual organization. The findings indicate that self-perceived communication competence, motivation, and fear of negative evaluation attributed to variance in CA and RA but not age, gender, length of time with an organization, position, and salary did not. According to Russ (2013), it is believed that people who have higher CA levels can be introverts who prefer to work alone and avoid communication since they struggle for expressions of their thoughts. Furthermore, they tend to be reserved and quiet exhibiting low task orientation. These findings show how language anxiety and CA are linked and also the L2 speakers' higher chances of experiencing CA. What's more, possible higher levels of CA in L 2 speakers due to different personality traits and contextual factors related to L 2 use in the workplace can impact on how they are perceived by others in a workplace. These perceptions and prejudices can impact their work or professional roles within an institution.

Communication and Rhetorical styles

Another aspect which can be subject to discrimination at the workplace is L 2 speaker's communicative and rhetorical styles. Misjudgment of this type can happen at the job interview itself. If the second language speakers are newcomers or immigrants, their communicative and rhetorical styles can be different from that of the monolingual speakers of the workplace. This difference can be seen as a deficiency by the monolingual interviewer, and he can either deny the candidate from employment at the workplace or assign him a mismatching and inferior institutional role. Research done in the UK on low –paid , entry level job interviews indicate that job candidates are expected to be savvy in institutional,

professional and personal styles of discourse adhering to a standard narrative structure (Campbell & Roberts, 2007; Roberts and Campbell, 2006) while responses being bureaucratically processable (Roberts and Campbell, 2005 as cited in Roberts, 2010). It is a question why such interviews are held for them since competency based interviews do not reflect their real job duties in the workplace where they may have to work on an assembly line or a warehouse. Code-switching can also be considered as a communication style that violates workplace rules as it is a natural phenomenon amongst L2 speakers (Colon, 2002). This is also a rule which monolingual speakers do not violate simply as they do not possess bilingual linguistic repertoires.

Accent Discrimination

Second language speakers' accent may not conform to the standard accent of a particular region or country, due to the phonemic interference of their dominant language. Furthermore, accents of World Englishes have clear phonemic differences (Canadian English, Australian English, Indian English, Caribbean English) but it seems that only some varieties are discriminated as being non-standard in inner circle countries. Thus, native speakers and second language speakers from outer circles countries experience accent discrimination together with English as foreign language speakers. Many scholars admit that accent based discrimination is very common in countries where immigrants from different countries are in abundance (Creese, 2009; Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert & Giles, 2012; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010 as cited in Hansen, Rakic & Steffens, 2014). Creese (2009) further points out that the social construction of skills, experience, and accents, as well as language proficiency, create systematic advantages to the native speaker. In addition, Hansen, Rakic & Steffens (2014) state that non-native accented speakers are stigmatized as less intelligent, incompetent, and less attractive in comparison to speakers with standard accents. Therefore, the accent can be a decisive factor in English-dominant workplaces in assigning institution roles to employees who speak English as a second or foreign language. Nguyen, 1993 posits that non-standard accents are discriminated in workplaces than the speaker's appearance as accent diffuses social information about the speaker (Hansen, Rakic & Steffens, 2014). In confirming this view, a study done in Sweden by Robin and Ozan (2011) indicated that Turkish accented speakers were stigmatized as less competent from standard German/Swedish speakers. Hansen, Hansen, Rakic & Steffens, (2014) proposes that in order to prevent language discrimination, biased listeners need to be placed in the shoes of the non-standard speaker and make them realize the difficulties in communicating in a second language.

Pragmatic and Strategic Incompetence

Another reason why L 2 speakers are judged unfairly is due to their lack of pragmatic and strategic competencies. Pragmatic and strategic competencies are very much associated

with the speaker's culture, and they change from country to country, region to region and ethnicity to ethnicity. These two types of competencies consist of knowledge of contextual clues including speech acts of the interlocutors. The danger in making pragmatic errors is that although it seems to be less visible, it can create prejudices or misinterpretation of one's personality and dominant speakers of English will not necessarily consider it as L2 speakers "imperfect grasp of pragmatic norms" and wrong judgements made through pragmatic errors can lead to "evolution and maintenance of racial stereotypes". (Roberts, Davis and Jupp as cited by Wiggleworth, Yates, Flowerdrew, 2007, p.792).

Implications and Conclusion

Agocs & Jain (2001) point out that in the case of Canada, "racial discrimination is a serious problem that prevents the efficient operation of the labour market and causes significant losses for the national economy in terms of underutilized human resources as well as the personal sufferings and loss of fair opportunities to a large segment of the society" (cited in Crees, p.209). As discussed in this paper, it is clear that second language speakers experience workplace discrimination as their ability is undervalued based on their second language interactions at the workplace. This is another form of racial discrimination since race and language are interwoven. Thus, it is imperative to understand that any country to succeed in their socio-economic goals, they have to make use of their human capital. If not, in the case if immigrants, there can be three parties at a loss, the country they migrated from, the host country and the immigrant professionals. According to Macintyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels (1998), self-confidence in L2 speakers seems to be related to aspects of intergroup contact (Clement & Kruidener,1985), to actual competence in the L2 (Clement,1986), ethnic identity (Clement &Noel, 1991) and intercultural adaptations (Noels , Pon & Clement 1996) . Therefore, in order to facilitate intergroup contact and cultural adaptation, L2 speaker as well as interlocutors need to develop their intercultural competencies. Furthermore, dominant English speakers need to be more empathetic and effortful in negotiating meaning while differences in L 2 interactions should not be seen as deficiencies which judge L2 speakers overall skills and personality. At the same time, it is important to understand that healthier and happier workers mean better products, more productivity, fewer crises, and harmonious communities.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE ⬩ ACÉÉA

Critical thinking in dental hygiene education: Examining student perception

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ABSTRACT

There is little debate that critical thinking goes hand-in-hand with basic knowledge in both adult education and professional education, including dental hygiene education (Kahlke & White, 2013; Notgarnie, 2011). This basic qualitative study is designed to deepen understanding of dental hygiene students' perceptions and experiences of acquiring critical thinking skills during their professional education. Data were gathered during a focus group followed by individual interviews of seven recent graduates of a 2 year, community college-based, dental hygiene program in Ontario, Canada. Inductive data analysis using an interpretive perspective indicated students valued the variety of strategies employed. Participants indicated their critical thinking involved acquiring base knowledge followed by developing a thought process. Many of the findings of this exploratory study align with research on developing critical thinking in adult education and professional education. This qualitative study provides beneficial preliminary information about how dental hygiene students learn critical thinking.

Methodology and Methods

This basic, qualitative inquiry uses an interpretive theoretical framework in order to construct meaning from the participants' experiences of developing critical thinking during their dental hygiene education. To capture participant's perceptions, a focus group was conducted followed by individual interviews using a semi-structured format for both. This approach was chosen to encourage the flow of discussion to a variety of experiences and to capture these experiences with sufficient depth. In the interviews, I used the term "paint a picture with your words" in order to encourage sufficient detail.

This study focuses on the strategies for nurturing critical thinking in the dental hygiene program at a community college in Ontario, Canada as perceived by students. Participants were from the 2012 graduating class of the dental hygiene program at the college where I teach. This methodology was chosen as it was deemed to best fit the type of data and rich detail desired to answer the questions posed, or to paint a picture of these participants' experiences. For reference, the dental hygiene program class size was 32. The total population for this study was seven graduates. Purposeful sampling of recent graduates was used to form the focus group. They all have the shared experience of being a dental hygiene student in this program. All participants were employed as dental hygienists at the time of the interviews, either on a part-time or full-time basis. They ranged in age from 23 to 31 years and all had completed at least 1 year of post-secondary education prior to completing their 2 years of dental hygiene education. All participants were Caucasian and female. These characteristics reflect the general demographics of their dental hygiene class, which was young and female.

Thematic data analysis was conducted to identify categories, patterns, and themes with the intention of uncovering meaning to address the research questions. Data were analyzed in terms of which activities nurtured critical thinking. Interpretation considered the significance of these activities to the development of critical thinking as well as the alignment of these experiences with documented methods for nurturing critical thinking.

Data and Findings

The focus groups and follow-up individual interviews began with a review of the definition of critical thinking by Bassham, Irwin, Nardone, and Wallace (2011) after which the participants were asked: Do you think you learned critical thinking while you were a dental hygiene student? Participants agreed that they had in fact learned critical thinking while they were dental hygiene students.

The importance of base knowledge and developing a thought process for critical thinking

Participants indicated their critical thinking began with acquiring base knowledge on theory related to the field of dental hygiene which was followed by developing a thought process. During both the focus group and follow-up interviews participants identified that they were exposed to different thought processes relating to critical thinking during their dental hygiene education. The thought process entailed a logical sequence that was dependent on the situation. The thought process began simply, with easy or simplistic examples, and gradually became more complex. Through discussion in the focus group, participants seemed to focus on a process for reaching sound conclusions as mentioned by Bassham et al. (2011) that was needed in order to critically think and was indeed used during their education. In one exchange during the focus group, two participants describe a critical thinking process that involves the weighing of options as the definition suggests, but acknowledge that they need to be open to considering options not initially obvious to them.

Critical thinking activities

Participants valued being offered a variety of activities aimed at developing their critical thinking.

The role of discussion and group work. Participants identified the emerging thought process for critical thinking was nurtured by using case scenarios with small group work and discussion. Beginning in the focus group, some participants outlined that discussion was beneficial, almost necessary, in order to compare their own opinions to others. Dialogue could take place in a variety of ways, such as involving the entire class with facilitation by faculty or students, or it could be small group discussions involving students only.

Twenty-three year old Sue outlined one instance in the process of care course aimed at developing treatment planning skills; treatment plans had previously been mentioned by several participants as requiring critical thinking. Sue explained that this course used scenarios that were initially discussed in small groups followed by a large group discussion that was facilitated by faculty. She observed that this approach "really did [help] because everyone had different opinions on different topics and subjects. You were thinking one way, when someone else mentions something else that makes us change our thought pattern."

These participants felt dialogue in small groups enabled them to develop the skills and thought process needed to accomplish elements of the definition of critical thinking by Bassham, et al. (2011) which includes "critical thinking is the general term given to a wide range of cognitive skills and intellectual dispositions needed to effectively identify, analyze, and evaluate arguments and truth claims" (p. 1).

Case scenarios. The discussions and small group work described by the participants often focused on case studies or case scenarios. Case scenarios could entail a description or assessment data of a client, including medical and dental information, as well as personal information, such as gender, age, occupation, and cultural background. In linking this to the thought process for critical thinking, participants found their thought process in case scenarios was enhanced by using hands-on activities or approaches where students could gauge their path or choices in comparison to others. The students recalled discussing instrument selection case scenarios with each other and then practicing them on manikins.

Ethical dilemmas were discussed in the focus group by several participants including Sue, who summarized it with: "they [ethical dilemmas] usually required a lot of critical thinking I think, because people had so many different opinions about ethical dilemmas that it brought out a lot of information that I personally wouldn't have thought about." This suggests that Sue recognized her own opinion or assumption on the ethical dilemma and was receptive to changing it, which is an element of critical thinking. The literature on critical thinking recognizes the use of case scenarios or real world situations to develop critical thinking (Almeida & Franco, 2011; Brookfield, 2012) in order to weigh opinions and recognize the process as students "make reasonable, intelligent decisions about what to believe and what to do" (Bassham et al., 2011, p. 1) while problem solving through the case scenario.

The clinical environment. The clinical setting was noted as a real and challenging environment to apply critical thinking. According to participants, the nurturing of critical thinking in the clinical environment involved many of the topics already outlined. In a sense, participants perceived clinic to be the ultimate and real case study that required critical thinking to provide care. From their experiences in the clinical environment, participants commented specifically that it increased confidence in their ability to critically think and they acknowledged the role of clinical teachers in guiding and modeling critical thinking.

Facilitators of Critical Thinking

A number of additional aspects were threaded through the participants' discussions about how critical thinking was developed during their dental hygiene education.

The role of confidence, emotions, and time constraints. This unexpected group of influences are somewhat intertwined and proved challenging for participants to articulate the specific impact on their critical thinking.

The role of confidence was a theme in developing critical thinking from the focus group. Participants identified they needed confidence in their base knowledge as well as their ability to critically think in order to actually think critically. A lack of confidence would affect their thought process. During her individual interview, 23-year-old Meg provided her interpretation:

> I think if you're not confident, you're not going to be able to think of all the different options you have. So if you're not confident, you're probably a little bit nervous and shy and you're not

really thinking outside the box. If you're only thinking one specific solution and I think, if you're confident, then you can be a little more like, okay what about this? And it just opens your senses a little bit more to different options.

Emotional state or current state of mind could be a barrier to critical thinking for some participants. Some examples of these emotions were frustration, anxiety, and keeping calm. Kim first alluded to this in the focus group when she commented: "I found in clinic when you were working on a patient, and you're doing something where you're getting frustrated and you're getting yourself worked up and therefore you're not really thinking the way you should be."

During the focus group, participants mentioned critical thinking with a time constraint, such as with a time limited in-class activity, or during a clinical session when tasks needed to be done in reasonable time frames. Upon examining this further, participants commented that they needed to review the situation afterwards to self-assess their performance which required critical thinking because of the time constraint and their thinking in action. This process had similarities to the term evaluation in the definitions of critical thinking. Twenty-eight year old Opal thought it helped her to reflect:

> You always reflect back. After the situation, you reflect back and see; you assess what your behaviour [was] or whatever you did, you try to think about it again and self-reflect, self-assess to make sure that what you did, [or]a decision you made, was the best decision or not. Or could you improve on it next time if you were put in that situation or [a] position like that again?

Thinking outside the box. "Thinking outside the box" was mentioned during the focus group in reference to critical thinking. When asked to explain what this meant, comments from the focus group included: "It's not just one answer, so you assess more possibilities"; and "it gives you more avenues to solve a problem or deal with a different situation."

In linking their comments to the definition of critical thinking these graduates found thinking outside the box ensured that all possibilities were being considered when thinking critically which requires an expansion of thought that could include base knowledge and perspective. Another interpretation referred to being open to options or different opinions during the critical thinking process. As well, at one point Meg provided a hint that she was using her critical thinking beyond the walls of her formal education when she commented about "thinking outside of school", which is desired in adult education. Although their wording is different than the formal definition of critical thinking, these graduates seem to have captured much of its essence.

Reflection. "Thinking back" was a term commonly used in the focus group when discussing the previous topics related to critical thinking. For example, one participant commented "maybe if you think back to what you did, you think, oh, maybe I should change how I do something or maybe you realize . . ." Opal previously mentioned the use of reflection when determining whether her decisions were good ones. During the focus group, Lynn also referred to reflection: "we learn from mistakes as long as you're open minded . . . you can learn from your mistakes if you're able to self-reflect on them and realize you made a mistake or could have done something different."

What Didn't Work?

Participants were asked which of the accumulated activities were the most helpful in nurturing their critical thinking. As they responded the focus group felt the least useful approaches were working in large groups and being fed the answers to questions did not result in them actively participating in the thought process needed for critical thinking. Jill explained: "something that didn't work was when someone just told you the answer because it never pushed you to think for yourself or to look for the information to have the knowledge to critically think."

Discussion of Findings

Many of the findings of this exploratory study align with research on developing critical thinking in adult education and professional education. Graduates described the need to develop a thought process for critical thinking that included being exposed to diverse thought processes that allowed them to consider options that they may not have thought of. This description aligns with the definition of critical thinking provided by Bassham et al. (2011) who describe a process designed "to effectively identify, analyze, and evaluate arguments and truth claims . . . to formulate and present convincing reason in support of conclusions; and to make reasonable, intelligent decisions about what to believe and what to do" (p. 1).

Participants valued being exposed to diverse thought processes in nurturing their critical thinking, yet there was limited discussion or linkage to discovering and overcoming personal prejudice and bias, an element in the definition of critical thinking provided by Bassham et al. (2011). Being exposed to diverse thought processes requires an openness or acceptance which may require overcoming a personal prejudice or bias. Participants acknowledged the need to be open to consider different opinions when thinking critically, but failed to recognize looking internally to recognize a personal prejudice, bias, or assumption. Perhaps participants did not fully understand this concept; I can speculate that the lack of attention to this aspect of the definition is due to the challenging nature of the topic and time limitations to pursue all aspects to a similar depth.

Aspects of the thought process described by these participants' parallels a number of strategies mentioned in the literature on developing critical thinking, such as concept mapping (Vacek, 2009), problem-based learning (Moore, 2007), active learning and cooperative learning (Gleason et al., 2011). The use of case based learning to nurture critical

thinking is supported in the literature by Abrami et al. (2008) who frequently refer to case simulations delivered in a variety of forms such as written, video, and online. Brookfield (2012) also values the use of case studies in his themes for learning critical thinking. He acknowledges discipline specific knowledge is required in order to critically think within different fields, which is a concept participants referred to as acquiring baseline knowledge in order to think critically in dental hygiene.

Further parallels with adult education are outlined in Brookfield's (2012) book *Teaching for Critical Thinking: Tools and Techniques to Help Students Question Their Assumptions*. In hindsight, his chapter on "How Critical Thinking is Learned" bears a striking resemblance to the findings of these participants especially when he outlines five themes regarding how students learn critical thinking. The perceptions of these participants are captured by Brookfield (2012) when he discusses his first of five themes for learning critical thinking as involving a social process involving small group work. He acknowledges that "critical thinking is a social learning process" (p. 55) with specific mention of students working in small groups to encourage self-awareness of their own assumptions and to discover new assumptions and perspectives, which are elements in critical thinking. This theme mirrors the student's perceptions in the current study regarding their value of discussion and their preference for small group work. Brookfield's third theme involves cementing critical thinking into concrete examples (pun intended) using case studies, critical incidents, simulation and scenarios. All of these examples were noted by participants in this study. Without exception, these themes mirror the perceptions that participants in this study arrived at regarding their path to acquiring critical thinking skills.

Research on critical thinking is not gender specific although in his book Brookfield (2012) compares the different approaches to knowing outlined in the longstanding book, *Women's Ways of Knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986), to his themes on critical thinking. Although Brookfield does not identify differences between female and male learners in the critical thinking themes outlined above, he suggests that the themes allow for gendered approaches to learning. The findings in the study cannot contribute to this discussion since there were only female participants; however, it does demonstrate the female learner's approach. As the deciphering of critical thinking continues, research would benefit from contemplating the role of gender.

Facione (1990) and a Delphi committee outline 19 affective dispositions linked to critical thinkers, which includes confidence. Their definition of critical thinking clearly suggests that mood, feelings, or attitudes play a role in addition to cognitive function, which were mentioned by the recent graduates in this study. The comments and examples provided by the participants can be linked to the affective dispositions of critical thinking by Facione (1990). Further investigation of the area of affective dispositions with respect to critical thinking would be beneficial and fascinating.

When comparing the perception of participants to information in the literature regarding nurturing critical thinking in adult learners, I also considered what was lacking. Both Hendricson et al. (2006) and Mann, Gordon, and MacLeod (2009) agree that a reflective process is required for critical thinking development; however, these graduates could not specifically identify this was what they were doing on the numerous occasions they mentioned self-assessment or the term "thinking back". With prompting during the follow-up interviews most participants did mention a form of reflection as an informal process. This suggests the need for expansion of this component to enable students to appreciate all aspects of reflection in order to fully challenge themselves and their understanding of the world.

Effectiveness of Activities

A secondary question in this research was: Which teaching and learning methods were effective for the individual learner? As outlined in the preceding discussions, there was agreement or similarities in many respects with regards to this, such as the use of small group work, discussion, and case scenarios. The results suggest that a variety of strategies throughout their dental hygiene education were perceived as beneficial by these dental hygiene graduates. In essence, the activities noted by participants are not mutually exclusive as they interweave and inform each other. I can ultimately conclude that there is no recipe or set of instructions for teaching critical thinking: the literature also suggests this, and the perceptions of these participants do not suggest a standardized approach.

Conclusion Kahlke and White (2013) recognize "the connection between the call for health professionals as advocates for change and the ways in which critical thinking skills can be used to uncover ideological assumptions that perpetuate the system as it is" (p. 26). The ability of these female dental hygiene students to critically think will increase the likelihood that they have an awareness of the influence of power, gender, class and social factors as young adult learners, females, and professionals.

In this study, the model for developing critical thinking in the dental hygiene program was valued by participants. There is significant alignment between these students' perceptions of their journey to critical thinking with the literature including elements of critical thinking definitions that were not shared with the participants during this study. There are great similarities with Brookfield's (2012) themes for learning critical thinking. For example, the value and role of social interaction when developing critical thinking is in the literature and mirrors participants' appreciation for discussion and small group work. Participants' descriptions of group activities suggest those from the literature designed to nurture critical thinking, such as concept mapping and case-based learning. As well, participants alluded to other influences, such as emotions and confidence that are also discussed in the literature in reference to critical thinking skills. Some participants observed that they were able to transfer their critical thinking to their personal life, which

is desired, and may ultimately lead to application to civic life as well.

Conducting this study has revealed the challenge of studying this topic and in isolating its features. The findings of this study suggest that research in adult education and critical thinking continue in order to extend the literature with consideration for:

- Determining whether the activities discussed by these students actually developed their critical thinking.

- It would be advantageous to better understand all influences on critical thinking.

- Education needs to attend to the diverse needs of the adult learner.

- Critical thinking is desired in adult education; therefore, the discourse on critical thinking in adult education and higher education must continue to ensure all adult learners are empowered with the ability to critically think.

It is my hope that the data from this study can be used by other researchers to carry on the conversation. Continued research on this topic will provide more illumination on a variety of fascinating facilitators and barriers to critical thinking, such as emotions, dispositions, and behaviour patterns in nurturing critical thinking, the influence of the teacher, and the development of activities that are best suited for a variety of learners.

Critical thinking is desired in adult education as a tool to enable the learner to build a more just society, regardless of their field of study. To this end, it is advisable that critical thinking continue to be researched, considered, and taught from a broader perspective than with application to a specific field of study such as dental hygiene, to consider the student's personal and civic life with thought for race, gender, power, and class. Given the gendered nature of the profession of dental hygiene, critical thinking should be approached to increase the students' awareness of themselves as females and citizens, in addition to their role as dental hygiene professionals. Since these participants were female, this population of students could be used to gather data on critical thinking specific to the female learner in order to ensure best practices as there is limited research on gender in critical thinking.

Lastly but of equal significance, I believe that these conversations enlightened the participants to the nuances of critical thinking and their impressive ability to critically think.

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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

CASAE • ACÉÉA

"He's Obviously Important":
Student Perceptions of General Brock as a University Namesake

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ABSTRACT

This paper details our research focusing on the perceptions of Brock University students in relation to the namesake of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. After an introduction to the university context and the impetus for this research, we discuss our use of everyday life theory and semiotic analysis. We explore our findings which focus on the ways in which the pervasiveness of militaristic representations were perceived by participants as campus givens: General Brock as an important hero, General Brock as a "cool" and meaningful namesake, and un/conscious awareness of semiotic resources. We conclude that the pervasiveness of representations on campus of the namesake General Brock creates a problematic association between the university and war.

Introduction

This paper details our research focusing on the perceptions of Brock University students in relation to the namesake of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. After an introduction to the university context and the impetus for this research, we discuss our use of everyday life theory and semiotic analysis. We explore our findings which focus on the ways in which the pervasiveness of militaristic representations were perceived by participants as campus givens: General Brock as an important hero, General Brock as a "cool" and meaningful namesake, and un/conscious awareness of semiotic resources. We conclude that the pervasiveness of representations on campus of the namesake General Brock creates a problematic association between the university and war.

Militarism in Education

Much research exists about the interconnections between militarism and education in the United States (Apple 2006; Enloe, 2010; Fallwell, 2005; Giroux, 2007; Saltman & Gabbard, 2011). Giroux, for example, uses the concept of the

"military-industrial-academic complex" to argue "there is a powerful regime of forces that increasingly align higher education with a reactionary notion of patriotic correctness, market fundamentalism, and state-sponsored militarism" (p. 6). Mojab (2011) takes an international perspective with respect to lifelong learning in conditions of war and violence in her exploration of women's learning. Additionally, she examines the higher education experiences of Iranian immigrant women in Canada. However, research focused on Canada is generally sparse. Taber (in press) argues for a sustained educational focus on the Canadian context, taking into account the country's uniqueness as well as the ways in which it is internationally interconnected.

The research detailed here expands from Taber's (2014) article detailing how discourses of learning interact with those of militarism in four Canadian universities named for military leaders. The findings of that research indicated that Brock University[1] promoted its namesake, Major-General Sir Isaac Brock[2], more than the others, with representations of General Brock and war common on its website and on campus. The complex reasons for the prevalence of these representations were discussed, including the current Canadian societal context that has universities competing for funding, increased attention to the events of the War of 1812, and a privileging of masculinist militaristic discourses.

After discussing militarism and education in a Master of Education course (War, Gender, and Learning), the student co-authors used semiotic theory to highlight the importance of

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[1]   Brock University is a mid-sized comprehensive university in St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada.
[2]   General Brock is known as the "Hero of Upper Canada." He died in the Battle of Queenston Heights on Oct. 13, 1812, near the beginning of the War of 1812 between the United States of America and the United Kingdom, including its North American colonies. General Brock is reported to have exclaimed "Surgite!" (Latin for "Push On") upon his death. This exclamation has been challenged as being impossible; Brock was shot in the heart and would have died instantly, with no time for last words.

exploring students' perceptions of Brock University's namesake. When the course was complete, the student and faculty co-authors formed a research group, using theories of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984; Highmore, 2002) and semiotics (Peirce, 1931; Vannini, 2007) to turn that conceptual argument into an empirical study. The research questions are: How do students interact with, make meaning of, and interpret representations (semiotic resources) of General Brock and war on campus? What implications does their negotiation of resources hold for higher and adult education?

Social Semiotics as Theory and Ethnography

This research uses social semiotic research strategy (Vannini, 2007) that "is interested in the functions that semiotic resources play in social contexts…through investigation of lived semiotic experience" (p. 125). Vannini (2007) connects semiotic theory to methodology as "sociosemiotic research strategies are always combinations of [social semiotic] theoretical perspectives oriented to the solution of specific research questions and problems" (p. 124). Further, sociosemiotic ethnography "refers to any representation of how people experience, use, practice, talk about, contest, critique, understand—and in general, interact—with polysemic meanings of semiotic resources" (p. 125, italics in original).

Vannini draws from such scholars as Peirce (1931), Halladay (1978), and Hodge and Kress (1988) in his argument that people actively engage with signs (semiotic resources), continually (re)negotiating their own meanings. As Hoopes (1991) states in his introduction to the work of Peirce, "all thought is in signs that have no immediate content but require a subsequent thought, an interpretant, to give them meaning by interpreting them as representations" (p. 34). The meaning of any semiotic resource is dependent on who is doing the interpreting, which is also affected by context. This conception of semiotics fits well with Highmore's (2002) approach to everyday life that "question[s] the transparency of the daily" (p. 1):

> Does the everyday provide the training ground for conformity, or is it rather the place where conformity is evaded? …. is the everyday a realm of submission to relations of power or the space in which those relations are contested (or at least negotiated in relatively interesting ways)? (p. 5).

As social justice researchers, we problematize the privileging of war and military representations on campus. We argue that Brock University is a logonomic system in that it "prescribe[es] the conditions for production" through the General Brock representations which our data show influences the "reception of meaning" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 4) of the university's namesake. However, we could not assume that the student body interprets the semiotic resources that represent General Brock as we have. Our research

therefore explored student perceptions of these same representations.

Data collection began with researchers' own semiotic analysis of space. Three forms of participant data collection were conducted, ranging from contact with a wide variety of participants for shorter time durations (30 face-to-face questionnaires with random sampling) to fewer participants for longer durations (three walking focus groups and five interviews with random and purposive sampling). All participant interactions were audiotaped and transcribed.[3]

Our findings are indicative of Van Leeuwen's (2005) distinction between *theoretical semiotic potential* and *actual semiotic potential*. Van Leeuwen argues that "the theoretical potential of a resource consists of all its past uses and potential future uses, whereas the actual semiotic potential of a resource consists the uses that are known by specific users with specific needs in specific contexts" (as cited in Vanini, 2007, p. 119). Thus, as researchers we wanted to uncover the actual semiotic potential of using General Brock as a namesake.

Findings

Our findings are organized under three themes: General Brock as important hero, General Brock as a "cool" and meaningful namesake, and un/conscious awareness of semiotic resources.

General Brock as Important Hero

Despite admittedly limited knowledge, six participants insisted that General Brock was important. For example, Participant D stated, "I knew that [Brock University] was named after him and that he did something important, something - something to have a university named after him, but no, I'm not sure what it was specifically" (Questionnaire, 17 years old, male, 1st year, Business Administration). Participant J explained, "Yeah, well, it's the name of our school, right? So obviously he's pretty important. It's part of like, Canadian Heritage right?" She continued, "He's pretty important I guess. Otherwise we all wouldn't be here!" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 1st year, Concurrent Education). Participant Y considered General Brock to be important based on the sole fact that he had a university named after him: "I don't know a whole lot about him, but for the university to name themselves after him he must have been a pretty important general" (Questionnaire, 23, female, 5th year, Speech and Language Sciences). Participant W explained, "Unfortunately, I don't know that much about him, but I mean, the way that he would be portrayed here I think that he would have to be a hero, the way that that – if you're going to name a school after him, and if you're going to paint his face over all the walls and have mascots and stuff like that, and if you're going to call the students when we go to games 'Isaac's Army,' I think that he must be a hero if you're going to throw his

name around like that" (Questionnaire, 20, male, 3rd year, Concurrent Education).

Some participants who appeared confident in their knowledge of the university's namesake relied on tenuous information regarding General Brock's attributes, concluding that he was a hero with relatively little evidence. Participant V stated, "I'm not entirely sure what actions he did, but I knew that he was one of the people who founded our area [Niagara, Ontario] and made it what it is today, so he would be considered a hero in my thoughts and he should be for any other person." (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 2nd year, Social Sciences). Participant C discussed how heroism was tied to but not limited to death in battle: "I would say that his actions were courageous, so in that sense anyone who displays courage is a hero whether or [not] they end up getting killed" (Focus Group, 24, female, 1st year, Master of Education).

Although many participants held unquestioning understandings of General Brock as an important hero, our research uncovered the "'fussier side of the cultural and social world'" (Saukko, 2003, as cited in Vannini, 2007, p. 124) wherein others were relatively critical. Participant 2 challenged the fact that Brock University does not encourage students to be critical of the representations of General Brock stating, "I think that if maybe we're gonna… support war and he was known as a… fighting general, a brave man, that maybe… Brock should have a more active role in educating students about it so that they can be more critical" (Interview, 23, female, 2nd year, Master of Education). Participant G shared similar ideals: "I'm not a pacifist, but I don't like how it evokes images of war in a positive light and doesn't allow students to think about it critically" (Questionnaire, 26, female, 4th year, Philosophy). Participant 3 said "I don't really like the fact that we're glorifying war and you know, it's 2014, the War of 1812, 200 year anniversary, was two years ago and still here we are doing all these events around the War of 1812. It's like, get over it" (Interview, 22, male, 4th year, Studies in Arts and Culture). Participant D stated "it just seems like it's just really perpetuating white saviour and I think that's kind of what this university's trying to represent, which has implications outside of just the actual history of it" (Focus Group, 26, female, 2nd year, Master of Arts, Sociology). Perhaps most critical was Participant I who, when discussing his distaste for what he referred to as the glorification of the university's namesake, suggested a focus on the student community was more appropriate, arguing, "just because a university or a school is named after a certain person or a certain thing it doesn't mean you have to glamourize it…just glorify your students, glorify the people that are actually giving you money – who gives a crap about a statue or a person that died over 200 years ago in a war, you know? The past should stay dead and the future should stay relevant" (Questionnaire, 22, male, 3rd year, Arts Management). Even though these participants were critical, there was an overwhelming majority who felt that Brock as a namesake was a very "meaningful" name due to his heroic status.

General Brock and his Namesake as "Cool"

The majority of participants seemed to cherish the namesake of General Brock. For example, Participant E contributed that the university's name was more "meaningful" than other universities. When asked why he felt this was he explained "going to a university actually named after something that happened in Canadian history … [is] pretty cool" (Questionnaire, 21, male, 3rd year, Concurrent Education). Participant V thought it was really "positive" for the school to be named after General Brock as she believed that "Isaac Brock was such an influential figure during the battle of 1812" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 2nd year, Social Sciences). Additionally, Participant A thought that it is "neat" that she "go[es] to a school that's named after something that everyone knows about" (Questionnaire, 18, female, 1st year, Dramatic Arts). Further, Participant J added that the namesake was "a powerful thing like 'we're part of the army' kind of thing" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 1st year, Concurrent Education). While these participants utilized different words to convey their enthusiasm, five participants specifically used the word "cool" to describe their zeal for the Brock namesake.

Participant C said General Brock "in some way contributed a lot to Canadian society" and that "it's really cool that we can pass that onto other people – the whole legacy if you will" (Questionnaire, 24, female, 4th year, Music Education). Participant D mirrors Participant E's statements as he believed "it's cool because if you look at a lot of other universities, especially in Ontario, it's mainly just the location of it as the name, and it's kind of cool to have something different as opposed to like Thorold University or St.Catharines University or something like that" (Questionnaire, 17, male, 1st year, Business Administration). Participant M agreed as "there's not a lot of schools named after something like that" (Questionnaire, 19, male, 1st year, Concurrent Education). Additionally, Participant U said that it was "pretty cool" to use Brock as a namesake because "who else would you name it after?" and "who else is so heroic?" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 2nd year, Concurrent Education). Lastly Participant R explained that she thought it was cool that the campus was named after General Brock because she learned about him in high school (Questionnaire, 19, female, 2nd year, Sociology).

While the above participants all spoke to the namesake as cool, six more participants referred to General Brock and/or the visual representations of him on campus as cool. For example, Participant A thought that all the murals, monuments, and display cases on campus were "pretty cool" and that a specific monument found in the library was also "really cool." When asked what she meant, she explained that "it's just kind of neat to have the actual, physical representation there; the physical clothing that an historical figure had" (Questionnaire, 18, female, 1st year, Dramatic Arts). Participant D used the word "cool" 12 times in the short five-minute survey. When the researcher inquired about this, Participant D spoke specifically to the hallway displays saying that "it's just interesting how like it's not just plain or

bleak as you walk down the hall, there's actually something interesting that catches your eye and it's not just plain wallpaper" (Questionnaire, 17, male, 1st year, Business Administration). Participant 2 thought it was "cool" that the War of 1812 "literally happened on this soil" (Interview, 23, female, 2nd year, Master of Education) while Participant 5 thought that General Brock must have been a "cool guy" and that his story was "very inspiring to students" (Interview, 24, female, 4th year, Linguistics). Lastly, Participant DD used the word cool five times throughout the interview to describe the images on campus. She explained that she enjoyed that the campus has "lots of posters, lots of pictures, lots of like artifacts and stuff like that, which is really cool" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 3rd year, Dramatic Arts).

Warren and Campbell (2014) investigate consumers' perceptions of what makes a person or a brand "cool" in an attempt solidify criteria for the classification. They explain that coolness is a social construction that it is not inherent in an object but exists within the perceptions or attributes given to the object (Warren & Campbell, 2014). They ran six experiments and discovered that participants decided that a person or a brand was cool when deemed "autonomous" (p. 543). Based on Warren and Campbell's results it is likely that the participants in our study use the word cool to describe General Brock's namesake and representations on campus because they perceive his legacy as autonomous from other soldier narratives; they could have internalized a distinction between General Brock and other Canadian soldiers that died in the war from the semiotic resources that appear across campus. Further, Participants E, D, and M all spoke to his name being cool specifically when compared to other schools that are not named after soldiers; perhaps they feel that more schools should be named after soldiers which renders General Brock's deviation from this norm as cool.

Un/conscious Awareness of Semiotic Resources

In addition to our findings regarding the interpretation of the image of General Brock as heroic and the common utilization of the adjective "cool", the majority of participants were also consciously aware of the semiotic resources utilized throughout the campus. Conversely, a number of participants purported to be largely unaware of the abovementioned resources, but when researchers delved further into their experiences on the campus, they were able to recall particular resources. Only one participant remained unmindful throughout their participation in the random questionnaire of the various resources. Two participants reported becoming desensitized to these semiotic resources.

Participants who expressed a conscious and immediate awareness of the various representations of the university's namesake and related history were often uncritical of the resources that had captured their attention, simply stating their awareness or passive acceptance. Participant H, for example, expressed a conscious awareness of resources when asked to expand on a display case he mentioned, explaining "I think it's supposed to be his uniform and just historical things that he would have owned or worn." When asked to describe the space that he and the researcher were occupying, Participant H was quick to point out "the giant British flag painted on the wall, mixed with random like Canadian myth iconography." However, when expressing how he felt about these resources, he stated "I'm kind of indifferent to it" (Questionnaire, 27, male, 4th year, Popular Culture). Additionally, Participant J2 not only claimed to pass monuments, murals, and display cases representing General Brock and "a bunch of war stuff" multiple times a day but also identified the campus theme as "Sir Isaac Brock and the War of 1812," which she described as "good" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 3rd year, Psychology).

Other participants required further questioning on the part of the researcher in order to recall images on campus that at first seemed to go unnoticed. For example, when asked to describe what stood out in the space that she and the researcher were in, Participant C stated that "nothing too much other than it's a busy area – lots of activity going on" (Questionnaire, 24, female, 4th year, Music Education). It was not until further prompting that the participant takes notice of a large nearby mural depicting a scene from the War of 1812. Similarly, Participant F failed to recall specific resources on campus that pertained to General Brock or the War of 1812 until the end of her conversation with the researcher. When the participant was initially asked how often she passes murals, monuments, or display cases that reflect General Brock or the military during her daily paths on campus, she replied: "Not any I can think of? There's that one painting, but I can't really think of anything else." However, after discussing the campus further she acknowledged that Brock is a recurring figure in the various artefacts on campus, stating that she could "see that Brock is very prominent in all the different cases" (Questionnaire, 19, female, 2nd year, Social Sciences).

Other participants were both immediately and consciously aware of the various representations of General Brock and also critical of these representations--some even suggesting that despite their critical opinion on the matter they felt immune to the images. Participant C touched on this notion of desensitization, claiming that "we're so desensitized to seeing something and sometimes we don't really realize its value until... closer inspection" (Questionnaire, 24, female, 4th year, Music Education). Participant 4 discussed a similar sensation as he stated "You know, the first time you walk around you notice it but then it's just second nature, it becomes like wallpaper, fly on the wall" (Interview, 22, male, 4th year, Studies of Arts and Culture). This statement is reflective of Highmore's (2002) assertion that "it is to the everyday that we consign that which no longer holds our attention. Things become 'everyday' by becoming invisible, unnoticed, part of the furniture" (p. 21). Further highlighting this sentiment, several other participants--although not as forthcoming--also made statements like "I don't really notice" and "I don't pay attention" when referring to the various representations on campus.

A small number of participants were not only consciously aware of resources representative of General Brock but also expressed critical opinions regarding the utilization of these resources. However, the majority of participants--whether consciously aware or not-- were in favour of the university namesake and accompanying visual representations. Exemplifying this common finding, Participant DD proclaimed "you know, they've done a good job at getting it pretty much everywhere so that no matter where you are you can have a quick look, maybe if you're just passing, which is quite nice" (Questionnaire, 20s, female, 3rd year, Dramatic Arts). Our findings implicate that, as Highmore (2002) suggests, one's everyday environment--in this case, the logonomic system of Brock University--could create the "training ground for [militaristic] conformity" as opposed to inciting participatory citizenship and/or space for critical consideration.

Implications

Perhaps the keen interest and support of General Brock can be explained by de Certeau (1984) who wrote that "spatial practices in fact secretly structure the determining conditions of social life" (p. 96). The resources of General Brock on campus align with the dominant discourse of the War of 1812 as a widely revered part of Canadian heritage that is perpetuated in the Niagara region and beyond. This could explain the abovementioned positive interpretations of the namesake and therefore the apparent success of the resource of General Brock in "agentically achieving a communicative goal" (Vannini, 2007, p.119) that reveres General Brock as a namesake and preserves positive associations of the university with war. The spatial practices of the signifiers could "secretly structure" positive student attitudes toward General Brock and the glorification of the War of 1812.

In sum, students are being taught to interpret signs of Brock in ways that connect to the local privileging of war history, demonstrating how learning in higher education is interconnected with societal learning. As Jubas (2013) argues in relation to critiquing popular culture artefacts, there is a need to "advance social equity through critique of cultural images and messages that maintain social inequities, and promotion of cultural images and messages that envision social alternatives, exemplifies the tradition and purpose of critical adult education" (p. 142). For example, at the end of our interaction with each participant, we told them the impetus for founding Brock University came from the Flora Egerter, a member of the Allanburg Women's Institute. Many expressed surprise at this little known fact, and a few asked why the university was not named after its true founders. This brief introduction to alternative information regarding the history of the university is a small example of the opportunities available to push back against the military-academic industrial complex.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

Using Wlodkowski's motivational framework to understand adult high school learners

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore how Wlodkowski's motivational framework for culturally responsive teaching can help explain various conditions of engagement for adult high school students in Eastern Ontario. The research design employed a qualitative case study involving key informants from two upgrading programs. The findings seem to suggest that the framework can be used as a pedagogical tool for enhancing motivation and understanding the teaching and learning process for adult basic and secondary learners.

Introduction

A large number of Canadians have been recognized as having low literacy and essential skills, with many of them unable to successfully enter the labour market (HRSDC, 2013). As a result, the importance of identifying strategies for increasing literacy and essential skills, especially for adults returning to school or engaged in other retraining as a means of enhancing their work prospects, is becoming increasingly recognized (Canadian Literacy and Learning Network, 2013). Nonetheless, one group that may be particularly at risk due to changing government funding strategies and potential impacts of the recent International Survey of Adult Skills (OECD, 2013) are adult high school students.

Adults who return to high school face a number of challenges (Quigley, Folinsbee, & Kraglund-Gauthier, 2006; Taylor, Quigley, Kajganich, & Kraglund-Gauthier, 2011). For example, St. Clair (2010) asserts that many basic education programs available to adult learners utilize traditional, teacher-centred instructional formats in which the learner takes a more passive role. Given that many adult students may have had previous negative experiences with such a teaching and learning style, this may contribute to a lack of motivation and drop out from ABE programs (Comings, 2009).

In an effort to better understand the pedagogical issues surrounding adult students seeking to upgrade their literacy and essential skills, Taylor, Abasi, Pinsent-Johnson, and Evans (2007) conducted a multi-case study of formal and informal adult literacy programs across Canada and the United Kingdom. The authors found evidence for how teaching perspectives favouring a developmental and nurturing approach, as well as collaborative strategies including real life problem solving situations, peer learning, scaffolding, and technology rich environments can provide a foundation for improving literacy provisions. Although a social cultural lens drawing on concepts of cognitive apprenticeship, communities of practice, and social literacy (Rogoff, 1995; Taylor & Blunt, 2001; Wenger, McDermtt, & Snyder, 2002) provided some explanatory power in the emergent model of adult literacy learning in the study, it does not focus on dynamic influences of learner motivations and, thus, is restricted in identifying the complex relationship of motivation and culture in adult learning.

The purpose of the present study was to better understand the motivational strategies that teachers can use to support learning of diverse adult students. More specifically, the research questions guiding this investigation were: (1) What is the explanatory power of Wlodowski's Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching for adults returning to high school, and (2) What are some of the key engaging conditions of a teaching and learning process for adults returning to high school?

Organizing Framework

Wlodkowski's Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching is a model of teaching and learning intended as a guide for teachers to use when planning instruction in a way that fosters adult's motivation to learn (2011). It is based on the premise that motivation is inextricably tied to culture and highlights four "essential conditions" (p. 114)

that have been shown to affect intrinsic motivation. These conditions are: establishing inclusion, developing attitude, enhancing meaning, and engendering competence. In the present study, we expand the Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching to consider how it applies to diversity in terms of not only culture, but also career trajectories, age-related experience, the influence of social networks, and other factors that can vary across adult students returning to high school. Thus, we consider how extrinsic motivators fit into the model. In the following sections we summarize the four essential conditions and the framework in general.

Establishing Inclusion requires mutual respect and a connection amongst all learners in a classroom and with their instructor. It occurs in environments where everyone feels free to explore ideas, share knowledge and experiences, and make mistakes. Such an environment can be established by identifying common goals and learning objectives that unify a class. This, then, sets a stage for collaboration in which those present learn with and from each other. *Developing Attitude* refers to a positive disposition toward learning, including one's attitude in regard to specific learning goals, the general subject area to-be-learned, one's own self-efficacy, and one's instructor. A positive attitude can be fostered by highlighting the relevance of learning goals and the personal value of knowledge to be gained. As well, when learners are provided with choices in the classroom, such as how they will display their knowledge during assignments and assessments, they tend to feel a sense of ownership of their learning. Even if learners feel included and have a positive attitude toward learning, their motivation may wane if the course is not challenging, engaging, and interactive. Such factors, when present, lead to the essential motivating condition of *Enhancing Meaning*. Strategies for enhancing meaning include: employing hands-on learning activities, ensuring that all students are provided with frequent opportunities to respond to questioning, and encouraging all students to share their diverse knowledge and experiences. *Engendering Competence* arises from a belief in one's own ability and chance of success. A sense of competence can be facilitated through the adoption of effective formative assessment techniques, including the use of varied assessment formats, frequent use of feedback that is clear, concise, non-judgemental, and low-stakes, allowing ample time for students to remediate following assessments, encouraging self-regulation, and promoting transfer of learning to new contexts.

As described, Wlodowski's framework focuses on how instructors can create a classroom environment that facilitates culturally diverse students' *intrinsic* motivation to learn. However, Taylor, Trumpower, and Pavic (2013) recognize the lack of homogeneity among adult learners, not just in terms of their culture and intrinsic motivation, but also in terms of the learning setting such as formal, non-formal, and informal and in terms of learner goals and purposes which can be individual, organizational, and societal (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 2011). Such differences may, too, impact learner

motivation. Indeed, it has been shown that some *extrinsic* motivators – including tangible rewards, deadlines, directives, and competition – impede intrinsic motivation and often result in a decrement in learning. According to Ryan and Deci (2000) extrinsic motivation is present when an activity is performed in order to attain some separable outcome, rather than merely for the inherent enjoyment of it. Furthermore, extrinsic motivation that is out of the learner's control tends to impede learning, whereas that which is more volitional tends to favour learning. When learners feel a lack of control, it may be especially important for their instructors to provide choice among how learning occurs and how it is demonstrated. In this study, we look for instances of the four essential motivating conditions, as well as other extrinsic factors, and examine if and how instructors capitalize on these factors.

Methodology

A qualitative case study approach was employed using a convenience sample (Stake, 2008). The cases included learners returning to an adult high school in Eastern Ontario, Canada and their classroom instructors from two different programs. This adult high school is open to individuals of all ages, employment income recipients, displaced workers and persons re-entering the workforce and resuming their education. It is funded through yearly grants from the provincial Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities as well as fees from learners enrolled in the high school credit program. The school offers basic literacy instruction, ESL, pre-apprenticeship programs, employment preparation programs, career counselling, and grade 9-12 course credits towards an Ontario high school diploma.

The study focused on two program cases. The first was a six week job entry program called the Custodial Training Program (CTP) which prepared learners to work as janitors and office cleaning personnel. Classroom instruction focused on communication skills, financial literacy, workplace safety and worker rights, while a work placement component offered learners an opportunity to work under the supervision of school board janitors for two weeks. Learners were recruited from advertisements on the local transit system, radio and television and through social agency counsellors. The CTP was offered twice during the study.

The second case was a secondary school credit program with a range of courses designed to meet individual's learning needs and goals and to provide necessary skills for entry into post-secondary education, apprenticeship or employment. Students received an individualized assessment, worked with their instructor to develop a training plan, and then studied at their own pace in a small group environment. Learners in both programs were Ontario residents, both males and females, ranging in age from 19 to mid-fifties, whose literacy and basic skills were assessed as being less than end of Level 3 of the International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS) or the Ontario Adult Literacy Curriculum Framework (OALCF), and who were proficient

enough speaking and listening in English to benefit fully from the language of instruction. Students included Canadian citizens whose first language was English, as well as immigrants from the Middle East and East Asia who had just completed second language training.

Data for the study were collected through observations, a biographical profile, and interviews over a four month period. Observation field notes were compiled from 37 students during 30-60 minute sessions. Four male and seven female learners were also interviewed for 30-45 minutes using a protocol that included open ended questions drawn from the adult education motivational literature and Wlodkowski's motivational framework. In addition, five female instructors were interviewed for 45-60 minutes using similar questions but appropriately worded for a teacher. Demographic variables were collected on the biographical profile. Field notes provided descriptions of various lessons, events, dialogues among learners and interactions between learners and teachers.

Data analysis included transcription of the 16 interviews into narratives coupled with information from the biographical profile and observation field notes. These narratives were later member checked. Using a holistic analysis approach, a detailed description of each of the cases was developed. This was followed by the use of a coding system guided by Wlodkowski's motivational framework. Single words and phrases from all data sources were identified, reduced and sorted into meaningful patterns that generally corresponded to the main framework components and new components (Merriam, 2009). A small team of doctoral students and project researchers established connections among the sources of information and discussed the configured themes to make sense of the data (Creswell, 2013).

Results

The findings seem to suggest that teachers of adults can plan and apply a range of motivational strategies that will enhance the learning situation of diverse adult students. The results also shed some light on key engaging conditions of the teaching and learning process for adults who have returned to school. Using the four main elements of Wlodkowski's motivational framework, the main highlights of the results are presented here.

Establishing inclusion. At the centre of this motivational condition is the idea of creating a learning atmosphere where students feel connected to each other as well as feeling connected to the instructor. Together as a group, a mutual respect develops over time. Being a student in a class ambiance such as this positively affects the day to day academic schedule, which at times can be challenging given the different life circumstances of adult students that can change overnight. Developing a respectful learning environment is crucial for students; especially for second language learners as was found in short term job readiness interventions. Instructors in this 6 week custodial training program that offered academic, workplace and life skills

taught over a compressed period of time quickly found novel ways to conduct needs assessments even before the program actually began.

Adult education programs are more diverse now than they were several years ago when lines of distinction were quite obvious among, literacy, ABE, ASE and ESL. However, due to a change in provincial funding mechanisms and federal labour market agreements, all of these learner populations are often melded into the same programs that have more of an employment training focus. Making students with very diverse backgrounds feel like they are all moving towards the same employment goals requires more than a subject matter expertise.

Developing attitude.

Developing a positive disposition towards the learning environment and the events that take place during a regular day in an adult high school helps to determine a level of eagerness in obtaining short term and long term goals. For example one learner, expecting to graduate later in the year explained that, "I took this course for my kids to send them the message that it is never too late to learn. After here I hope to continue to do hospitality or tourism at the community college." Doug also felt the same way, "I need to finish my high school first. I want to become a police officer or a teacher. This is a good place for me to think about it more." As well, learners in the credit program were motivated to learn skills that would be put to use once employment was found. For example, Curt went on to say, "I want to learn to establish work habits that are expected in any workplace; things like consistent attendance, punctuality, and basic problem solving skills."

Instructors act as the catalyst in creating positive attitudes among their students. They need to be able to connect the classroom experience to the workplace and to be able to scan the learning environment for teachable moments. Margaret, a science teacher described how she asks her students to think about food safety and the service industry by using small groups of mixed ability students and when they come back as a large class to discuss their brainstorming results, the product is far more than what she could have come with herself.

Enhancing meaning.

Identifying both individual student as well as group interests early in a course helps to maintain a level of enthusiasm that helps carry them through some of the tough academic challenges that lie ahead. From a learner's point of view, being able to engage in a classroom experience that is employment meaningful makes a big difference in maintaining that level of enthusiasm. Claire sums it up quite nicely, "My teacher knows that I want to do a veterinarian course and she brings in articles on animal care from the Department of Agriculture. I know I'm a long way off on getting there, but these stories and the conversations I have with my teacher make my dream seem a lot closer."

But it was Chris, a trainee from the custodial training program who hit the nail on the head as he described what

made the program work for him. This trainee was offered a term contract with the school board following his work placement report and a record check. He was also asked by the principal of the adult high school to make a speech at the small graduating ceremony that was attended by teachers and case workers connected to the school community.

> When I got interviewed to come into the program I knew right off that this was for me. I didn't mind starting off as a janitor because I knew I could progress. I just needed to find out how to get my foot in the door. I've had a lot of jobs over the years and I like the hands on learning. I wasn't shy to ask questions when I was on my work placement and I really got along with my supervisor.

Engendering competence. Adult high school teachers need to help their students realize that they are learning something of value as they reach for their short term and long term goals. They need to open up new doors for learning. For example, adult learners who were enrolled in the custodial program developed a competency by seeking out advice from co-workers or supervisors. This type of job readiness program which offered a work placement component acted like an apprenticeship where, through trial and error, trainees could learn a new skill such as measuring the exact amounts of chemicals needed for cleaning solutions. Using manuals to understand company policies was also an effective way of learning a valued reading skill. As Jim pointed out, "When I was on my janitor placement at St. Theresa's there was this accident on the 3rd floor and I remembered that they kept the manual in the lunch room so I found the part on how to report the accident, wrote it up the best I could and gave it to my supervisor to correct."

Instructors had a similar approach to engendering competence for both the high school credit course students and the adult trainees. Along with adhering to adult learning principles as the cornerstone of their teaching philosophy, instructors focused on active participation, sharing expertise with learners in the group and developing individual learning plans as tools for success during the course or workshop. There were also several common practices used by these instructors such as making sure there was time during the course for students to talk about their goals and their families as a way of getting people connected with both the instructor and each other.

Implications for adult education theory and practice

Generally, based on the findings of this study, Wlodkowski's Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching proved to be a useful tool that helps explain how to encourage adult student motivation to learn. Because the model, which is tied to culture and diversity, had yet to be tested in an adult basic employment and upgrading program, this study provides some early empirical evidence that supports the four essential conditions that can affect intrinsic motivation for this specific and growing target population. The investigation has also sought to explore other factors, not depicted in Wlodkowski's framework, that consider the important extrinsic motivators for adult learning.

One key extrinsic motivator, drawn from the findings, that needs to be considered in designing the teaching and learning process for ABE and ASE learners is the identification of employment goal. What we find in this study are two different types of adult learner career trajectories. The first is related to specialized short term training leading to direct job entry as in the custodial training program (CTP) while the second is long term further education and training leading to employment as in the high school credit program. For learners in the CTP, the actual custodial work placement component coupled with in class exercises like practice interviews with full time custodial personnel acted as motivators in the specialized training. Similarly, learners in the credit program received career counselling services upon admission which set in motion the search for a career path involving some post secondary education beyond the high school certificate. This path towards employment helped ASE students to focus on career discovery assignments, receive support from teachers and peers and it served as a motivator especially when barriers to persist were encountered.

Another motivating condition not explicitly described in Wlodkowski's framework is the influence of social networks developed through collaborative learning in each of the programs. One of the prevalent motivating themes that emerged across both cases was the unique way in which networks were formed as adult students collaboratively learned with peers. These social networks provided emotional and psychological support and encouraged learners to strive for their own self identified employment and further education goals. Reder's practice engagement theory (1994) which builds on Fingeret's study of adult social networks seems to corroborate these findings as does the work of Taylor, Abasi, Pinsent-Johnson and Evans (2007) on the role of collaborative learning as a catalyst in communities of practice.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Adult Education and the Challenge of Online Hate

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to trace possible connections between adult education and strategies for addressing instances of hate – specifically as they happen in online and social media contexts. While there is a gap in the literature addressing the connection, recent high profile cases of online hate raise the question: how can pedagogical approaches address the phenomenon? In this paper, we examine the ways in which community and adult educators can use social media to promote healthy communication and to foster powerful learning spaces when addressing contentious social issues in community settings. Basing our work on influential models of adult learning program design, we explore strategies for using technology in, and with, community meetings, town-hall discussions, and public forums.

Introduction

This paper traces possible connections between adult education and strategies for addressing instances of hateful speech. There is not a vast amount of research addressing the connection, but Canadians have witnessed recent high profile cases of online hate that have profound impact on communities and social relationships. The following paper attempts to question how adult educators can use technology and social media for positive outcomes. Obviously, this question is not so simple. To answer this question, we report on the SOMEONE (Social Media Education Everyday) project that aims at developing social media tools that incorporate popular and adult education techniques in order to provide adult and community educators with strategies for engaging Canadians in healthy communication. Specifically, the project attempts to provide Canadians with examples of how citizens can use adult education models of open discussion and facilitation to have positive community discussion. The project is part of an initiative put forth through a website that encourages research and discussion about lifelong learning and online hate. While the resources created through the SOMEONE project span early childhood

to adult education, only the latter are discussed in this paper. We engage in the study here as a case study of an action research project bridging this emerging, and we would argue necessary, connection of learning and social media.

There are, however, a number of dilemmas that arise when examining the nature of pedagogy and hate. For example, are traditional pedagogical methods progressive enough to engage in socially just education? Related to this is the question of how to distinguish between, and diminish, socially cruel acts from acts that Paulo Freire (2004) describes as *just ire* – the legitimate anger that needs to be expressed and addressed in a world of inequalities. The ramifications of balancing the former question should not be overlooked. If the proverbial net is cast too wide, and silencing is emphasized and privileged, social justice is jeopardized. If, on the other hand, we ignore hateful or cruel acts, we fail to address justice from the other side of this issue. As such, this research is oriented to two important tasks. The first is the pragmatic question of how adult educators can extend methods of facilitation to guide healthy discussions in community settings to prevent and address instances of hateful speech. The second is to forward a theoretical discussion on the ways in which we recognize and engage with just ire of an engaged citizenry. The following two sections relate to these two tasks, respectively.

The SOMEONE Project: A Case Study

The SOMEONE (Social Media Education Everyday) project consists of a series of nine individual projects focused on building resilience amongst communities targeted by hateful expression. As such, this project seeks to build digital literacy and critical thinking skills amongst Canadians throughout their lifespan. These projects are led by seventeen academic collaborators from the fields of education, educational technology, peace education, art education, critical media studies, marketing, sociology, and computer

science. Notably, the co-authors of the present paper are leading one project under the larger SOMEONE umbrella, which aims at developing social media tools that incorporate popular and adult education techniques in order to provide adult and community educators with strategies for engaging Canadians in healthy communication.

In our project, we attempt to leverage the power of the connection between social media as a tool for identity and community building, personal expression, and democratic participation with theories of adult education in order to enhance Canadians' abilities to respond to and engage with contentious socio-political issues impacting their communities. We translate influential models of adult learning programs into online environments in order to foster informal learning spaces in which critical conversations about social structures and justice or injustice may be pursued. To this end, the resources that are currently being developed map various techniques and ways to have digital discussions and communication, which will be presented to audiences via short animated videos and distributed via social media.

In the first video in the series, viewers are introduced to a young woman who is faced with a problem: There has been hateful graffiti spray-painted on the neighborhood school. The video emphasizes the importance of having the protagonist move to address the issue with her community. This is a crucial point in the video series: Not only is the aspect of civic engagement stressed as crucial to community life, but the agency to intervene in social contexts is a focus. In this way, we leverage the concept of committed engagement such as developed by Augusto Boal (1993) in his influential *Theater of the Oppressed*. As a result, the other videos give examples of how she can get her community together and address the issue. It is here where the viewers are introduced to a discussion about the connection between facilitation models and social media. The subsequent videos are posited as parallel options for action. We explore a number of the possible intersections of social media and facilitation methods to give the viewer a number of options. For example, one video discusses how techniques such as those akin to "Dotmocracy" methods can be employed via twitter and the use of hash-tags. The basic concept here is to use participatory idea prioritization in online and physical communities -- essentially a digitization through social media. Likewise, other videos explore possible connections between "World Cafe" style conversations and the use of forums, specifically through platforms like reddit. Finally, another video posits how communities can participate in digital storytelling through platforms like Youtube, Vimeo, vines, and Instagram.

These videos stress vital aspects of citizenship education whereby participation in public debate, specifically around contentious issues, is understood as necessary for democracy. We privilege the role of dialogue as necessary for thriving democracy and as such, emphasize adult education models of open discussion and communication. There are, however, two theoretical issues that arise through a discussion of the multimedia tools and website aimed for adult education:

The first is how to preclude acts of speech that emphasize *cruelty* and *hate* but, at the same time, allow for unpopular expressions. The second is the extent to which the generic models of facilitation of adult learning are capable of addressing the specific sociological nature of hate speech in Canada. This is a particular area of interest owing to the fact that when it occurs in Canada hate crimes broadly, and online hate specifically, relate to specific demographics of race (Statistics Canada, 2012). In the next section we turn to a discussion of potential ways to distinguish between *hate* and *just ire*, and suggest both ways to mobilize the latter towards democratic ends and ways that expression of the latter can be facilitated via the use of social media.

Challenges for Emancipatory Adult Education

The concept of just ire, is articulated in Freire's (2004) *Pedagogy of Indignation*, whereby he situates outrage at injustice as a necessary part of the learning process. The amount of space Freire dedicates to this concept is quite short – but powerful. Freire recounts, in the short and introspective essay "Literacy and Destitution," some of the perils of slum living in the north-east portion of Brazil. In the essay, he recalls the perils of people living beside a landfill. One specific story of the "horrific landfill" was "that a family once removed, from a heap of hospital waste, pieces of amputated breasts with which they prepared their Sunday dinner" (p. 58). Freire goes on to note that the story left him "horrified and filled with just anger" (p. 58). From there, he elaborates in a longer, but worthwhile passage:

> I have the right to be angry and to express that anger, to hold it as my motivation to fight, just as I have the right to love and express my love for the world, to hold it as my motivation to fight, because while a historical being, I live history as a time of possibility, not of predetermination. If reality were what it is because it was written so, there would be no reason to be angry. My right to feel anger presupposes, in the historic experience in which I participate, that tomorrow is not a "given," but rather a challenge, a problem. My anger, my just ire, is founded in my revulsion before the negation of the right to "be more," which is etched in the nature of human beings. (pp. 58-59)

There are a number of implications worth addressing from Freire's passage. First, he acknowledges the emotional effects that grave historical injustices precipitate. Rather than gloss over traumatic events, he engages with the specific type of anger that he views as necessary for progressive education. Second, he acknowledges the historical -- as opposed to natural – conditions of inequality. Third, and finally, he warns against conceptualizing these historical conditions in a way that avoids predetermination.

The concept of just ire is not a major theme in the work of Freire. Notwithstanding, Macedo (2004) expands upon this idea as important to include in the discussion of socially-just

learning. Also, Grace & Wells (2011), pick up the discussion of Macedo on the concept to inform their own work with sexual minorities.

We are left to struggle with one important question however: How do we identify differences between just ire and hateful speech? Étienne Balibar (2002) makes an important distinction between what he posits as the dialectic of power (in classic Marxist parlance, this dialectic is usually state power and violence and revolutionary power and violence) and acts which transcend this dialectic and engages in what he refers to as cruelty. It is the concept of cruelty that Balibar notes is the outlier. While it is not always clear when acts transcend into cruelty, he highlights that the aspect of deriving pleasure from acts is a marker of cruelty:

> Although an essential part of the question is to understand why power itself, be it state power, colonial domination, male domination, and so on, has to be not only violent or powerful or brutal, but also cruel – why it has to derive from itself, and obtain from those who wield it, *jouissance.* (p. 136)

A particular challenge for citizenship educators is to help citizens understand the importance of retaining the contestation and conflict arising from different socio-political perspectives while also diminishing the cruel results of such disagreements. To this end, Ruitenberg (2009) suggests that citizens must learn to pay attention to such politically-relevant emotions as anger and empathy, and to understand the difference between political and moral disputes. Importantly, such a vision of citizenship education involves helping citizens to discern emotions that go beyond themselves and relate to hegemonic social relations involving the larger socio-political collective. This requires "supporting the development of a sense of solidarity, and the ability to feel anger [and empathy] on behalf of injustices committed against those in less powerful social positions rather than on behalf of one's own pride" (p. 277). As Mouffe (2013) explains, if this is missing, there is a danger that democratic confrontation will be replaced by other, more individualistic and violent forms of conflict.

Moreover, citizenship education in favor of the expression of *just ire* must go beyond a mere recognition of political passions, to a simultaneous emphasis on the importance of mobilizing these emotions towards such democratic ends as improved social justice. However, for this to be successfully realized, citizenship education must support citizens' abilities to differentiate between moral and political anger. Ruitenberg (2009) explains, "moral anger could be the anger than one feels after seeing moral values that one cherishes violated" (p. 277), whereas political anger results from situations in which decisions are made that violate the ethico-political principles of a given society. Within a liberal democratic context, the values of 'liberty and equality for all' are fundamental to society's notions of justice. Therefore, citizens must be encourage to act in order to right injustices

that infringe upon citizens' freedoms and equality, rather than to solely act on behalf of themselves.

As we have argued elsewhere (McGray & Thomas, 2014), the Internet broadly, and social media specifically, holds promise for the field of citizenship education. In particular, we have highlighted social media as a space for informal learning, social interaction and community building, and heightened personal expression wherein citizens act to "intentionally assert actions on the world and have them act as generative mechanisms for other events" (p. 167). Moreover, due to the proliferation of online communities and new types of identities, we have posited that the Internet is developing as a new form of civil society in which citizens who may be excluded from more mainstream forms of politics might be learning to engage and/or already engaged in democratic participation. Not only do certain social media platforms hold the potential to democratize socio-political participation, but also they allow for the expression of important counter-discourses and the creation of counter-publics that demand attention of social injustice (Thomas, Fournier-Sylvester, & Venkatesh, 2014). For these reasons, we contend that social media are fertile grounds for the expression of *just ire*.

Conclusions

Throughout the above discussion, we have highlighted the two broad, interrelated objectives to which our project aims. The first is to provide educational strategies to build citizens' and communities' capacity to convey just ire – sometimes even caused by perceived social injustices, such as hateful speech. To this end, we have included within our discussion potential ways to distinguish between expressions of *just ire* and *cruelty*. We argue that this is an important differentiation given the recent trend by some politicians to expand the term *radicalization* to include ideological groups with whom they do not agree. We posit that rather than censoring alternate (e.g., non-mainstream) social perspectives, emphasis on just ire demands validation of multiple, conflicting perspectives relating to the ways in which society ought to be structured and about what social relations are just and unjust.

The second objective of our project is to leverage the power of the connections between prominent adult education models and different social media platforms in order to provide Canadians with tools for civic engagement within communities experiencing the effects of hateful speech. As we have argued above, such engagement necessarily includes participation in public debate, specifically around contentious issues, and the expression of just ire. The fruitfulness of such an endeavor lies in making explicit connections between citizenship education and the use of social media as one means by which personal expression, community building, and informal learning can and does occur.

Importantly, however, we raise the question about the possibility of decontextualizing more generic models of facilitation of adult learning and the specific sociological nature

of hate speech in Canada. The fact that just over half of all occurrences of hate crimes in Canada in 2012 targeted race or ethnicity (Allen, 2014) provide solid grounds for the need to explore the connections between models of adult education and critical social theories within future work. Going forward we highlight, and posit as a necessary task, how educational ventures that attempt to educate against hate can incorporate critical social theories that can address contemporary aspects of racialization.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

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BC's Blueprint for Extraction Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the concept of extraction education as manifest in the British Columbia's government Skills for Jobs Blueprint *(BC Government, 2014). The Blueprint attempts to more clearly align BC's education system with the resource extraction industries, particularly the development of a new Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) sector. I argue that at the heart of extraction education is a neoliberal approach to education whereby the focus is on* supply *(what we can get out of the earth, institutions, and individuals) rather than* demand *(what we need to put into the educational system to meet needs of the land, institutions, and individuals), and put forth various arguments against the government's agenda from environmental, economic, employment, equity, and educational perspectives.*

In 2014, British Columbia's Liberal government released "BC's Skills for Jobs Blueprint: Re-engineering Education and Training" (BC Government, 2014). The document outlines the government's plan to align post-secondary education more closely with labour market needs, particularly in the oil, gas, and mining sectors; a key focus is the development of a Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) industry. This new initiative seeks to refocus education in the province but with little new funding attached; as the Blueprint puts it, "funding is not changing but programming must" (p.8). Indeed, the "re-engineering" of education is taking place within the context of consistent underfunding of higher education over the past decade as universities, community colleges, and institutes of technology implement cuts to meet budget shortfalls. Furthermore, this document, as well as the government's overall agenda, conceptualises education as existing almost entirely for training future workers whereby institutions deposit the skills that individuals can then draw upon for specific jobs, especially those related to the resource extraction industries.

This paper is an exploratory piece in which I argue that the provincial government has embraced an epistemic understanding of education *for*, *through*, and *as* extraction. I first describe how extraction education is manifest in the government's agenda, and follow this with a critique of extraction education on employment, environmental, equity, economic, and educational grounds. I return to the ideals and ideas of Paulo Freire in exploring responses to what, I argue, is an impoverished and short-sighted approach to the education of adults.

Education for Extraction

British Columbia has long depended on its natural resources for economic development. In fact, two major gold rushes of the 1800s are credited with propelling the creation of the Colony of British Columbia (Ormsby, 1971). Over the past century, developers have pursued exploitation of various minerals, oil, and, most recently, LNG. In 2011, the BC Liberal government announced its decision to invest heavily in LNG development, with goals for having one LNG plant in operation by 2015 and three operational by 2020, claiming that 200,000 jobs will be created in LNG-related industries by 2020 (BC Government, 2014, p.3). In 2011, the province launched BC JobsPlan (BC Government, 2012) followed by BC's Blueprint for Skills in 2014 (BC Government, 2014). This overall initiative is aimed at transforming all levels of education to better match jobs in demand. It calls for a clearer alignment of "postsecondary training with labour market demands to achieve a highly-skilled workforce" (BC Ministry of Advanced Education, 2014a, p.10). The Blueprint is directed to train more British Columbians to extract more materials from the land. Education—from high school onwards—is asked to be responsive to such development to ensure greater resource extraction.

This redoubled emphasis on extraction industries has led to the creation and expansion of two new centres of training excellence. In 2012, the Province announced the establishment

of a *Mining Centre of Training Excellence*, with Northwest Community College as the lead partner and other institutions playing more minor roles, including British Columbia Institute of Technology (BCIT), College of the Rockies, and Thompson Rivers University (TRU) (BC Ministry of Advanced Education, 2013a). The *BC Centre of Training Excellence in Oil and Gas*, first created in 2007, was reaffirmed by the provincial government in 2012 with a $200,000 grant (BC Ministry of Advanced Education, 2013b), and has its headquarters at the Fort St. John campus of Northern Lights College. Both centres prepare students to enter the mining, and oil and gas industries, respectively, helping to improve responsiveness of the postsecondary education system to address education and training needs in resource extraction (see also NLC, 2014). These new provincial training centres of excellence are a new actor in the educational scene, which the government intends to "leverage[e]…to increase partnerships between industry and institutions" (BC Ministry of Advanced Education, 2013a, p.12). These centres can be understood as reflecting a relatively recent ideal of formal education and credentials in the trades (Grubb, 2006).

Other changes as a result of this new initiative include the announcement, in April 2014, of $6.8 million for trades seats as part of the Skills for Jobs Blueprint, which will lead to the creation of 75 additional LNG trades training seats for Northern Lights College (Ministry of Advanced Education, 2014b), and 272 new seats in trades programs at BCIT to "help equip students to work in the proposed liquefied natural gas industry" (Drews, 2014). Reforms are not just occurring within adult and higher education: the BC Ministry of Education has created a new position of Superintendent of Trades and Student Transitions, and in some BC school districts, Grade 10 and 11 pupils can now take trade sampler courses and a semester in mechanical or construction (Sorensen, 2015). By 2017-18, the government predicts to have earmarked 25 percent of the annual $1.9 billion contributed to post-secondary operating budgets "for programs that lead to high-demand occupations, [including] $175 million specifically for LNG-related projects" (Parry, 2014). Overall, it is clear that education for extraction has become a key priority of this government.

Education through Extraction

The word 'extraction' connotes removal, by means of skill, effort, or force (Websters dictionary). We draw out—or extract—resources from the land—such as oil, gold, or gas—to be used for other purposes. I am also using the term 'extraction' specifically in relation to funding. *Extraction education* is present in the government's mentality towards funding education for the resource extraction agenda and towards funding post-secondary education more broadly. Most directly, the government has extracted funds previously allotted to post-education (evident, for example, in overall decreases in per student funding—see Ivanova, 2012), or has demanded increased performance without budgetary increases. More indirectly, this focus on extraction and efficiency can be seen as a general ideological morphing from

a more social welfare model to a more neoliberal one, especially over the past two decades and exacerbated by a shift in 2001 from an NDP government to a Liberal one[1].

It is telling that the Blueprint and BC Jobs Plan are about re-focusing educational priorities, not increasing the overall pot of money given to education. As declared in the Skills and Training Plan, "our government's investments in post-secondary education are significant and well-calibrated. Within those generous programs, we will do a better job to support opportunities for people to pursue training in the trades and technical professions." (BC Government, 2012, p.14). An extraction education, in effect, requires extracting more from institutions. Despite specially allocated funds to the oil and gas industry, BC's 2014 budget contained $51 million in cuts to post-secondary funding over three years, with technical institutes and colleges hit particularly hard (CNW, 2014). Interestingly, Northern Lights College, the site of the Centre of Training Excellence, issued layoff notices that they say will "necessitate significant changes in the College's operations in order to achieve a balanced budget." (CNW). The 2013 budget announced that the Ministry of Advanced Education, Innovation and Technology would receive $46 million less over the next three years, even as the province (ostensibly) faced "a severe skills shortage" (CNW). In addition, in the 2013/14 fiscal year, real per-student post-secondary funding "dropped to 15 per cent below 2001 levels, and is projected to decline to almost 20 per cent by 2016/17" (CNW). According to the president of the Confederation of University Faculty Associations of BC, by 2016, "per-student operating grants to post-secondary institutions will have dropped by 20 per cent since the Liberals formed government" (Culbert & Shaw, 2014). In historical perspective, the percentage of funding for higher education from the BC government went from nearly 90% in 1979, nearly 80% in 89, just over 70% in 1999, to under 60% in 2009 (Ivanova, 2012). Even this year's budget, which saw more funding to post-secondary than in previous years (BC Ministry of Finance, 2015), will see enactment of cuts to public schools in the K-12 sector—which are also entrusted with re-engineering their focus to support the trades, particular in resource extraction.

Part of the cuts to education can be explained by what economist Paul Krugman has called "deficit obsession" (e.g., Krugman, 2012). The BC Government is mandated to always have a balanced budget—legislation was introduced shortly after the election of the BC Liberals in 2001[2], and the government appears ideologically opposed to the prospect of ever running a deficit. Keynesian understandings of the economy, like that espoused by Krugman, contest the idea that a balanced budget is necessary to a sustainable fiscal position, whereas neoclassical economics (as that adopted by the BC centre-right government) embrace cuts to social

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1   It is important to note that the BC Liberals have no affiliation with the federal liberal party and, as a centre-right political party, are considered further to the right on economic policy than the Liberal Party of Canada.
2   See http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/01028_01

spending to avoid deficits while cutting taxes to stimulate the economy. In sum, education for extraction is supported by education through extraction: less money and more government accountability for predicted greater labour-market outcomes for resource extraction industries.

Education as Extraction

In Freire's (1997) model of *banking education*, the knowledge-rich teacher deposits information into the empty bank account (aka the student). This conception of education, highly criticised by today's adult educators, focuses on input, or what is given—or deposited into—the student. However, this transactional notion of education also invites us to think about output. Accordingly, a teacher can be said to withdraw funds from the student in asking her to spit out exactly what was put in—a regurgitation of information which maintains the hierarchical position of the student-as-poor and teacher-as-rich. Banking education doesn't appear to allow for an accrual of interest as the model is necessarily premised on the notion of there being little thinking—or value-add—on the part of the student.

I view education as extraction in a similar manner to banking education, in that it also seeks to maintain power relations with the student as recipient and occupying a lower position, but I shift the focus from 'deposit' to 'withdrawal' (or extraction), and turn our attention to the overall aim of the government's education agenda rather than focusing on the one-to-one relationship between teacher and student. At the core of education as extraction, is the idea of extracting as much as possible while investing as little as possible. Rather than the actual pedagogical practices of the educator, I am focusing more on the BC's government influence in curriculum and in supporting certain educational choices over others in an attempt to revamp BC's entire education system. The Blueprint for Jobs promotes the ideas of an institution depositing skills into a student to be able to then extract a job-ready individual.

The focus on educational *output*—in this case labour market outcomes in the mining, oil and gas industries—can be understood as part of a general shift that has taken place worldwide in caring more about educational outputs than inputs. One prime example of this is seen in the move towards outcomes-based education, where the focus has shifted from actual curriculum to a student being able to demonstrate overall competency upon completion of a program (Malan, 2000). *Education as extraction* still lies within a capitalist banking model, as government policy is concerned, in its concern with return on investments. The trick is to get more for less. Ongoing professional development is not a focus of the Blueprint. Further, the skills needed for an extraction economy, as well as the economy itself, are treated as unchanging, easily measurable, and predictable (BC Government, 2012, 2014).

Discussion

Education for, through, and as extraction raises concerns of both a practical and philosophical nature. In this section I unpack some of environmental, economic, employment, equity and educational contestations to an extraction education.

Environmental

While commonly proclaimed a clean alternative to the dirty tar sands, LNG is not necessarily free of environmental dangers. For example, a report published in 2011 argues that natural gas found in shale formations requiring hydraulic fracturing to extract (as would be the case in BC), releases up to 50 percent more methane during production than conventional drilling—an environmental concern given that the impact of methane on global warming is 21 times higher than carbon dioxide (Howarth, Santoro, Ingraffea, 2011). In addition, four First Nations in Northwestern BC have declared their opposition to the proposed Petronas LNG project on Lelu Island citing fear of massive damage to their salmon habitat (CBC, 2014). Disturbingly, according to the Fort Nelson First Nation, on April 11, 2014 the government amended, "without notice and consultation, the reviewable projects regulations exempting 'sweet gas plants', such as major LNG developments, from the BC Environmental Assessment process" (Fort Nelson First Nation, 2014).

British Columbia has a long history of environmentalism: it is the birthplace of David Suzuki, Greenpeace, the major Clayquot Sounds sit-in in the 1990s, and most recently, demonstrations against proposed oil and gas pipeline projects. Resource extraction industries and their potential environmental impacts have long been contested, and often for good reason, with alternative movements constituting an oppositional ideology to an economy based primarily on extraction and to an education sector geared towards supporting it.

Economic

In addition to environmental concerns, there has been much cynicism regarding the projected economic impact of the LNG sector in BC. An article published in the Tyee in October, 2014 notes that the province halved previously calculated estimates of LNG revenue (Macleod, 2014). For example, a medium-sized LNG facility is now anticipated to pay $125 million a year in income tax instead of $250 million (Macleod). As Canadian Finance Minister recently remarked, in the wake of drastically reduced oil prices, "volatile energy markets make it impossible to predict revenue accurately" (Economist, 2015). While Canada does have a diversified economy, it is still heavily investing in natural resources; for example, it is noteworthy that the country's non-fuel mineral dependence increased from 17.9% (of GDP) in 1995, to 27% in 2000 and to over 36% by 2010 (Haglund, 2011).

According to the 2012 budget, British Columbia faced a $1.14 billion deficit in 2012-2013 due to declining natural gas revenues (Vancouver Observer, 2012). And, there have been additional critical responses to the province's 2015 budget with regards to the oil, gas, and mining industries,

and—more specifically—the predicted LNG boom which according to a Huffington Post article, is still "nowhere to be seen": BC's natural resource revenues are forecast to decrease by almost seven percent in 2015 with natural gas royalties expected to drop by 36.5 per cent in 2015-2016, increasing somewhat in future years (Meissner, 2015). Andrew Nikiforuk—a well-known Canadian environmental critic—has repeatedly called into question LNG's profitability in BC, noting lowered royalties for shale gas resources to drive development. He cites the US Bureau of Ocean Energy Management who has claimed that BC is the "exception to how North American governments earn revenue from oil and gas [and] which has designed a back-end loaded fiscal system for shale gas resources whereby the government undertakes a significant share of the revenue risk" (cited in Nikiforuk, 2014). It is much disputed that resource extraction is the road to riches the government has claimed.

Employment & Equity

With indications of decreased profitability, it is not at all clear how many jobs the oil, gas, and mining sectors will generate in the coming years. Moreover, having a trade certificate, diploma, or degree does not necessarily ensure employability; neither does enrolling in a trades and apprenticeship program necessarily lead to successful completion. In addition, the jobs available at the end of such a training program—like those listed as being in short supply by the BC Jobs Plan (2012), such as pipefitting, welders, construction, truck drivers etc.—are likely not the route to a high-skills knowledge economy that Canada has proclaimed as its intention (Gibb & Walker, 2011).

First, it is not at all clear that the jobs created as a result of the LNG sector will be filled by British Columbians. Simon Fraser University (SFU) Professor of Public Policy, Dominique Gross, has conducted research indicating that 29 per cent of net new jobs created in BC since the recession have been filled with temporary foreign workers—considerably higher than the Canadian average of 15 per cent (Gross, 2014). Economist Ivanova writes, "unless we see decisive action in the next three years, it's very likely that most of the jobs generated by the proposed LNG projects—which come during their construction stage—will be filled by temporary foreign workers or skilled workers from other provinces, not unemployed British Columbians" (Ivanova, 2014). In a "global auction for skills" (Brown, Lauder, and Ashton, 2011) wherein skills are highly portable, jobs do not necessarily follow training or education (Brown & Tannock, 2009).

Second, BC has a mixed record on apprenticeship and trades training in terms of outcomes. Recent numbers indicate that completion rates in apprenticeships are under 50% across BC, despite doubling of registered apprentices in recent years (Statistics Canada, 2011). Furthermore, Canadian Census data indicates that certification in the trades generates modest earnings increases compared to high-school graduates, and only when coupled with completed high school (Boothby & Dewes, 2006; Ivanova, 2012; Meredith, 2011).While the reasons for non-completion of apprenticeships and trade training are not entirely clear, Meredith suggests

> in a labour market where skill requirements are modest…the lamented registration and drop-out figures do not necessarily point to critical failures in the training system, but could just as well be read as signs of its responsiveness to a market with a greater appetite for semi-skilled than for certified labour (p. 337).

He further argues that apprenticeships are seen as employers "as a low-wage strategy in an increasingly deregulated competitive market" (p.340). As other educational researchers have contested, the economies of Liberal Market Economies, like Canada, rely on low-waged low-skill jobs for profit maximization rather than universal skills upgrading (Brown, 2001; Gibb & Walker, 2011; Schugurensky, 2007).

British Columbia, and Canada more generally, has also struggled with achieving equitable inclusion in trades training, particularly with regards to women and Aboriginal Canadians. Meredith (2011) writes that women continue to be underrepresented in trades training, comprising only 9% of all apprentices, predominantly in the 'pink' trades, such as hairdressing. Another concern is that trades certification, somewhat dubious in its overall financial utility, produces larger gains for men than it does for women (Booth & Dewby, 2006). Aboriginal peoples, who by-and-large populate the areas set for LNG development, continue to be underemployed and excluded. For example, Nadasdy (2003) documents how officials in regulatory agencies in British Columbia and the Yukon undermine the validity of Aboriginal ecological knowledge, values and worldviews, and so maintain their control over land management. In another example, Rod Visser, who works for various First Nations, outlined how companies repeatedly showed little understanding for First Nation's concerns about water, culture, land or treaty rights when developing oil, gas or mining projects (Nikiforuk, 2014).

Educational

Education for, through, and as extraction, takes a narrow view of the environment, economy, labour market, and education. While this paper does not speak to the actual pedagogy and curriculum involved in extraction education, it does argue for seeing the government's agenda as embracing an impoverished view of education as a set of concrete skills for digging things out of the ground rather than a view of education as supporting the development of a more informed, equitable, sustainable, and thinking society. The province appears to be embracing a narrow vocationalism, which has been criticised by Rospigliosi et al (Rospigliosi et al., 2014; Bourner, Greener & Rospigliosi, 2011), and Grubb and Lazerson (Grubb, 2006; Grubb & Lazerson, 2005) in terms of its appropriateness for institutions and for developing a knowledge economy. Grubb (2006) argues that post-secondary education should be preparing people for long-term thriving throughout their many jobs, allowing them to ride out the vicissitudes of the labour market.

A "new vocationalism", according to Bourner, Greener and Rospigliosi (2011), would be one in which institutions promote reflective practice and are more oriented to developing people's capacity and disposition to learn (Bourner, Greener & Rospigliosi, 2011).

Instead of extraction education, we can return to Freire's (1997) alternative vision of problem-posing education as an education premised on dialogue, reflection, and action whereby learners can collectively become masters of their own destiny. It is an education which brings together citizens to transform the world to become more fully human. In contrast, the BC government's Blueprint for Jobs supports what Freire called "cultural action for domestication" (1970, p.6), fitting individuals into a predestined order (more-or-less as cogs in a wheel), rather than furthering an agenda in which British Columbians become subjects of their own development. This "reengineering of education" (BC Government, 2014) can be further understood as the government extending "false generosity" (Freire, 1970), constraining the fearful and subdued, the "rejects of life,"—the undereducated, poor, Indigenous—in offer of "good jobs" in the oil, gas, and mining sectors. This is not to question the intentions of this new policy, but to argue that it is a "paternalistic generosity": it does not lead to any substantive change to status quo, and is "nourished by death, despair, and poverty" (1997, p.13). It opens up the possibility of death to the land, death to existing Indigenous and institutional cultures, and fails to address poverty and inequality in any meaningful way.

Concluding Remarks

This paper constitutes an initial exploration into the concept of *extraction education* as manifest in the British Columbian government's Blueprint for Jobs and BC JobsPlan (BC Government, 2012, 2014). In essence, an extraction education constitutes a neoliberal approach to education whereby the focus is on *supply* (what we get out of the earth, institutions, and individuals) rather than *demand* (what we need to put into educational system to meet the needs of the land, institutions, and individuals). Whether the environmental, economic, employment, and educational concerns raised here are overblown is yet to seen as the government attempts to further implement its extraction education agenda. This new reality can be seen as, what Freire (1997) called, a *limit situation*: a barrier to critical and democratic action. This poses new challenges to progressive adult educators working in British Columbia, particularly in institutions that are entrusted with enacting the government's agenda. However, as Freire explains, "it is not the limit situations in and of themselves which create a climate of hopelessness, but rather how they are perceived by women and men at a given historical moment: whether they appear as fetters or as insurmountable barriers." (Freire, 1997, p.80). One way to address such fetters is to explore the ways "in which they work and yield power over those who have less power in society" (Walker, 2009), which is what I hope I have begun to do here.

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PAPER PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Building Common Knowledge: negotiating new pedagogies in Higher Education in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we focus on an institution-wide participatory action research project where more responsive pedagogies have been negotiated into the practices of three departments in one university with a strong history of engaging first generation university students who are poor. In particular, we draw on the idea of 'common knowledge' to explain how new understandings of pedagogy are negotiated into the practices by the core team and are then deployed institutionally. We identify and discuss the political nature of organisational innovation and the building of common knowledge, through discussing an illustrative 'moment' from the research project. The paper brings together analytic resources of cultural-historical theory, a participatory research approach and, in particular, ideas of relational expertise, common knowledge and relational agency.

Setting the Scene

Presently, public Higher Education Institutions in South Africa are under pressure to increase their intake of young students which can mean that working people or 'non-traditional students' (adults) are finding their options for lifelong learning being limited. At a time when public policy commitment is to open and widen access to workers and adult learners, the 'doors of learning' are closing. (RSA 2013; Buchler et al 2007)

In brief, the research sets out to explore, using a participatory action research orientation, how the university is developing more appropriate pedagogical approaches to help working students to succeed. This entails understanding the working lives of students, engaging their workplaces, and influencing the teaching, learning and administrative environment of the university.

Located within more detailed analyses of the national and global contexts (Walters 2012; Barnett 2014), the key contradiction, to which the research responds, is that access is being limited, through the closure of after-hours or evening classes, at a time and in a place where access for working and first generation students is a core part of the university's historic mission. The issue is politically charged and carries with it certain moral obligations relating to social justice for the black majority who have been severely disadvantaged through the history of colonialism and Apartheid. The university, like many others, finds itself in the cross winds of global capitalism where corporatisation of universities is a widespread phenomenon. As Burawoy (2011: 27) states, 'These pressures come in two forms – commodification and regulation'.

As illustrative of the political struggle for the 'heart and soul' of the university, within the geo-political global and national contexts, is a very public spate which reached the press, between the Chair of UWC Council, who was also president of the Convocation, and the Executive Management (Cape Argus 6, 9 and 13 June 2014). Part-time studies are implicated as referenced by the journalist (Cape Argus, June 8, 2014) and seem to have become a proxy for the deeper political contestation around the priorities and future direction of the university.

Thus, the research project has been buffeted by the political and pedagogical winds relating to the university's broader mission.

Background, purpose and approach of the research

In early 2010 a document (DLL 2010) served at Senate which proposed an action research project into flexible provision. It described some fundamental shifts taking place in the institution in response to a range of different pressures. It was becoming clear that due to resource pressures, including increased numbers of young students, and issues relating to the under-preparedness of students from school, it was no longer possible to envisage parallel delivery systems – one 'full time' and the other 'part time' in day time and after-hours slots. The rapid increase in student numbers meant that use of university facilities needed to be maximized by

fast tracking flexible approaches to teaching and learning. It was widely recognized that UWC students were financially constrained which meant they had, if possible, to seek employment while studying. The university was also, in line with global trends, increasing its E-learning capacities exponentially amongst staff and students; and facilities like the main library were remaining open for longer hours.

With these, and other, contextual conditions in mind, a proposal was adopted for an action research project to help shift the institution to embrace `flexible learning and teaching provision` through the adoption of certain pilot action research sites. Calls were made to faculties to propose pilot sites. Three pilot sites i.e. Departments of Library and Information Science, Political Studies and School of Public Health, were proposed. The key research question was: *what conditions need to change in order to give working people access to achieve success through higher education?* The research was coordinated by a small professional team in the cross-faculty, Division for Lifelong Learning (DLL).

The research team was aware of the university-wide implications and was in agreement with Green et al (2013:26) who state that, because higher education is a complex system consisting of "four inter-dependent sub-systems" - teacher, learner, delivery and administrative sub-systems – innovative approaches to learning and teaching would require profound shifts in the way that the entire university views, engages with and develops knowledge. This ambitious undertaking would require organisational change strategies which Johnston (1997) describes as both top down and bottom up.

In line with this understanding, the research project obtained endorsements through a range of committees including Senate. Invitations were sent to all faculties and departments to participate according to certain criteria as pilot sites. As researchers, we worked within a set of understandings which included, for example, the need for strong support from the leadership of the institution. However, while it has been important to keep the understandings in mind, in reality, not all could be met. In particular, the university was very constrained financially so has not been able to contribute additional finances to the research. This highlighted a key conundrum – even though it was not possible to achieve the criteria excavated from leading innovative practices, should we still go ahead? We have, with external funding support from the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) for a three year partnership. However, it has been far from ideal and has demanded a great deal of additional work and commitment from faculty-based colleagues who are already over-burdened.

We recognised that for institutional change to have a chance, the research needed to be collaborative and 'owned' as widely as possible. Organising structures were set up from the pilot sites, to the overarching project team, to a reference group which was a sub-committee of the senate teaching and learning committee (STLC), to annual review and strategic planning meetings – all meeting regularly, ensuring close connections and collaborative relationships amongst the researchers at the DLL and in departments. The project can lay claim to substantial bureaucratic by-in as evidenced in the substantial meeting and reporting documentation. However, given the heightened institutional political environment, competing views on the significance of the project have been apparent. This is of course unsurprising if we support Castells (2009:14) who argues:

> …societies are not communities, sharing values and interests. They are contradictory social structures enacted in conflicts and negotiations among diverse and often opposing social actors. Conflicts never end: they simply pause through temporary agreements and unstable contracts that are transformed into institutions of domination by those social actors who achieve an advantageous position in the power struggle

If we accept this viewpoint that power struggles are inevitable, then we cannot assume that the debates and discussions within university are politically neutral. This understanding in turn places more pressure on the politics of the ideas of 'common knowledge' and 'relational expertise', to which we will return later.

Finally, in setting the scene, it is important to note that funding to support the research was accessed through a partnership with the SAQA, which is a statutory body with oversight for the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). SAQA's mandate is, amongst others, to facilitate access to, and mobility and progression within education, training and career paths which accelerates redress of past unfair discrimination within the education and training system. There is congruence, therefore, between the aims of the research project and SAQA who are looking to the project to assist with more effective implementation of lifelong learning opportunities within higher education. Thus, the research is looking *inwards* to influence institutional policies and practices 'all the way down' (Edwards et al 2014), and outwards towards influencing the NQF policy environments, *all the way up*. Built into the partnership with SAQA, were regular national seminars to engage people in the emerging research insights and the discourse of lifelong learning.

Understandings of Action Research

The overall research approach that we employed is influenced by the participatory research approach (PRA) as defined in adult education literature (for example, Kassam 1982; Walters 1989, Hall 2001). This approach demands that the research integrates 'investigation, education and action'. PRA is a form of action research, which demands involvement rather than detachment. Coming out of the radical Freirian adult education tradition, it has a particular commitment to the educational value of the research process for all participants. It is this specific commitment, which is tied to the 'investigation and action' components which distinguishes it from some other forms of action research. Collins (2011) makes a very interesting link between PRA and

Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) – through this he highlights, amongst others, the Marxist influences and the overt political nature of both, including how each tradition can serve to deepen the other. In our understanding PRA and CHAT under labour one another.

While the broad principles and orientation of PRA are useful, we found that we needed additional conceptual tools in the development of more responsive pedagogies which are being negotiated into the university practices. We turned to the analytical resources of relational expertise, common knowledge and relational agency.

Building 'Common Knowledge', 'Relational Expertise' and 'Relational Agency' in Practice

Given that flexible learning and teaching means so many different things and is challenging the dominant approaches to teaching and learning, a common understanding of what it means institutionally needed to be developed and embraced. (DLL 2014b) At a theoretical level, we found Edwards (2011) notion of building 'common knowledge' useful as it speaks to the fact that bringing about change in institutions demands that it is not only the surface behaviours that require transformation, but also the underlying philosophical tenets on which they are built. This requires deep and sustained dialogue. It also requires us as the core research team to develop and demonstrate relational expertise so that in working collaboratively with others we can, potentially, attain relational agency in order to have a chance of influencing policy and practice in the institution.

As Edwards (2011:34) argues, in the process of developing relational expertise, where collaborators engage in negotiating enhanced interpretations of a complex problem, a 'discursive meeting of minds that give rise to *common knowledge*' occurs. In other words, collaborators decide on the collective motive (what matters for all) of the activity. It is at this stage that it becomes possible to build knowledge that will be held in common by all collaborators. Hence common knowledge constitutes the 'motives' – the 'what matters' – for each party and is respected by the collaborators. It is elicited by employing relational expertise and then operates as a resource which mediates collaboration on complex problems. As Edwards (2010) explains, this shared knowledge of what matters for the other arises from new ways of understanding and acting which develop over time and across inter-professional meetings.

Relational agency, on the other hand, is the capacity that is exercised when collaborators need to take the action together, i.e. it is the exercise of relational expertise and common knowledge as practitioners jointly respond to the object of activity, such as developing a flexible learning and teaching programme. However, relational expertise does not replace core professional knowledge and expertise as both types of expertise are necessary when working relationally. In brief, relational agency enables an outward looking disposition when liaising with others on complex problems and it is a capacity that can be learnt. (Edwards, 2010)

Given that flexible learning and teaching provision is a complex problem involving the four inter-dependent sub-systems of the academy (Green et al. 2013), it will require committed collaboration across all systems and sectors within the institution in order to come to a common understanding of (FLTP) which includes the 'diversity' of students, including working students. Only if this occurs did we believe there would be a chance for access and success of working students to be included within a FLTP framework which can supersede the parallel binary system.

Embedding FLTP institutionally would also need what Edwards refers to as 'resourceful leadership'. (Edwards et al 2014) They argue that at a time of austerity, when material resources are stripped away and workforces are drastically reduced, as is the case in many HEIs, the remaining workforce becomes an overt focus for professional development and ensuring engagement with the long term purposes of the organisation. When these reductions are occurring at a time when fundamental change is required, then leadership must be able to recognise, enhance and give purpose to the capability of colleagues at every level of the systems they lead.

There is a key link to development of 'common knowledge' in her argument. Developing and moving 'common knowledge' horizontally is, they state, much easier than moving it up stream, or vertically. The creative leadership that is required must listen, tap into and harvest the knowledge within innovations that are occurring at every level and assist with their movement upstream. We have argued that for FLTP to become institutionalised in ways which will include a diversity of working and non-working students, changes need to impact every level of the institution, including the centre and the top decision-making structures. We concur with Johnston (1997) that both top-down and bottom-up change strategies are necessary; every person is a change agent and the best organisations learn from the external environment as well as from their own internal staff. Resourceful leadership is required to facilitate this occurrence.

We turn now to describing an illustrative example of how we have mobilised these concepts in practice.

Towards an institutional policy on FLTP

In order to ensure that the pilot sites would not remain separate silos of innovative pedagogy, we undertook a survey of FLTP across all faculties so that we could engage the fields of 'mainstream' pedagogy. Through an international literature review, we honed in on a working definition of FLTP which we tested with senior teaching and learning specialists and academics across all faculties, entering dialogue in the process of what FLTP might mean for them in their faculties and the university as a whole. The 31 semi-structured interviews were conducted by the team within a period of 10 days; the emerging results were fed back to a reference group of leading practitioners who formed a sub-committee of the Senate Teaching and Learning Committee (STLC), the advisory group. There was also a workshop, to which all those who had been interviewed were invited, to give and

get feedback on the survey and to clarify what a working definition of FLTP could be.

In order to ensure that concepts of FLTP were also fed upstream as well as horizontally, the research team made submissions of working documents to two Senate sub-committees. These documents were in various states of readiness and therefore took different forms.

The nature of the different documents at different stages included:

(i) a preliminary research proposal which was invitational and tentative to solicit feedback on the idea for the research from the reference group i.e. "Proposal for mapping flexible teaching and learning provision at UWC"	18 April 2013
(ii) based on the feedback, this was written up as a substantial academic research project, discussed in the reference group and submitted to the Senate sub-committees i.e. "Research proposal for mapping flexible learning and teaching provision at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)"	13 September 2013
(iii) a 6 page position paper which was more of an advocacy document and place holder, while the substantial research report was being prepared; this was sent out to all the faculties to solicit feedback on the broad ideas and their import for the institution; during this time presentations of this document were also done on invitation to 4 of the 6 faculties. (DLLa)	16 February 2014
(iv) a 70 page research report which was submitted to the Senate Lifelong Learning Committee (SLLC) and this was referred to the reference group i.e. "Draft Report. Mapping of flexible learning and teaching at University of the Western Cape [UWC]".	25 May 2014
(v) a 15 page abbreviated report presented to the reference group; where they asked for it to be reduced to 12 pages with some specific requests, after a senior manager had intervened to ensure that any suggestion that the institution was not already 'flexible' should be muted i.e. "Flexible learning and teaching at UWC: understandings, practices and implications [Draft report 2]"	9 June 2014
(vi) a 12 page abbreviated report which was submitted to the reference group and was forwarded to the SLLC and STLC first meetings of 2015 (DLL b)	28 November 2014
(vii) a project website and then a blog also was used to ensure that the various mutations of the report and supporting documents were publically available (http://uwc-flexiblelearningandteaching.blogspot.com)	February 2013 onwards

In understanding the different mutations of the report, we have found Ellis' (2013, p202) heuristic device in the form of a quadrant, which highlights the relevance of each type of document, as useful. He identifies two types of knowledge which are 'instrumental knowledge' and 'reflexive knowledge'; with two main audiences i.e. 'academic' and 'extra-academic'. Both audiences require documents which speak to both instrumental and reflexive knowledge. We found that the university academics, in different contexts, moved from being 'academic' to 'extra-academic' – at one point, reflexive knowledge was required as the document was judged

by knowledge associated with critical evaluation of research within a wider intellectual context; and at another instrumental knowledge where the documents needed to speak to policy and teaching practice. Depending on who was in the room at the time, the political sensitivities were heightened or more muted. Therefore the mediation of the documents was critical.

The core research team, as boundary spanners, has had to be alert to 'what matters' to each of the individuals and to the collective in order to hear and understand whether it was possible to construct common knowledge. An example of this was one meeting of the advisory group, where a host of issues were being raised in relation to the 15 page abbreviated report – at a point one of the lead researchers then asked of the group, 'what is the one thing that matters to all of us?' This was a significant moment of display of relational expertise which helped the atmosphere change from one of contestation to greater collaboration and collegiality; and helpful suggestions were made as to how the document could be altered in order to make its way successfully through the bureaucratic structures. The antagonisms of `them` and `us`, shifted to a sense of 'us'. There seemed to be a momentary emergence of collective ownership and relational agency.

The PRA has included investigation through collaborative research, education through sharing of findings and invitations to co-construct 'common knowledge' of FLTP and action, through moving documents into the committees in order to influence changes in teaching and learning policy, and through supporting changes in teaching and learning within the pilot sites. The next five year Institutional Operating Plan (IOP) is currently being developed and the FLTP research documents are feeding into this process. In these ways we are attempting to move the FLTP knowledge around horizontally and upstream.

Reflections

In an historical context which is marked by the authoritarian scars of a patriarchal, Apartheid state, within a historically black university which prides itself on its contribution to the struggle for liberation, and which is now caught in the cross winds of competitive globalisation which is influenced by competition, regulation and commodification, what does the process of building common knowledge mean? What are the capabilities required of researchers and leadership to bring about organisational innovation? How does the building of deep democratic practices, which common knowledge implies, sit alongside Castells' view that "Conflicts never end: they simply pause through temporary agreements and unstable contracts that are transformed into institutions of domination by those social actors who achieve an advantageous position in the power struggle………."?

Earlier we illustrated the politically charged environment, which has been compounded by changes in senior leadership within the university. This has meant short term timeframes of senior management who have been unable

to harvest the innovations and creative energies adequately which are taking place in departments, faculties and across the campus. This has meant that the building of common knowledge horizontally has been the most critical strategy – in this we can claim some success. Moving the knowledge emanating from the action research upstream has been partial and it is still impossible to anticipate or predict success.

The primary contradiction that the flexible provision action research is addressing is the 'binary' of day/night provision with full and part-time students in an institution which has a long history of support for poor and working students. The members of the research team, and the unit within which we work, has been a champion over 14 years of the black, working, and older students. The researchers therefore carry a certain moral authority in relation to the social justice mission of the university. This has paradoxically meant that we have been implicated in the social and political conflicts, also referred to as 'antagonisms' by Ellis. We have recognised the opportunity created by the primary contradiction in order to stimulate what Ellis (2013, p.211) refers to as 'difficult but transformative change'.

We have found that a cultural historical approach has offered tools from a radical interventionist tradition with developmental purposes. As Ellis (2013, p210) states, CHAT does not support 'knowledge transfer' but recognises interventions as contested spaces. This has been our experience as we have built common knowledge through relational expertise, which resonates with that of 'boundary spanners' managing ambiguous positions at the boundary. (Ackermann et al 2011, p140) The competence has required careful listening to what really matters to people; a willingness to hear, to reformulate and to resubmit ideas, mediated through micro negotiations amongst individuals, and units; and inserting these ideas into the range of senate committees via both instrumental and reflexive documents, as appropriate. It also calls for what Landa (2008, quoted in Ackermann et al, p140) refers to as 'personal fortitude' and 'boundary skills'. It requires a long term perspective and commitment.

As Ellis reminds us, cultural historical theory supports development of pedagogy and design of learning environments at practical and organisational levels and cultural historical theory demands creative disturbance of existing practices – reconfiguration of practice implies transformation of sense-making through building common knowledge. It is inevitably a political process. In the context of the university, within a heightened political climate where some people may have seen the action research as a proxy for the larger struggle over the future direction of the university; so much more so.

This raises the question for us of the political nature of the building of common knowledge, which is a deeply democratic process. It demands sustained dialogue in order to identify collectively new understandings and new practices. In organisational environments where authoritarian leadership may prevail, building common knowledge may not be possible. Certainly moving common knowledge upstream

will be that much more difficult. But even in democratic organisational cultures, if we accept Castells' view of organisations as "contradictory social structures enacted in conflicts and negotiations among diverse and often opposing social actors" is the building of common knowledge a 'moment' when conflicts "simply pause through temporary agreements and unstable contracts", where particular social actors achieve an advantageous position in the power struggle?

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Adult Education in New Brunswick: Policy and Program Priorities

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ABSTRACT

Many scholars point to a decline in adult education programs in many Western, industrialized nations (see for example Field, 2006 and Foley, 2004) also noting that there has been a shift in the focus of adult education from a more holistic, comprehensive understanding of adult education to a narrow, individualized focus on the acquisition of skills and training and economic development. This shift in focus, scholars claim, reflects broader neo-liberal political and economic trends. Uncovering the what adult education looks like in New Brunswick and the extent to which neoliberal trends influence policies and programs was the primary goal of this project. This paper presents the results of those findings noting that while the data confirms adult education programs do reflect a neoliberal ideology, the data also reveals a solidly community-based, relatively successful, literacy program thrives across the Province.

Introduction

This paper reports the findings of a research project that investigated the state of adult education in the province of New Brunswick. The study developed from my interest in learning about adult education in the Province after I took up a position in the Faculty of Education at the University of New Brunswick. I had lived and taught overseas for six years before coming to New Brunswick. Having grown up in Nova Scotia in a family of adult educators and teachers, and working in and around adult education for many years, I was familiar with contemporary and historical adult education in that Province. I knew little, however, about adult education in New Brunswick. This two-staged research project is an effort to redress that lack of knowledge.

Additionally, the literature on contemporary adult education in Canada reveals little about New Brunswick, or any of the other Atlantic Provinces. When adult education in the region is discussed, it is done in the context of statistics about participation. Even here, however, the presentation

of statistics is not for each individual province but for the region as a whole. Rebenson et al. (2007), for example, reporting from the 2003 Statistics Canada Adult Literacy and Lifeskills Survey, note an increased rate of participation in adult education for the region of 60% between 1997 and 2003. This is not surprising in a region hit by substantial industrial decline and failing economies and with little to no development in other sectors. Many workers have been displaced in an already restricted labour market and many are turning to adult education and training programs to improve their employment prospects.

The goal of this research is to map the landscape of adult education in the province of New Brunswick. A secondary goal of the research is to determine the ways in which adult education in New Brunswick has been influenced by neoliberal policies. Thus, then, the broad questions addressed by this research are:

- What does participation in adult education in the province of New Brunswick look like?

- Who is undertaking adult education?

- What are the goals and purposes of these programs from the perspective of those who develop and deliver those programs?

- How are adult education programs reflective of broader policy trends in the Province?

The first phase of the project was an exploration of both public and private sector provision of adult education in the province, but with an emphasis of public programs. We wanted to get an idea of what kinds of adult education and training programs were offered in the Province and how these programs were funded and delivered. The results of that first phase were reported in an earlier article (Benjamin et al, 2013). The results revealed that, by and large, as in many other jurisdictions, adult education in the province of New Brunswick is heavily influenced by neoliberal

education policies with an almost exclusive emphasis on gaining knowledge and skills to enter into, and remain in, the labour market. For the second phase of the research, reported in this paper, I was interested to determine Provincial policy priorities with regard to adult education and whether opportunity exists within publicly supported programs for learning to go beyond the mere acquisition of skills.

The Context

Neoliberalism and Adult Education

Before we consider adult education in the Province of New Brunswick, it will be necessary to illustrate the broader contextual environment in which the Province is situated. Like many Western nations, Canada has followed a neoliberal agenda. And similar to other Western nations, the neoliberal agenda manifests itself in the privatization of some public services and the commodification of others. For education, students become customers or clients where the emphasis is on education for employment. For adult education, neoliberalism means an almost exclusive focus on skill development with, seemingly, little regard for the potential of adult education in terms of social justice and equity. Historically, adult education in Canada has had such a focus. The work of the Father Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement and Father Jimmy Tompkins in Reserve Mines, Nova Scotia, are just two, well known, local examples of social justice based adult education. Scholars correlate this shift away from collective social justice adult education towards individualistic, employment focused adult education directly with the rise in neoliberalism and free market economics (Benjamin et al., 2103) It's not surprising, then, to see that education and training, and particularly adult education and training, are viewed as the key ingredient for economic development. That this is so is evident in the literature and in policy documentation in many Western nations (Livingstone and Sawchuck, 2003; Fenwick, 2005, and 2006; Brown, Lauder and Ashton, 2008; Livingstone 2010, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2014a and 2014b). Variously referred to as the "Education Gospel" (Grub & Lazerson, 2002) or the "Cult of Training" (Albo, 1998), the heavy emphasis on the link between economic development and education manifests itself, in many cases, in adult education programs that focus, as noted, almost exclusively on the development of skills to gain entry to the labour market, and stay there. Albo (1998) writes further,

> The acquisition of appropriate skills by workers is conventionally put forth by government employment departments and business associations as a simple proposition; that individuals improving their skill attributes will better their prospect of being hired in the labour market. (p. 200)

In the midst of this international and national level landscape, sits the Province of New Brunswick. New Brunswick is a have not province. Marked by declining industry and out-migration, the Province's unemployment rate sits at 10.4%, third highest in the country behind Newfoundland and Labrador (12.6%) and Nunavut (12.4%) (Statistics Canada, 2015). Economic and Social Development Canada (2013) reports that 53.5% of the people of New Brunswick have literacy scores below level 3. As noted above, its not surprising then, that participation rates in adult education would be going up in the Atlantic Region and in this Province. But, As Rubenson & Walker (2006) note, it is also reflective of a broader trend, "…the increase in job-related adult education explains much of the rise in total participation rates from the late 1970s to the early 1990s" (p. 183).

Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to examine the research question. Data were collected through personal interviews with key stakeholders involved in the development and delivery of adult education policies and programming in the province of New Brunswick. Personal interviews would allow for an in-depth exploration of the issue and, thus, a greater understanding of what adult education looks like in the province of New Brunswick and the factors that influence particular policy priorities and program approaches. Nine interviews were conducted with individuals involved in the development and delivery of adult education programs. Two were mid-level government managers in departments responsible for education and training. One was a senior administrator for a community based advocacy group. Six were either volunteer members of community-based programs or worked as mid-level administrators for these programs. All participants were English speakers and all from Southern New Brunswick. Due to time, budget and my own language constraints, I was unable to interview French-speaking participants or participants in the north of the Province. (As the only officially bilingual province in the country, it will be important to include French-speaking participants in future research of this nature.) Interviews were conducted face-to-face and lasted between 1 and 2.5 hours. For the purposes of this paper, participants are identified by random numbers, P5, for example. Those numbers do not indicate order of interviewing.

Findings

Community Based Literacy

Several key themes emerged from this research. Discussion of each of these themes is beyond the scope of this paper and they will be explored in future publications. The findings reveal (as does government documentation) that priorities for the Government of New Brunswick in relation to adult education are, broadly, apprenticeships, workplace essential skills and literacy (P1 & P3). Again, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss each of these priorities and all of the themes to emerge from the data. I will focus here on, what is to me, the most interesting finding to emerge from the research and that is the literacy program here in the province of New Brunswick.

Stage one of the research also showed literacy as a provincial priority (Benjamin et al., 2013) Nonetheless, however,

the policy documentation and, indeed, the structure of the Provincial ministry responsible for adult education indicate that skills acquisition for the labour market takes precedence. Until recently, the department responsible for adult education was the largest in the Post-Secondary Education, Training and Labour (PETL) Ministry and independent of other divisions. A recent merger of two key departments – adult education and workplace essential skills – has seen adult education subsumed with the workplace skills division (P1, P2, P4, & P6). As one participant noted, in the departmental hierarchy, the workplace essential skills division now leads the new department (P3)[1]. The focus of the literacy program has also shifted. Where once these programs were geared towards populations with range of literacy needs, the emphasis now is on those with higher levels of literacy and instruction is mainly on digital literacies (P4). This, too, is reflective of both an emphasis on the knowledge economy (digital literacies) and preparation for the labour market (higher literacy levels). Lower level literacy programming is left to non-governmental literacy organizations in the Province (P2). Most participants who discussed the focus on higher-level literacy noted this was the result of changes to Federal government funding (P3, P6) that now focuses only on program and nothing else. So any kinds of support or support programs are no longer Federally funded. Despite this continued emphasis on skills for the labour market and programming for higher literacy levels, the research shows a strong, community-based literacy program thrives in the Province. All participants in this research discussed, at length, the strength and benefits of this literacy program.

In 1990, International Year of Literacy, then Premier Frank McKenna recognized literacy was a problem in New Brunswick (P3 &P4). Relevant parties were called to his office to discuss the issue. A participant (P3) recalls McKenna stating, "We need a community effort on this." In his discussion of the development of the program, Participant 4 commented, "The community based idea came up. It came up because a) you could have the community involved and b) probably funds would go further." And so, a Province-wide community based literacy initiative was implemented. The program was, and still is, a partnership between government and community. When classes were needed, local committees were established to oversee the classes. These literacy committees did some fundraising but, by and large, it was government funding used to hire instructors and communities donated space for classes. Over time, the number of independent committees and the demand for classes necessitated a reorganization of the model. Thus, four years ago, the independent committees were amalgamated into 12 Regional Committees covering the Province. Each Region has a literacy consultant who acts as liaison between the Regional Committees and government. Each Regional Committee also has a program coordinator to oversee the daily operations of the program in each region. Space for classes is still provided, free of charge, by the community. The literacy curriculum is developed through PETL but it is a collaborative process with those involved in the program. "It comes from the Province. But we were all a part in creating it, which is kind of cool." (P4) So, when a need is identified in a particular community, government funding comes through the Literacy Consultant to the Regional Committees who hire literacy instructors and send them into the community to deliver literacy classes in space provided by the community. The community remains an integral part of this model. "If we didn't have rent-free space, we would be out of business" (P3). And its not just the provision of space that makes community involvement key. One participant (P4) states, "Like, to me, I think the communities mostly have it right. Because they know their communities. They know what needs to happen." Almost all participants discussed this community-based literacy program at great length. And all of those participants spoke highly the program and believe in its success and continuation (P3, P4, P5, P6, P7 & P8). There are some concerns that the recent merger of departments within PETL may impact the literacy program but, one participant noted, it has survived successive changes in government and departmental reorganizations and will likely survive this latest round as well (P3). Overall, though, participants interviewed for this research believe it to be a successful model, "We actually have a formula that works really well. In the Province we have, the community-based model is really good" (P5). Another notes, "So as far as the model goes, the best. And I've done a lot of roaming the country to figure out what's what out there. You know, just for interests' sake. And I think we hit on it. We got it right, that part of it" (P4).

This is an initial and somewhat brief exploration of this community-based literacy program. Nonetheless, it is clear from the data that a strong, long-lasting, community-based literacy program has found success in the province of New Brunswick. It will be interesting to explore this program in greater depth and I will do that it future. The program does not dispel the reality that the policy and program focus of adult education in New Brunswick is almost exclusively on skills development and employment. But, the fact that it is strongly community based may go some way in countering the notion that adult education is no longer about social justice. It will be interesting to explore the data, and the program, further in this regard.

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1 The Provincial government changed following an election in September 2015. And while the merged departments seemingly remain intact, it is too early yet to determine what significant changes may be in store for adult education related activities.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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PAPER
PRESENTATION

Exploring the Learning Strategist Position with Postsecondary Institutions: Tensions and Challenges in Supporting Young Adult Learners with Disabilities

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ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of the learning strategist position as conceptualized in Ontario almost 20 years ago, indicating a void in understanding the current enactment of this position. A basic interpretative qualitative design (Merriam, 2002) was used to give voice to six learning strategists in college or university settings. The paper highlights similarities and differences in participants' perceptions of student demographics, role functions and parameters, and faculty interactions. Associated tensions including access to information, hierarchical structures and role preparation/training are discussed. General implications for the position, as well as, specific implications for those work in this role are provided.

Young adults with disabilities are increasingly present at Canadian postsecondary institutions (Cawthorn, & Cole, 2010; Orr & Goodman, 2008), with learning disabilities/ ADHD being the most frequently reported disability (Harrison & Wolforth, 2012; McCloy & DeClou, 2013). In order to facilitate the academic success of these student, colleges and universities are required to offer supports and services through targeted units referred to as Student Disability Centres, Services for Students with Disabilities, and the Disability Service Offices (hereafter referred to as the Student Disability Centre or SDC). These offices are staffed by a number of professionals whose expertise includes disability and mental health counselling, assessment, and assistive technologies. Learning strategists (also referred to as disability service providers, disability specialists, learning disability service providers, learning skills advisors and learning disabilities specialists providers) are identified critical professionals within these units.

In Ontario, the learning strategist position was initially funded through the Ontario Learning Opportunity Task Force (LOFT). Strategists were initially perceived to possess expertise in cognitive strategy instruction and related skills including time management, study skills, test preparation, memory techniques, and note taking (Nicholas, et al., 2002) and could provide a variety of services including academic coaching, academic counseling, and skill instruction. In addition, they could also advocate on behalf of students or assist them in understanding their legal rights and/or accessing available services (Block, 2006; Skinner & Lindstrom, 2003). There is general agreement about the utility of the learning strategist position as conceived by the LOFT initiative. For instance, Harrison, Areepattamannil and Freeman (2012) documented substantial student gains associated with participation in the LOTF programs including increased GPAs relative to national averages, self-advocacy and understanding of LD.

Today, monies for this position are integrated into a larger funding formula (The Accessibility Fund for Students with Disabilities) intended to support the provision of collective disability services (Tsagris & Muirhead, 2012). There also is seemingly less clarity about the role of the learning strategists with respect to their position in the postsecondary institute and service provision (Woloshyn & Munn, 2014), with relatively little literature available describing the enactment or complexity of this position. The primary purpose of this study (Merriam, 2002) was to provide voice to six individuals who serve in this role.

Method

The findings presented here are an extension of a publication involving the two of the three senior learning strategists (Woloshyn & Munn, 2014), outlining evolutions and tensions associated with their roles in the college and university sectors. A basic interpretative qualitative design was used here (Merriam, 2002) in order to gain deep understanding of individuals' experiences, perspectives and histories (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2002).

Participants

Participants were three university-based (Jackie, Kara, Liz), two college-based (Caroline, Helen) and one college/university-based (Kim) learning strategists employed at one of four medium-sized postsecondary institutions in Southern Ontario. Participants presented varied professional training and experiences. Five of the six female participants held graduate degrees (3 Masters and 2 PhD) and all held undergraduate degrees in varied disciplines (education, psychology, social work, English). Two of the senior participants (Helen and Liz) completed the only LS certification program available in the province. Participants also had previous professional teaching-related experiences (e.g., professor, literacy instructor, subsequent language instructor, guidance counsellor, teaching assistant). Caroline and Kim held contract positions and had worked in their current positions for less than 3 years. Jackie, Kara, Helen and Liz held their current positions for a decade or longer (maximum=15 years), with Jackie holding her current position for 7 years. Jackie, Kim and Kara indicated that they experienced learning challenges as students (one formally identified with a learning disability) with Caroline and Helen indicating that their children experienced learning challenges/disabilities, with these collective experiences fostering empathy for students, "I understand learning issues, I understand learning difficulty. So I identify with my students" (Kara).

Data Collection and Analysis

Participants completed two to three, in-depth, semi-structured interviews throughout the fall academic terms, with each interview lasting between 90-120 minutes. Interviews were open-ended, with participants asked to elaborate on their daily interactions with students, faculty and colleagues. Participants were asked about conditions that facilitated or hindered their roles and how they negotiated challenges. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed for subsequent analysis.

Data analysis consisted of reading and re-reading the interview transcripts. Participants' interviews were analyzed first as single cases (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), with cross-case analysis then completed in order to compare and contrast their experiences (Merriam, 2002). A preliminary review of the findings is presented next.

Findings

While the participants expressed similar beliefs about the characteristics of effective learning strategists, they expressed differences with respect to role enactment and role dynamics. These similarities and differences as well as associated tensions are discussed here.

Student Demographics

The participants provided similar lists of descriptors when asked about the essential characteristics or attributes of successful learning strategists, with their descriptions representing a combination of professional knowledge and skills as well as personal and interpersonal skills. Specifically,

participants commented about the importance of understanding the learning process and the nature of cognitive disabilities as well as being a good listener (Jackie), exhibiting patience (Caroline) and empathy (Kara).

> You have to be knowledgeable – not only about interpersonal communication, but also brain-based neuropsychology; learning strategies in general, educational system. (Kim)

> You have to be empathetic, you have to realize that there are layers and understand that learning, often for this group of student, doesn't just happen – it needs to be strategically planned. (Kara)

All participants discussed the importance of developing rapport and trust with students, "you have one shot at building rapport….first time that student needs you, you have one shot at selling yourself so that they believe you can help them (Kara).

Participants provided different descriptions of the types of students that they worked with on campus. University-based strategists Liz and Kara indicated that they worked predominately with undergraduate students with identified LD/ADHD, with Kara and Jackie also commenting on increasing interactions with graduate students, "A lot of graduate students who have ADHD"; "I get more graduate students all the time…there is a need for support for graduate students". Jackie discussed concerns about a lack of services for international students, "the most underserviced group when it comes to a mental health issue or disability" as well as the appropriateness of enrolling students with MID and other developmental disorders in university.

> Increasingly I'm getting people who really have mild intellectual disabilities and I'm thinking they're in the wrong place…. It's essentially their parents who decided that they should go on and their parents who've been editing their work up until now.

Helen, Caroline and Kim (describing her college experiences) provided more varied descriptions of the student bodies (Mild Intellectual Disorder, Autistic Spectrum Disorder, ABI). They also discussed working with second-career adults and English language learners. Jackie explained the additional complexities associated with determining the nature of a disability when working with ELLs, and acknowledged additional complexities for adult learners related to balancing personal/family and school/work lives. All participants acknowledged that many of students experienced comorbid challenges, especially related to mental health, "anxiety, depression, sometimes OCD. I have a lot of students with those diagnoses as well" (Kara).

Post-Secondary Transition and Parental Presence

Participants were cognizant and empathetic to the many social, emotional and environmental challenges that faced first-year students. They recognized that many of these students were keen to create a new identify for themselves on

campus and thus, were reluctant to self-identify their disability and seek out, or continue with, SDC services.

> Many of them [students] want to try it on their own. Most of them do not want to register here. There's still a lot of stigma…It still seems to be their parents disclosing on their behalf for first-year students. (Kara)

Participants also expressed at least on instance when they experienced a parent-related frustration, especially within the first semester of the first year. They presented a typical image of "helicopter" parents who insisted on speaking for their students, demanded specific accommodations and services, and wanted updates about their children's progress throughout the school year, "they're [parents] ready to battle me.. they're ready to argue… parents who cannot let their children be alone at university" (Kara). Caroline explained that such parental input deterred students from developing self-advocacy and coping skills.

> They [students and parents] come in together and the parents do all the talking, describes in detail all the struggles…all the problems and you just see the kid's self-esteem sinking into the chair… And you just feel so much for the student because you're thinking, that must be really hard to have yourself talked about in such a negative way. (Caroline)

Student Interactions and Role Enactment

The participants described having a dichotomous relationship with students, differentiating those that they worked with on an on-going basis from those with whom they worked only periodically. The latter group typically included students in "crisis-mode" or those who sought specific accommodations only. Participants indicated that the nature of their sessions varied greatly as a function of students' participation decisions.

> They just want exam accommodations and that's all…And I have other students who meet with me weekly. (Kara)

> I get two kinds of students. I get like hyper-planners who organized who see me pretty regularly and are usually in pretty good shape because they plan…And then there's the other kind that come only when they're in big trouble and usually by the time they're in big trouble…You have to do like a little rescue first and then try to help them out to see what can be done with the rest. (Jackie)

> They disappear and then you see them right before crunch time-or they have had horrible feedback on an assignment or exam. (Kim)

When asked to describe their working sessions with students, participants provided fairly consistent descriptions related assisting students develop task-appropriate learning skills and approaches. All participants stressed the importance of recognizing and working from students' learning strengths, preferred learning styles, and prior knowledge "I need to meet them where they are" (Helen); "I have to start where the student is. I have to support them in their goals and wants" (Kim). The two college-based learning strategists also emphasized the importance of "backfilling" missing or incomplete knowledge or developing skills (e.g., library searches; Caroline) prior to engaging in course-defined academic tasks.

> I tell the student, 'we have to go back in the material to a point where you were 80% successful and then move forward with the information that is confusing you'. . . . Meanwhile, they want to be four chapters ahead and doing that homework, and I understand that, but tell them 'we have to understand this'. We look at those gaps . . . We go on the Internet. We go to a textbook.

Participants also indicated that importance of having students determine the specific focus of sessions, assuming responsibility for learning activities and skill development. Jackie identified the spontaneous nature of such student-directed sessions as a source of role strain as it was difficult to predict, "what would walk through the door next".

> The student has a lot of power on what we work on…Giving them the choice of what do they think is the most important thing that we should work on that day?…I find the ones who tend to be very successful academically, are the ones who know exactly what it is they need. (Caroline)

When working with students across time, Kim and Carol discussed focusing on assisting students develop effective learning strategies and habits, stressing the importance of creative and "out-of-the-box" programming. Kim described how following students' leads in this way sometimes created conflict with case managers who expected specific accommodations as outlined in formal assessments.

> Some of the conflict that I had with case managers is that students' psycho-education assessments have a long list of things that would help (and I agree that they would help support that student), but they [students] don't have time, and sometimes they're just not interested...the student doesn't want any part of it… finding strategies that worked for that student but also what they want to work on. (Kim)

Some of the participants also discussed the importance of developing students' metacognition awareness, albeit in different ways. For Caroline, Kara and Liz, sessions often involved assisting students to understand how their disabilities interacted with and impacted their behaviours, cognitions and learning performances.

> Some of them don't even know they have a learning disability or don't – they'll know they have a learning disability, but do not know what type or what it means. and this is how it will show up in school for you, and

this is why you have difficulty reading… You've solved the mystery for them (Caroline)

Understanding all of the emotional baggage that comes with a disability and how it impacts how you approach things (Kara)

Jackie and Kara worked with students to consider career options and life after graduation. Jackie in particular believed that it was important for students to consider how they would bring forward acquired skills and knowledge to graduate work or employment.

I often feel people are in a place that is not good for them at the time… They're obviously miserable…I sometimes see people trying to get into grad school, and I think you don't like reading and writing, what do you suppose your life will be like when all you do is read and write?...They're thinking that their life is worth nothing unless they succeed in school, which is nonsense… you have to disabuse them of the idea that education is the only game in town...I try to give people the agency to choose differently for themselves. (Jackie)

I not just preparing them for how to advocate for themselves at university, but how to advocate in the workplace…I want to see them become fully independent learners… we do a lot of transition into university, but we don't do a lot for transition out (Kara)

Extended Duties and Faculty Interactions

Participants differed in their responsibilities for other functions including developing and securing accommodations and/or interacting with faculty. For instance, Caroline provided a rich description of her varied functions and duties.

My main duties and responsibilities are first off to make sure the students identify themselves, make sure that their assessments are up to date. If not, arranging for further testing…. then making sure that they got their accommodations in place…. creating those accommodations…and assisting…if they're getting slack from someone (Caroline)

Liz, Jackie and Kim cited policy parameters that limited other functions removed them from interacting with faculty, "I'm a step removed from faculty…the case manager has direct faculty contact" (Kim); "disability counselors work out the accommodations, I don't have contact with faculty members", with Liz concluding that her work was "invisible" to faculty.

Caroline and Helen described interacting with faculty as part of their daily functions. Both participants indicated that they majority of their interactions with faculty were "positive" and described working with faculty collaboratively to adjust their instructional approaches to be accommodating

for all students or having faculty contact them directly about their concerns for specific students. Similar, both could also site instances of faculty who viewed accommodations as "unfair" and thus were reluctant to provide them or who feared they required additional work. In this way, LS interactions with faculty assumed involved either providing education about the nature of disabilities, advocating accommodations or providing pedagogical support/recommendations.

Kara spoke about her informal interactions with faculty where she would discuss optimal pedagogical approaches. She clarified however that such interactions were outside of her formal role description.

Anything from negotiating accommodations to helping them [faculty] designing their courses more inclusively…now that's technically not part of my job, but I think it's very effective and helpful (Kara)

Strategists versus Counsellors

Helen, Caroline and Kara qualified that counseling was an inherent element of their position, explaining that an important element of their roles required acknowledging and nurturing clients' emotional and mental well-being (with the caveat of recognizing that some students required the services of trained mental health counsellors). These participants explaining that some times it was impossible to provide LS services without first addressing students' socio-emotional needs.

I remember thinking it [position] was just learning strategies…but they are not ready for a strategy because of the other issues that are going on…its not part of my official role description, but its important. (Caroline)

One of the things that has happened [evolved] in this role is the counseling element…They're [students] anxious or that they have depression, or some of them have some personality disorders…I will rarely move on to the academic concepts until we've cleared up this other emotion… because it [anxiety] clouds their ability to function academically. So that part, the counseling part, you can't separate it from the LS. (Helen)

Kara was passionate that the dual roles of counseling and strategist arguing that if only the latter was required, students needs could be meet adequately through other learning supports available to all students.

People would say that learning strategist is just academic. I don't think you can have just a learning strategist for someone with a learning disability. If that was the case, all my students would be going to the learning commons where they teach learning strategies too. So why do we have a separate place for students with learning disabilities? You can't separate learning strategists from counsellor because a lot of what she's

[student] talking about is the academic, but it's also that personal experience that she's gone through. Experiencing distress and feeling isolated and talking about her identity. (Kara)

Kara suggested that counseling expertise be a prerequisite for the LS position in addition to cognitive strategy instruction.

There are emotional and psychological issues that come along with having a learning disability and if the educational institutions that are training learning strategists aren't adding a counselling component to their certificate or the degree program, they're doing those people a real disservice because that's a huge part of this job now is counselling.

Recognition and Reimbursement

Participants agreed that administrators and others removed from SDC were unaware of complexities and demands of their positions.

The biggest stress I feel is being part of the university that doesn't recognize the value of this stuff... doesn't know what this is or what value this has. It doesn't bring in funding. It's not a credit course. It's the most beleaguered and maybe the most expensive group of students, and so we're not much appreciated from the funding perspective…We don't feel too appreciated. (Jackie)

Three of the participants also commented about inadequate compensation and lack of full-time career options, "it's impossible to get full-time employment as a learning strategist" (Kim), with Kara arguing that overreliance on contractual staff was determinately to student wellbeing, "A lot of learning strategists jobs are contract positions with no benefits… the students are pushed around from person to person… there is no consistency". All participants acknowledged the position as an emotionally taxing one, "It feels relentless" (Jackie). At the time of writing this paper, three of the participants left their positions citing institutional frustration and/or work-related stress with another actively seeking alternative employment.

Discussion and Considerations

The findings of this study extend and elaborate the limited literature related to the role enactment of learning strategists in college and university settings (Woloshyn & Munn, 2014). Participants described themselves as caring individuals who were especially empathetic to the challenges associated with postsecondary studies for individuals with disabilities. They placed equal importance in possessing content-area expertise and skills and possessing personal and interpersonal attributes typically identified with those in the clinical helping professions (Melchert, 2011). They collectively recognized the many demands and challenges experienced by postsecondary students, and were cognizant of the interplay between comorbid disabilities, mental health and wellness (McCloy & DeClou, 2013).

Participants differed in their role enactments for a variety of reasons including student SDC pattern usage, programming emphasis and institutional parameters. While all participants acknowledge that student SDC engagement patterns and session preferences drove immediate programming decisions, they differed in their instructional emphasis when working with students over longer intervals. For instance, the college-based strategists felt enabled to provide prerequisite content and skill learning as needed. Other participants focused on developing students' metacognitive understandings about the nature of their disabilities in context of their learning experiences, while others included discussions related to extended educational experiences and employment. At least two participants explicitly described (and one implicitly) being restricted in their programming considerations by institutional policies and/or managerial structures. Performance differences also emerged across participants' reported interactions (formal and/or informal) with faculty, with the majority expressing a desire to work directly and collaboratively with instructors when invited.

Participants also differed in their beliefs about whether the learning strategists position had evolved into a counselling one, with two of the more senior participants arguing for role revision. These considerations have implications for professional training, credentials, accreditation and remuneration, and seemingly run counter to current practice of institutional defined prerequisites. Collectively, these findings suggest that the nature of supports and services provided to students with disabilities differs across postsecondary institutions and strategists. What is unclear however is whether these differences represent student-based differentiated instruction, strategists' instructional preferences, institutional philosophies/parameters or some combination of all factors.

As increasing numbers of students with disabilities attend postsecondary institutions (Cawthorn, & Cole, 2010; Connor, 2012; Orr & Goodman, 2008) and as the number of college-university articulation agreements (Ignash, & Townsend, 2000), it seems reasonable to assume that there will be increased demands for access to disability services including learning strategists (Harrison & Wolforth, 2012; McCloy & DeClou, 2013). The findings of this study add urgency for role clarity, with extended implications for the professional and collegial recognition of learning strategists as well as their personal and professional wellbeing.

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PAPER
PRESENTATION

CASAE • ACÉÉA

The Emancipatory Potential of Critical Realism: Linking Management Studies and Adult Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the potential of critical realism (CR) as an emancipatory approach for Adult Education (AE), by drawing on scholarship from the area of Management and Organizational Studies (MOS). CR has been recognized as a potentially fruitful theoretical basis for educational analysis (Fenwick, Edwards, & Sawchuck, 2011), but with the exception of a handful of articles (Plumb 2013a, 2013b, 2014), has not been widely explored within AE. AE scholars interested in CR might therefore benefit from the proliferation of scholarship emerging from MOS, particularly since it has advanced to the point where CR has become the subject of debate and critique (Contu & Willmott, 2005; Wilmott, 2005).

Introduction

Critical Realism (CR) has been put forward by some Adult Education (AE) scholars as a way for those who embrace an emancipatory vision to transcend the limitations of both postmodernist and modernist thinking (Plumb, 2013a). As Plumb pointed out, postmodernism has moved AE scholarship "from an explicitly socialist/critical point of view to a more incredulous/relativist stance," leaving AE politically feeble and largely ineffective in countering the "technical-instrumental forms of adult education [that] have grown in prominence and power" (Plumb, 2013a, p. 155). However, a return to modernism is not a viable alternative. The modernist tenets on which the discipline of AE was founded have come to be seen as problematic for their underlying paternalism and uncritical faith in the liberating potential of rational thought. AE is thus at an impasse, which raises the question of whether there is "any way of recovering some reasonable basis for making more of AE in Canada without falling back into some version of modernist hubris" (Plumb, 2013a, p. 155).

Critical realism is perceived as offering "a modicum of hope" (Plumb, 2013 p. 155), because unlike modernist approaches, it maintains a critical stance. However, unlike postmodernism, it asserts that a truth exists—even if that truth is not fully knowable—and thus offers ground to stand on for those who wish to achieve emancipatory goals. This paper explores the potential of CR as an emancipatory approach within AE by looking toward the discipline of Management and Organization Studies (MOS), where it has been more intensively examined. It begins by demonstrating that there is enough commonality between the two disciplines for MOS-based CR scholarship to be of use to those in AE. It then describes CR, outlining its fundamental premises and claims, before going on to review the ways in which MOS scholars have come to view CR as useful. To conclude, the paper discusses the implications for AE scholars.

Adult Education and Management and Organizational Studies

CR has not been as widely explored within AE as it has been in MOS, where an abundance of material, including, for example, multiple edited collections focused on CR scholarship (Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2000; Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2005; Edwards, O'Mahoney, & Vincent, 2005), exists. This section describes the commonalities between the disciplines of AE and MOS, in order to argue that the MOS literature might be considered a rich resource for AE scholars interested in CR.

The areas of AE and MOS overlap most explicitly in the study of workplace learning, and scholars like Argyris, Schon, Lave, and Wenger are influential both in AE and MOS. However, when it comes to CR-related scholarship, even AE scholars with more general interests may benefit from work that has been done in MOS. Like AE, MOS is a social science based discipline that is grappling with how to assert its relevance at a time when it is under political threat.

In the face of increased skepticism around the value of the MBA (Welsh & Dehler, 2007; Willmott, 2012) and the linking of poor management practices to many (if not most) of our most serious societal problems (Willmott, 2012), many management educators are grappling with how MOS might be part of the solution and not part of the problem. Just as AE scholar Donovan Plumb has questioned whether there is "any way of recovering some reasonable basis for making more of AE in Canada without falling back into some version of modernist hubris" (Plumb, 2013a, p. 155), so too have MOS scholars questioned how to reaffirm MOS as a positive force. Like Plumb and other AE scholars, they perceive the lack of a viable alternative to postmodernism as having brought the discipline to an impasse. The two disciplines are thus similarly positioned and looking toward CR for similar reasons. Given these similarities, the MOS literature, where CR has been discussed and debated for over a decade, may serve as a resource to AE scholars who only now are exploring CR's potential.

Critical Realism

A primary characteristic of CR is its commitment to the idea that a reality exists, outside of human knowledge of it. It therefore allows scholars who take it up to avoid the postmodern trap, informed by post-structuralism and social constructionism, of accepting that truth can only be understood as the product of human discourse, which leads to an inability to stake any solid ground from which to envision more emancipatory futures (Fleetwood, 2005; Reed, 1997; Thompson, 2004). However, because CR adopts a "much more sophisticated representation of the natural and social worlds than that offered by other positions" (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014, p. 19), it also avoids the reductionist and totalizing claims associated with modernism and positivism. For critical realists, anything that possesses "causal efficacy" (Fleetwood, 2004, p. 199), which is to say anything that is able to make a difference in the world and the lives of people, is granted the status of being real. The implication is that both physical entities, like mountains or molecules, and conceptual entities like patriarchy or gender relationships, are considered real, even outside of human knowledge of them. As Fleetwood explained, "God may or may not be real, but the idea of God is as real as Mount Everest, because the idea of God makes a difference to people's actions" (2004, p. 199).

This conceptualization of reality is premised on the understanding that qualitatively different types of reality exist, only some of which are directly observable. Thus, while molecules, mountains, the patriarchy and God might all be real, their qualitative differences must also be acknowledged (Fleetwood, 2005). For example, that which is "materially real" includes entities like mountains and molecules, which "would exist even if humans disappeared" (Fleetwood, 2005, p. 199), while that which is "artefactually real" includes entities like violins and computers, which are made by humans and are conceptually mediated, because from their conception, their meaning is intertwined with human

interpretation (Fleetwood, 2005). Of primary concern to social scientists is that which is "socially real," which "refers to practices, states of affairs or entities…such as caring for children, becoming unemployed, the market mechanism, or social structures in general" (Fleetwood, 2004, p. 201). For critical realists, this acknowledgment of different forms of reality means that, unlike those in other theoretical camps, they do not adhere to a "flat" ontology, "in which all the objects (natural materials, people, social structures) have the same ontological status" (Plumb, 2014, p. 198).

Equally central to CR is the conceptualization of reality as stratified and the fact that scholars always must aim to understand it at three levels: the empirical, the actual, and the real, which refer, respectively, to "experiences and impressions obtained by direct or indirect observation," "events whether or not they were observed," and "structures, powers, mechanisms that generate events" (Welsh & Dehler, 2007, p. 406). CR thus requires scholars to look beyond what they can empirically observe and question the underlying generative mechanisms, occurring at "deeper" levels of reality. CR thus is interested in understanding "underlying generative structures or mechanisms ('the real') as the dynamic source of change at the level of actually occurring events ('the actual') and the manifold ways in which these events are perceived and understood at the level of everyday sense experience ('the empirical') (Reed, 2008, p. 70).

In the natural sciences, inquiring into these levels of reality is relatively straightforward. To illustrate, O'Mahoney and Vincent used the following example: "We might, *empirically*, witness an apple falling. Further investigation, examining other apples or additional objects might indicate that objects *actually* tend to fall, which might lead us to imagine an invisible *real* mechanism that explains these occurrences (i.e. gravity)" (2014, p. 9; italics in original). However, in the social sciences, inquiring into the actual and the real yields significant complexity, in large part because although, like apples, human beings, as conceptualized by critical realists, are material entities, made up of cells and subject to laws of nature, unlike apples, humans possess consciousness and agency. In the words of Bhaskar (2014), "We are equally and irreducibly material, embodied and part of nature, and emergently, conceptualizing, reflexive, and self-conscious beings" (p. ix). This means that critical realists always consider structure and agency as co-existing in a complex interaction, with neither one nor the other laying claims to preeminence. Human activity is both constrained by and formative in creating the social world.

Notably, although, at first glance, this conceptualization of the interdependence of agency and structure might appear similar to post-structuralist formulations, which position humans as both constitutors of and constituted by the social context, the CR and post-structuralists understandings of structure and agency actually differ significantly (Plumb, 2008; Reed, 1997). While, like post-structuralists, critical realists acknowledge that human action and social structure are interdependent, for critical realists, humans and social structures occupy distinct ontological categories. As

Bhaskar asserted, "While society only exists by virtue of human agency, and human agency (or being) always presupposes (and expresses) some or other definite social form, they cannot be reduced or reconstructed from one another" (1986, p. 124, as cited in Reed, 1997, p. 30). CR researchers must therefore examine each level and type of reality, both as an entity unto itself and as a force, which in interacting with other forces, generates new entities. In fact, the "separability of agency and structure" (Wilmott, 2005, p. 758), which suggests a reassertion of dualistic thinking that has been largely disavowed by postmodernists (Reed, 1997) can be understood as core to CR.

Conceptualizing structure and agency in this way is enabled by the fact that CR depicts reality both as emergent and of consisting of powers that may be "possessed, exercised or actualized" (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014, p. 8). The concept of emergence refers to the fact that "the complex interaction between entities or objects located at different levels of reality produces new, innovative or emergent phenomena that cannot be derived from phenomena located at any one level of reality" (Reed, 2008, p. 70). This suggests, for example, that, just because humans are made up of cells, does not mean that biology determines our fates. For critical realists, understanding the property of cells would be necessary but insufficient to understanding human beings, since new characteristics emerge in complex and unpredictable ways as cells interact with each other and operate as generative mechanisms to come together in the form of human

beings (Plumb, 2013b). Moreover, because any entity's powers can be either possessed, exercised or actualized, the researcher must be careful about making assumptions about what might or might not be occurring at a given level of reality. For example, due to genetic factors, your cells might possess the potential to become cancerous, but this potential may only be actualized under certain conditions

In summary, CR asserts that both different types and different levels of reality exist. The goal of CR research is to move beyond exploration at the empirical level, in order to uncover the generative mechanisms operating at the levels of the actual and the real. While CR scholars acknowledge that reality can never be fully known to researchers, they also reject the postmodern implication that therefore no reality is knowable.

Critical Realism's Emancipatory Potential

The previous section described CR's premises and major claims. This section moves beyond description in order to elucidate the rationale of MOS scholars who have taken up CR in order to achieve emancipatory ends. I begin by elaborating the challenges faced by MOS and then show how CR has been positioned as a way to meet those challenges. Specifically, I focus on two claims made by CR's proponents: one, that it is better equipped than alternative approaches to identify the root causes of oppression and two, that it possesses the capacity not only to understand the past and the present, but to generate new visions of the future.

The Challenges Facing Management and Organizational Studies

As briefly outlined above, many management educators are asking themselves how MOS might exert greater impact as a force of social good. As Wilmott acknowledged, a list of the problems in which "business and management contexts are implicated" would include "poverty, curable disease, debt, exclusion, environmental degradation, climate change, postcolonialism and international development, food, water and energy waste and mal-distribution, global financial instability, although these are hardly exhaustive" (2012, p. 601). And yet, management schools and research have proven largely ineffective at impacting positive change (Welsh & Dehler, 2007). Critics of management education contend, among other things, that it must achieve "a different balance of disciplines…to challenge the hegemony of finance and economics, and to reinforce the emphasis on 'school' rather than on 'business" (Hodgkinson & Starkey, 2011, p. 362). At the same time, critics of trends in management research assert that scholars have been unable to transcend the bind of "rigour vs. relevance" and that scholarship emerging from the discipline has been either methodologically rigorous but social irrelevant, or vice versa (Gulati, 2007). Moreover, research that has been deemed relevant can be further critiqued for adopting too narrow of a scope, focusing on producing work that might further narrow business interests, as opposed to promote broader societal benefits (Willmott, 2012). All of these critiques have emerged from mainstream management and business discourse. For example, they have been widely discussed in top-rated mainstream academic journals (for example, Gulati, 2007; Navarro, 2008; Pfeffer & Fong, 2002).

At the same time, scholars of Critical Management Studies (CMS), who although they tend to work from within Business schools, might be considered outside the mainstream, have been launching critiques of their own. Arguing for an overtly politicized version of management studies, which "contests the traditional imperatives of mainstream management and research" (Tadajewski, Maclaran, Parsons, & Parker, 2011, p. 11), much of CMS scholarship is rooted in postmodern and post-structuralist thinking (Thompson, 2004).

Interestingly, both mainstream management scholars and scholars from CMS have expressed interest in CR. While those from the mainstream seem interested in CR primarily as a response to the limitations of positivism (e.g., Hodgkinson & Starkey, 2011; O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014), those from CMS have turned to it primarily in response to the limitations of postmodernism (e.g., Thompson, 2004; Welsh & Dehler, 2007).

Critical Realism as Explaining Inequity

For MOS critical realists, the power of CR lies in its requirement that researchers dig below what is empirically observable in order to expose the generative mechanisms at play. It thus "reinterpret[s]…the activity of research" and "offers a notion of causality that is consistent with the quest for answering the underlying 'why' questions posed in business

research" (Syed, Mingers, & Murray, 2009, p. 2). In Bhaskar's words, "CR is of course primarily interested in explanation" (2014, p. vii) and can thus be differentiated from positivism and constructivism, which "prove/disprove and justify propositions, theories, and so forth" (Bhaskar, 2014, p. vii), This means that scholars might move beyond identifying that challenges exist and root out their causes, which can, in turn, allow these challenges to be more effectively addressed. For example, using a CR lens to examine MBA education, Welsh and Dehler began with the claim that "decades of substantive management education critique has not resulted in any fundamental change in models of content and process used to educate managers" (2007, p. 405). Through CR analysis, they were able to dig beneath this claim and elucidate multiple generative mechanisms, such as "a legitimation crisis" (2007, p. 405). Welsh and Dehler explained the advantage of CR as follows: "By more richly contextualizing management education, critical realism enables us to consider the forces at work that both necessitate and constrain reinvention" (2007, p. 407).

This rooting out of generative mechanisms is inherently political in part because it necessitates an examination of the historical forces that led to the current condition. Reed expressed this point in the following way:

> At its most basic level, CR insists that "politics," in its widest sense of fundamental contestation over the values and interests that shape our lives and the institutional framework within which it is lived, plays a central and irreducible role in framing, indeed constituting, human experience. In turn, this forces us, as organizational researchers and participants, to focus on "the political" as that complex mosaic of relations, practices, and structures through which we order and disorder our lives as irrevocably political beings and agents. As such, we necessarily operate within dynamic sociotemporal contexts that are structured and constrained by "past inheritances" that been left to us by previous generations." (2008, p. 75).

In other words, any CR analysis must take historical political factors into account. Returning to the example of Welsh and Dehler's analysis of MBA education, CR enabled them to expose two historical and incompatible logics, that of "education as social good" and "education as private good" (2007, p. 412), which they determined were preventing MBA programs from changing, despite the near-universal agreement that changes were needed. Welsh and Dehler further asserted that these incompatible logics could themselves be seen as having emerged from broader historical forces such as "cold war logic justifying research funding" and "the rise of economic conservatism" (2007, p. 412). CR can thus be understood as a lens that enables scholars to immerse themselves into ever-deepening strata of reality, in order to expose root causes to seemingly intractable challenges. In the words of Kilduff, Mehra and Dunn, "[i]n order to break the mold of current thinking…it [is] necessary…to tackle the

past inheritances put in place by prior thinking that tended to shackle new discovery' (2011, p. 308, p. 308, as cited in Hodgkinson & Starkey, 2011, p. 363).

Finally, (and, as I elaborate below, not unproblematically) CR scholarly analyses can be seen as possessing emancipatory potential, because CR gives license to scholars to make definitive claims. According to O'Mahoney and Vincent, "The ability of social scientists to make value judgments is not, according to many critical realists, beyond their rightful scope" (2014, p. 12). The exercising of this power to make judgments was illustrated in Ram, Edwards, Jones, Kiselinchev, and Muchenje's (2007) critical realist action research project in a non-profit economic development organization tasked with supporting migrant business owners. Using CR approaches, the researchers were able to "expose and challenge the somewhat essentialist theories in use that governed [the organization]'s approaches to ethnic minority and migrant business support needs" (Ram et al., 2007, p. 216). This analysis, in turn, led to real-life changes in who the organization employed. The researchers' exposure of the generative mechanism that was preventing the organization's success was thus taken to be real, and led to the replacement of certain contractors. According to Ram et al., making difficult judgment calls is inherent in and necessary to any emancipatory project:

> Once we argue in terms of emancipation, it follows that some interest may be challenged and that interests are not taken as unquestionable. If there are grounds for challenging these interests, a CR project is defensible…. Claiming an emancipatory agenda requires that the analyst ask hard questions about each instance. (Ram et al., 2007, p. 221)

In short, along with the power CR affords in enabling scholars to proclaim that better and worse truths exist, comes a responsibility to consider how claims of truth might impact people's real lives.

Critical Realism as Enabling the Envisioning of New Futures

Significantly, CR offers a theoretical foundation not just for understanding the past and present, but also for envisioning alternative futures. As Martin, Wilson, and Fleetwood pointed out, CR offers a framework that "not only deepens our potential to offer causal explanations of existing phenomena, but also equips us with the means to ask: how might something be otherwise" (2014, p. 226). Because CR accepts as real powers that exist but are not being exercised or actualized, it provides the theoretical tools for scholars to "ask searching questions of what other possible futures or states of affairs might exist" (Martin et al., 2014, p. 225). CR's potential for supporting the imagining of new futures is apparent in Welsh and Dehler's (2007) aforementioned analysis of MBA education, in which they not only identified the generating mechanisms leading to the stagnation of MBA education, but used this analysis to point to an alternative path forward. Moreover, the June 2014 issue of *Journal of Critical Realism*, a special edition focused on "organizing for

an alternative future" (Martin, Wilson, & Fleetwood, 2014, p. 225), included potent examples of how, through theorizing forces that exist but are not yet being actualized, new, more emancipatory futures might be imagined. To name just one example, Elder-Vass identified that economic theories have largely ignored the major role that "giving and other non-capitalist practices play in our economy already, [which] as a result stunts our imagination about our alternatives" (Elder-Vass, 2014, p. 262). Recognizing the unexercised potential of conceptualizing the economy through a lens that recognizes gift-giving as an economic activity enabled Elder-Vass to envision an alternative economic form, which "involves not the replacement of a monolithic capitalism with some other monolithic alternative, but rather a changing mix of already-diverse economic practices" (Martin et al., 2014, p. 230). CR can thus be seen as providing scholars with a way to move forward into new, emancipatory futures.

Implications for Adult Education

How might AE scholars interested in CR benefit from the work that has been done in MOS? Most notably, they might simply look toward MOS for elaboration on ideas they already have begun to develop. MOS CR scholarship is almost entirely consistent with has been explored within AE, most notably by Plumb (Plumb, 2008; Plumb, 2013a; Plumb, 2013b; Plumb, 2014). Moreover writers within both disciplines drew on the same primary sources, such as works by Bhaskar, Archer, and Elder-Vass. However, ideas expressed in the AE literature are more thoroughly elaborated within MOS. To name just one example, Reed (1997), like Plumb (2008), asserted the significance of CR's conceptualization of structure and agency differing from that put forward by postmodernism. However, he drew on a different theoretical foundation to make this distinction. Given the abundance of MOS literature aimed at using CR for emancipatory ends, AE scholars with similar goals will likely find support for their thinking and new pathways to explore.

AE scholars might also look toward MOS scholars for guidance with method and methodology, since as has been pointed out by Bhaskar, understanding CR differs significantly from using it to conduct empirical research:

> Even when one has begun to grasp some principles of basic CR, it will not be obvious how exactly one is to "to it.".…How, for instance…does one identify a mechanism when it is not observable and so can only be known through its effects? (2014, p. v)

The multiple empirical CR studies that have been published in MOS (e.g., Edwards, et al., 2014) might prove instructive to AE scholars.

Finally, AE scholars could benefit from reading the many critiques of CR that have emerged within MOS. While it has been beyond the scope of this paper to delve into these critiques, they include allegations that proponents of CR have exaggerated its emancipatory potential (Contu & Willmott, 2005; Willmott, 2012) and have resorted to "sweeping or simplistic generalizations and strawmanning" (Contu & Wilmott, 2005, p. 1656) in their characterizations of positivism and postmodernism.

Conclusion

This paper explored how CR has been employed by MOS scholars in service of emancipatory ends, with the goal of ascertaining whether the CR-related literature in MOS might be of relevance to scholars in AE. It concluded that AE scholars could, indeed, benefit from the MOS literature in order to elaborate on their current thinking, consider issues of method and methodology for the purpose of conducting empirical research, and understand critiques of the CR position.

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**PAPER
PRESENTATION**

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Public Policy and Precarity Among Ontario's Young Adults

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the evolution of public policy for youth programming in Ontario. Taking a historical approach, the history of youth conceptualization is first articulated as a series of competing discourses. This history of competition is then analyzed through a contextual approach, exploring how each articulation of youth grapples with the question of social context. How social context and individual youth are theorized is then analyzed through the lens of public policy and social programming. The author argues that youth public policy attempts to abstract individual youth from their social context, obscuring the origins of risk and individualizing social programming through an emphasis on 'development'.

Introduction

Locally and globally, young adults have become a policy concern of states, non-governmental organizations and supra-national entities (City of Toronto, 2014; Franke, 2010; Geobey, 2013; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2013; Jeffrey, 2008; Ministry of Child and Youth Services [MCYS], 2012a, 2012b, 2013; United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2004; United Way, 2015; Youth Policy Press, 2014). The scope and aims of this policy focus for young people varies, but broadly speaking, can be characterized as seeking the peaceful integration of young people into society. Recent attempts by states and organizations to re-integrate young people are not arbitrary; youth disengagement from the social institutions of advanced capitalist countries has become increasingly visible in numerous areas of daily life, such as declining voter turnout, stagnant youth unemployment rates, and increasingly visible participation in social movements such as Occupy Wall Street, the Quebec Student strike, and Greece anti-austerity movements.

Conceptualizing these patterns of behaviour among youth has been heavily contested in the literature. Historically

familiar discourses of risk among youth have been supplanted by a contemporary desire to focus on the positive aspects of being young, and to mobilize these positive aspects in order to design social programming for youth re-integration. This theoretical trend towards positivity when conceptualizing youth has been taken up in Ontario, where youth unemployment is high and youth public policy draws on contemporary theories of positive youth development (PYD) (Geobey, 2013; MCYS, 2013). Yet the epistemological assumptions of Ontario's emerging theory and policy ensemble remains unanswered. In the following paper, I will probe the assumptions invoked in the deployment of youth public policy that conceives of youth as promise. I conduct this probing in three parts: first, I analyze the contested history of youth conceptualization; second, I unpack how this history is taken up in public policy; and third, I focus in on Ontario, exploring the history of youth public policy from 2008 to 2013. In the process, I expose how youth public policy has shifted focus from the social context of youth marginalization to the abstraction of youth from their social context.

Youth Theorization: A History

Policy makers and youth researchers contest the proper way to define 'youth'. This is in part due to the relational nature of youth as a concept: "[youth] is a flexible identity that can only be defined in relation to the opposing categories 'child' and 'adult' (Tilton, 2010). However, this only explains part of the problem. To better understand why 'youth' is such a contentious term involves understanding the divergent social goals that different researchers have in regards to the future of youth in society. In other words, it is only possible to explain how a policy maker defines youth when we also ask what that same policy maker thinks ought to be done to/for youth.

This will become clearer as we examine three historically prominent approaches to defining youth: youth ***as*** risk;

youth *at* risk; and youth *at promise*. I will argue that all three of these definitions share the common problematic of removing youth from their social, historical and material context; fixing them in an abstract conceptual order with little relation to the actual activities of existing youth; and then using this conceptual order to justify the rearrangement of the lives of actual youth.

Perhaps the most prominent and historically frequent social construction of youth is youth *as* risk to the existing social polity. In these portrayals, youth appear as instigators of societal unrest, often depicted in a state of violence or in the custody of police (Kennelly, 2011).The message communicated to the public is that youth are an unstable force in society, irrational in their demands for change. When it is admitted that youth might have a point, it is argued that they are addressing the issue in an irresponsible and short-sighted way (e.g. Wente, 2012). Furthermore, these characterizations of youth rarely account for the social, material, or historical context that might otherwise explain the current state of unrest.

This mode of explanation is often called 'deficit thinking', where only the most detrimental or negative aspects of youth are focused on. An example of deficit thinking are the calls for many of the instances of 'zero tolerance' and 'get tough on crime' policies and practices that have received widespread media attention (Kupchik, 2010; Nolan, 2011; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003; Tilton, 2010). The goal of these policies is to force youth into compliance with state and institutional policy through strict punishment. It is not hard to see the logic of this approach: if youth are by nature risky, then they must be policed until they have aged sufficiently to shed these undesirable traits. Critics argue that zero tolerance in schools prematurely exposes youth to the criminal justice system and creates a poor learning environment with higher expulsion rates (Gonsoulin, Zablocki & Leone, 2012; Hoffman, 2014).

Within modes of thought based on deficit thinking, little consideration is given to the historical context underlying youth unrest. 'Youth' is homogenized as a single entity, obliterating the particular details of different groups of youth in the process. Proponents of 'zero tolerance' approaches to youth discipline believe it will invoke a uniform standard of good behavior, regardless of the different social and material contexts relevant to understanding youth behaviour. The result is that these approaches to youth discipline fall disproportionately on youth of colour (Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Hoffman, 2014). Attempts to rationalize the disproportionate impact of these policies on people of colour from a deficit thinking framework have tended to argue that genetic or cultural differences are the source of such inequalities (e.g., Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Murray, 1984).

While historically prevalent, deficit thinking was criticized as indifferent towards the suffering of youth, and through such criticisms an alternative mode of conceptualizing youth emerged: youth *at* risk. In this version, youth exist in a risky and endangered state, and thus are in need of

care and development from adults in order to ensure they can eventually take their proper place in society. Theorists recognize that social conditions are not optimal, and that youth must navigate these conditions as best they can (Wyn & White, 2000). 'Youth at risk' seeks to protect youth during this journey, as opposed to punishing them further. One social approach to solving the problem of youth at risk is the imposition of a curfew for youth (White, 1996). Proponents of youth curfews argue that they are a necessary measure to save youth from the risks inherent to being young in society.

However, 'youth at risk' has been criticized as further marginalizing those that are already marginalized. This is because 'youth at risk' has as its premise the idea that youth are incomplete, unproductive, and in a generally undesirable state, and so adults are required to shelter youth until they are ready to enter society (Riele, 2006).This mode of thinking is a different kind of deficit discourse around youth development. Critics claim 'youth at risk' thinking inherently pathologizes youth as in need of constant care and treatment, and patronizes them as unequipped to take care of themselves (Portelli, Shields & Vibert, 2007). When asking who are the 'youth at risk', this term often emerges as a code word for poor youth of colour in urban areas; yet it is equally important to ask what is at risk (Kelly, 2003; Turnbull & Spence, 2011). What may be at risk is not the fate of these youth themselves, but rather the stability of the social order and the normalcy of what we call adulthood, both of which are put in jeopardy by increasing numbers of youth in social crises (Kelly, 2006).

Many of the same premises that informed the 'youth as risk' mode of thinking can be found in the 'youth at risk' articulation. 'Youth at risk' is a conceptual category that is rendered static, de-historicized, and applicable to youth from a wide variety of social contexts. If 'youth' need to be protected, curfews are a way to protect them; no account is given to how different groups of youth (e.g. homeless youth, youth facing domestic abuse, etc.) will navigate the 'protection' afforded by a curfew. As such, 'youth at risk' and 'youth as risk' can co-exist as harmonious articulations of the social experience of being young today. Youth are not only 'at risk' of falling victim to the evils of society; they are 'at risk' of taking on the antisocial tendencies so heavily scrutinized in deficit thinking. They are not only protected from society; they are also protected from themselves. Amidst these conceptual relations, the question of who is actually being protected by youth programs based on 'at risk' or 'as risk' modes of thinking is rarely answered.

Against these ideas of youth causing danger and youth at risk of danger (Tilton, 2010), a third mode of thinking about youth emerged: youth *at promise*. Youth theorists developed 'youth at promise' thinking in response to dissatisfaction with ongoing negative media portrayals that cast youth solely as agents of chaos (Damon, 2004) without acknowledging the strengths youth can bring to their environments. Youth at promise is the idea that youth are already able to make their way in society, and they merely need the right blend of assets and resilience to properly flourish.

Youth at promise is heavily bound up with Positive Youth Development (PYD), the approach to youth development taken by the government of Ontario (MCYS, 2012b). The goal of PYD is to emphasize the strengths, interests and talents that youth bring to their social context, and to build on these strengths through programming and community engagement (Shek, Sun & Merrick, 2012; Damon, 2004). Theorists use a framework of assets, either internal (e.g. academic motivation) or external (e.g. religious community), and consider the stockpiling of these assets integral to youth integration into society (Scales, 1999). PYD is thus fundamentally additive (Scales et al., 2010), and proponents of PYD claim that it is a relevant theory regardless of contexts of race, class or gender (Benson, Scales & Syvertsen, 2011).

Theorists of PYD, who construct youth at promise, do not forget that youth encounter barriers to success, and advocate the heightening of resiliency alongside PYD. Resiliency is "the process of encountering and coping with the aftermath of negative experiences, resulting in positive developmental outcomes or avoidance of negative outcomes" (Brownlee et al., 2013). For a youth to be resilient, they must be able to face adversity in a way that aligns with prescribed positive developmental outcomes. Resiliency is thus an act of learning, and it is through the challenge to be resilient that youth develop the character traits that states and organizations are trying to bring about.

While lauded by governments and policy makers, 'youth at promise' and PYD is not without its critics. Many are skeptical that PYD is applicable across social locations, and argue that the 'youth' referred to in PYD is only grounded in white, middle class reality (Gardner & Toope, 2001; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). In addition, the youth is often valorized and romanticized in this portrayal, while questions of how social context relate to individual behavior are ignored; as such, some say PYD contains no analysis of power and merely reproduces the status quo (Portelli, Shields & Vibert, 2007). Finally, PYD fails to account for how different 'assets' and 'deficits' can affect youth differently, and thus ignores "how the presence of even one risk can have real and devastating impacts on youth" (Small & Memmo, 2004:7).

Ultimately, these three conceptual categories (youth as risk, youth at risk, and youth at promise) are not mutually exclusive. Youth can represent simultaneously the risk of social insecurity; at risk of falling into social insecurity; and at promise of flourishing despite social insecurity. This is because different contexts will evoke different portrayals of youth, and different responses to the crisis of youth. This is the paradox: youth are abstracted from their historical context, and conceptualized in contradictory ways; these contradictions are then resolved by re-introducing the historical context, and explaining it in reference to these concepts. The result is that youth exist as risk, at risk, and at promise, to the extent that youth can embody these three different concepts simultaneously in their social world. In the next section, I focus on how the origins of this paradox emerge in different modes of thinking, as manifest in public policy.

Youth Public Policy: Programming for Promise

This history of youth theorization is being taken up in public policy, which has become an increasingly popular approach to addressing youth social integration. From 2013 to 2014, the number of countries with national youth policies rose from 99 to 122, and 190 countries have a national government authority responsible for youth (Youth Policy Press, 2014). These policy makers have increasingly been called on to incorporate principles of positive youth development, taking a multi-faceted view of youth that views them as competent and prepared to participate in the policy development and implementation process (Ferber, Gaines & Goodman, 2005; UNESCO, 2004). In the following section, I will outline the rationale for the prevalence of youth policies in recent years, as well as some of the frameworks these policies draw on to understand youth.

In 2004, UNESCO released a report outlining the importance of youth policies for nation-states, and included several features that ought to feature in a national youth policy. They argue that given the prominence of social crises disproportionately affecting young people, youth policies are an effective tool for states to address the effects of these crises on youth (UNESCO, 2004, pp. 6). Importantly, youth are conceived as a distinct social category characterized by unstable transition to a more stable adulthood (pp. 6), and the ultimate goal of youth policy is to encourage the full participation of youth in actively influencing political institutions and agendas (pp. 6). The importance of youth participation in civic life has only been re-emphasized amidst more recent concerns around youth unemployment (ILO, 2013). It is helpful to understand youth policy not only as an approach to youth engagement in political life, but also as an approach to youth engagement to avoid social upheaval (Youth Policy Press, 2014).

What evidence exists that youth policy achieves increased engagement in political life from younger portions of the population? In 2008, the United Way released a review of 'best practices' in youth public policy across Canada and internationally. They determine that a shared vision and common system of metrics for measuring outcomes are integral to an effective youth policy, and that a youth policy framework is one means by which to achieve this (Jeffrey, 2008, pp. 9-10). A strategic policy framework is an articulated set of values that cut across sectors and seek to align the efforts of youth programming around the achievement of various outcomes for youth. At the time, there did not exist such a policy framework for youth in Canada, and so the United Way considered the policy landscape for youth at best a "patchwork" that affected youth in contradictory and inefficient ways (pp. 18).

The new youth policy directions taken by the Ontario government seek to rectify this patchwork by aligning the programmatic efforts of civil society with the theoretical principles of positive youth development. In policy, this takes numerous forms, such as: setting developmental goals for youth; tracking data on strengths among youth; funding programs that focus on strengths; partnering with

businesses and community groups; coordinate with other levels of government; and creating a youth advisory council (Ferber, Gaines & Goodman, 2005). All of these initiatives are meant to serve the broader objective of creating more and more assets for youth so that youth can flourish despite challenging social conditions (Ferber, Gaines & Goodman, 2005).

These various recommended features of youth policy reappear in the youth policy framework for Ontario. The government of Ontario intends to harmonize the actions of youth agencies across a common set of goals, and invokes a complex system of metrics in order to monitor the well-being of youth in relation to these goals (MCYS, 2013). Furthermore, Ontario's youth policy framework is founded on principles of PYD, and thus aims to harmonize interventions into the lives of youth according to principles of developmental goals: focusing on strengths, partnering across sectors and listening to youth. Ontario has also released accompanying psychosocial developmental policy for young people that is meant to articulate the behavioural strengths of youth at different stages of the life path (MCYS, 2012).

Yet Ontario's youth policy framework differs noticeably from the report that called for its creation (McMurtry & Curling, 2008). This report, titled *The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence*, called on Ontario to repair a deteriorated social context for youth, characterized by inequality and discrimination across the province. In 2013, Ontario released a policy framework premised on theories that abstract youth from this social context, leaving questions of inequality and discrimination unaddressed. In other words, there has been an epistemological shift in how youth are known in policy. In the next section, I analyze this shift in conceptualizing youth from 2008 to 2013.

The Case for Ontario: The Evolution of Abstraction

In 2008, the government of Ontario commissioned a report by Roy Mcmurtry and Alvin Curling in the wake of a shooting of a high school student at a Toronto school. The goal of the report was to determine what are the historical conditions of violent behaviour among youth, and how these conditions might be altered through government intervention. The ensuing report, *The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence*, sets out a framework for understanding and addressing this issue. In this section, I explore what I call the 'roots' theoretical framework set out in this document, and then examine how this framework has been transformed into the developmental framework taken by the government of Ontario today (MCYS 2012a, 2012b, 2013).

McMurtry & Curling take violent behaviour, and the mindsets associated with it, as the starting point for their research (pp. 5). In other words, they focus on risk factors to the extent that these factors point to the conditions that give rise to them. More concretely, Mcmurtry & Curling articulate 5 visible risk factors that function as a window into social conditions: alienation; lack of empathy; feeling of oppression and disadvantage; lack of voice; and hopelessness (pp. 5-6).

At this point McMurtry & Curling make a key epistemological move that forms the rationale for their report. They treat these risk factors as symptoms of larger social problems, and spend the remainder of their report outlining the different compounding social problems that produce greater chance of risk factors. This includes social phenomena as diverse as poverty, racism, community design, education, employment, health and criminal justice (pp. 7-15).

This approach to understanding a pattern of behaviour as inextricably linked to certain historical conditions of social power, and directing analysis towards rectifying this history, leads the authors to a number of key recommendations for youth programming. It leads the authors to focus on repairing the social context between poor, racialized communities and the police (pp.19-23). It involves recommending the collection of race-based statistics as a key measure in informing the impact of programming on the history of racialization in the province (pp. 20). It also leads the authors to recommend focusing particularly on historically disadvantaged communities (pp. 25-28). The common thread of these recommendations is the premise that policy initiatives ought to focus on changing historical conditions of power in the name of marginalized communities. Such a stance entails placing social difference at the core of how youth are conceptualized.

In the ensuing policy response to *The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence*, social difference has been moved from the core to the periphery of the conceptual framework. This epistemological shift in conceptualizing youth is evident in both *Stepping Stones* (MCYS, 2012b), the province's take on PYD as a theoretical framework for understanding youth, and *Stepping Up* (MCYS, 2013), the province's policy framework for operationalizing this theoretical approach.

In *Stepping Stones*, the province lays out their theoretical approach to conceptualizing youth through the lens of PYD. This means that they articulate a theory of how youth progress through the life course and transition into full adulthood. The theory is concretized through the notion of developmental maps, which are meant to serve as a guide for understanding the evolving behaviours of youth over time. These maps are based on different "stages" of development, rather than markers of age specifically (MCYS, 2012b, pp. 30). The predominant evidence base for explaining these developmental stages and their associated visible behaviours is based on cognitive and neurological development (pp. 18-19), and "leading edge research on youth development" (pp. 31). The government did conduct consultations with youth and community partners across the province, and sees this information as furnishing the evidence for what constitutes an appropriate response to these developmental stages (pp. 31).

Amidst this theorization, context plays a peripheral role. The government does acknowledge that social context does play a role in youth's ability to traverse these developmental stages (MCYS, 2012b, pp. 10, 16; MCYS, 2013, pp. 12-14). However, context is introduced after the model has

been developed, in order to understand how developmental models look differently in different contexts. As such, the extent to which questions of power, racism or poverty can in fact upend one's ability to traverse these developmental milestones is not considered. It is for this reason that PYD has been accused of normalizing the experiences of white middle-class youth as universal (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002).

Yet there is an epistemological premise underlying this critique: that youth can be known apart from their social context. This premise is perhaps most clearly manifest in the province's articulation of many of the same risk factors identified by McMurtry & Curling (2008). Yet whereas in McMurtry & Curling's analysis, impulsiveness and lack of empathy is a window into histories of poverty and racialization, the province's theoretical framework interprets lack of impulse control as a result of cognitive development (MCYS, 2012b, pp. 19). Many of the risk factors McMurtry & Curling identified, such as feelings of alienation, disadvantage, and silence (2008, pp. 5-6), have been entirely left out of the government's analysis, replaced instead with questions of emotional adaptation, internalizing motivation, and coping to navigate life stress (MCYS, 2012b, pp. 21-23). The methods of recapturing youth experience in terms of developmental stages as opposed to social context exposes a theoretical approach to conceptualizing youth as abstract entities, whose behaviours can be understood apart from their social context.

Conclusion

In this paper I have presented youth as an emerging policy concern, and historicized this concern in the different discourses used to know youth. I have argued that these discourses share a common epistemological assumption that youth can be abstracted from their social context, and reconfigured through the lens of development. I have contextualized this argument through the example of youth public policy in Ontario, focusing on processes of abstraction in the minds of policy-makers. I conclude now with the conviction that such a critical awareness of the theoretical and policy approaches of states is integral to understanding the social organization of youth, and how youth are socially organized is a key part of our greater understanding of the changing reality of being young today.

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SYMPOSIUM

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Adult Education and Community Engagement: African Canadians Learning Activism for Social Justice

Susan M. Brigham, Ayo Aladejebi, and Késa Munroe-Anderson; Kwesi Firempong; Jennifer Kelly

Mount Saint Vincent University; York University; University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

This symposium explores the many ways adult learners teach and learn activism for social justice in African Canadian communities. Each presenter draws on his/her empirical qualitative research study that involved adult learners of African ancestry. These studies utilized a range of research methods, including participatory research, story-telling, talking circles, and focus groups. Each relied on critical theoretical perspectives. The symposium fills a void in the field of adult education, particularly in understanding how African Canadians relate to the Canadian mosaic, and how we develop activism for social justice in historical and contemporary contexts.

Adult Education in African Canadian communities
Susan M Brigham

Theories such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Africentricity that analyse race, centre the experiences, histories, and perspectives of Black people; and challenge the normalization of White privilege as well as the universalization of Eurocentric views are making relatively new inroads in mainstream Adult Education literature, research, and formal curriculum in Canada. For example, for the first time in a Canadian Adult Education edited collection, Black identity was the focus of a book chapter in *Learning for life: Canadian readings in adult education* in 2006 [Kelly], in 2007 Africentricity first appeared as a central topic in a CASAE conference proceedings [Brigham], an edited book on Africentricity by and for adult educators was published in 2012 [Bernard & Brigham], and in 2013, CRT was the topic of a chapter in *Building on critical traditions: Adult education and learning in Canada* [Brigham]. Moreover, a unique master's degree cohort program in adult education (lifelong learning) that focused on Africentricity recently graduated about 60 students (2006-2013) at Mount Saint Vincent University. Several graduate students from that program completed theses in which they framed their

research with, for example, Africentricity, CRT, anti-racism, Black feminism, post-colonialism, critical spirituality, critical historicism, and other critical perspectives [cf. Aladejebi, 2015; Firempong, 2014; Parris, 2010]. Others from that program are currently doing doctoral work with similar theoretical commitments [Munroe-Anderson and Morrison]. This is not to say that these theories have been widely embraced in Canadian adult education literature and research (Cranton, 2013) but interest has been growing. Other professional fields in Canada have a longer history of exploring theories related to race, such as social work, education (i.e. K-12 schooling), sociology, and women's studies.

The purpose of this symposium is to demonstrate and critique through critical theoretical frames such as Africentricity, CRT, spirituality, post-colonialism, anti-racism, and critical historicism the ways in which adult learners teach and learn activism for social justice in African Canadian communities. This symposium fills a void in the field of adult education and lifelong learning, particularly in understanding how African Canadians relate to the Canadian mosaic, as well as how we develop activism for social justice in African Canadian communities from historical and contemporary perspectives.

Ayo Aladejebi addresses the intrinsic roles of church based activities, rituals, doctrines and community involvement as tools of enlightenment and empowerment. These roles are explored through an Africentric worldview. Participants' narratives are presented using the lenses of critical race theory and post-colonialism. Késa Munroe-Anderson explores spirituality as an anti-oppressive agent in the education of African Nova Scotian (ANS) learners who experience alienation and racial and cultural oppression in educational spaces. Framed by Africentric, anti-colonial and anti-racist perspectives, this research engaged an African-centred storytelling method to centre the voices and lived

experiences of ANS in community-based Talking Circles. Kwesi Firempong examines the 1960s, which were unsettled times for people of African descent all over the world. In North America and Africa radical activism was erupting and there was a fear of a potentially explosive social crisis in Halifax, NS with the impending Black Panthers' visit. Jennifer R. Kelly explores the role that research plays in generating reflection and education within African Canadian communities. Through a qualitative and participatory research methodology (interviews, play performance) the author explores the experiences of Jamaican teachers who immigrated to Alberta during the early 1960s.

Implications of this symposium include: understanding how spirituality is critical to dismantling oppression, addressing issues of power, systemic inequities and alienation; how the Black church can create a space where its congregants can commune, worship and learn, and promote a sense of collective cultural identity; how a sense of unity based on a strategic essentialism of Blackness continues to have implications for activism for social justice; and how working with research participants can generate a comprehensive extension of knowledge about professional immigrants and challenge the myths and common sense understanding of how African Canadians relate historically to the Canadian mosaic.

Education: a Dimension of the Black Church
Ayo Aladejebi

As a responsive agent to the needs of the Black community, education has remained a key pursuit of the Black church (Isaac and Rowland, 2002). Since education is central to the objective of the Black church, one must then ask: how is it being achieved, especially in an environment built on Eurocentric ideals and in a changing world where multiculturalism is being embraced?

One of the cornerstones of Africentricity is the need to place the cultural heritage of African people at the centre of their learning (Merriweather Hunn, 2004; Oyebade, 1990; Schiele, 1994; Brigham, 2007). Appraising Carter Godwin Woodson's *Mis-Education of the Negro*, Elaine Richardson (2000) views "mis-education" as a deliberate attempt at reinforcing learning that promotes dominant Eurocentric ideals while suppressing the relevance to the non-dominant cultures". Similarly, Stedman (1996) observes that conventional education is reflective of the worldview of a White, dominant culture "whose language and world vision are alien to members of different cultures" (p. 5). Sadly, a tragedy of "mis-education" and White cultural hegemony is that it is far reaching and its tentacles are equally wrapped around the church. This reality prompts Hinton (2009) to suggest that true religious education should not be limited to merely promoting religious doctrines and traditions. Rather, genuine religious education must educate about other beliefs systems, tell the stories of all traditions and uphold learning relevant to the lived experiences of all adherents. "It should explore and explain origins, not just

religious but cultural and social origins. Authentic Religious Education shapes identity, not just individual but communal identity" (Hinton, 2009, p. 19).

Methodology

My study employed an Africentric methodology. In a study involving individuals of African ancestry this process is crucial since conventional research methodologies are culturally destitute to judiciously embrace the "historical, social, or contemporary experiences of Africana people" (Pellerine, 2012, p. 149). The study was conducted using qualitative inquiry involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

Participants were recruited through poster advertisements and community referrals. The churches involved in this study are Emmanuel Baptist Church and Redeemed Christian Church of God, both in the Halifax area and Saint Phillips African Orthodox Church in Whitney Pier (Cape Breton Island). Deductive thematic analysis was used for data analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Results

Many participants spoke about spiritual grounding through the teachings, rituals and various church activities. One of the participants spoke with vigour about how learning in the church has rooted her spiritually:

> My life wasn't easy and I think it gave me strength and it came from that rooting from the church, the importance of – they would ask you, you know, you went to church, and they wanted to know, what did you learn? So it wasn't a matter of just going and attending, you really had to maintain what you learned, and I think that was very important. I believe I'm very spiritual and it all began at St. Phillip's.

Participants also spoke about how church based activities are reinforcing their African roots and identities. They cite specific examples of how the church is making these learnings relevant to their identity. Here are a few examples:

AFRICAN HERITAGE CIRCLE

The African Heritage Circle was particularly geared towards younger people in the church but we had people from seniors to everyone attending. There would be a display of different African artifacts and books that you probably couldn't get anywhere else because they're very limited in our libraries. And then we would have elders in the community come in and speak about their experiences growing up in a black community.

SOS PROGRAM

"Save Our Sons, Save Our Sisters" is a youth mentorship program that our church has started with three other

churches, and they assign a mentor to each youth that comes to the program every second Saturday, and it's just a way for them to have a forum for them to speak about, you know, the violence and the other issues facing the community.

Prostate Cancer Support Group

Black men are close mouthed. We have family members that had cancer for years and wouldn't tell you. I have an uncle he had prostate cancer for years, and when he finally had his surgery I asked him "how come you wouldn't tell us". And he didn't know what to say. This is the problem. We got to share. Our Black people are dying because of lack of knowledge.

Ìsọmọlórúkọ

During the course of the study, I was invited to participate in a naming ceremony (*ìsọmọlórúkọ*) organized for a couple in one of the participating churches. Naming ceremony in the Yorùbá culture is a celebratory event, an important rite of passage; it is a religious ritual (Aluko, 1993). Ìsọmọlórúkọ is an outward demonstration of cultural values that formally proclaims the identity of the new baby and their acceptance into the society (Aluko, 1993). In the African traditional way, it is overseen by an elder in the family but in the context of the church, it is presided over by a member of the clergy or one of the church's elders. At the end of the ceremony, the child's name is revealed for the first time. The event demonstrates that cultural heritage is an inseparable entity of religious heritage.

Discussion

The realization of culture-based learning resonates with participants. Participants' comment about how learning in the church is the source of spiritual grounding rests at the core of transformative ability of Africentric learning. Africentricity education purports a spiritual journey through which outlook on life is refined and redefined and new ways of seeing things are initiated (Asante, 2003).

In the Black Church I found that programs are created intentionally to address issues pertaining to African people. The structure draws on learners' experiences and gives room for ownership of learning. The delivery is communal and it does not elevate one person's interest over the group. Instead, it provides a space where individuals can feel connected through the sharing of common experience. The programs create avenues where participants can construct their own reality and move away from societal definitions of their identity. Further, experiential learning enables learners to situate themselves within their cultural centres and it also removes the burden of learning from the perspectives of the dominant culture (Merriweather-Hunn, 2004). The ability of the Black church to address life's issues that are pertinent to African people was central in discussion with participants.

Conclusion

The presence of cultural elements is evident in the several programs and church based activities that are cornerstone to culturally relevant learning in the church. These programs reaffirm individual and collective identity and they promote the importance of shared identity. The programs help participants navigate cultural elements connected to their identity as Black people by instilling the values within these cultural elements.

The Panthers Are Coming:
The October, 1968 Visit of the Black Panthers to Halifax, and its impact on African Nova Scotian Activism for Social Justice and Equality.
Kwesi Firempong

In October of 1968, four members of the Black Panther Party (BPP), an organization that epitomized the birth of Black Power, in the tradition of United States Black radicalism, visited Halifax, Nova Scotia. Included in the Panther delegation was Stokely Carmichael – later known as Kwame Ture - the Panthers' "Prime Minister", a fiery orator and socialist advocate. The visit of the Panthers polarized the White and Black communities, and the so-called moderates and radicals within the Black community in Halifax. My intention in this presentation is to explore how the arrival of the Black Panthers in Halifax in October, 1968, impacted the African Nova Scotian struggle for social justice and equal opportunity.

The Panthers had been invited by Burnley "Rocky" Jones, a young African Nova Scotian activist, who aimed to infuse the same urgency and militancy within African Nova Scotians as the Panthers had done in the US. At the same time, he wanted the international community to witness the unjust state of race relations in Nova Scotia. "Jones shook up [W]hites in Canada in 1968 when he brought Carmichael..." and the Black Panthers to Halifax (Mitchell, 2009, p.4).

Fearing Black rioting and demonstrations, Halifax City officials and indeed the general White community reacted to the visit as if the city were under imminent military attack from within and without. There was a heavy police presence at the Halifax airport awaiting the arrival of the Panthers, and snipers were positioned on the rooftops directly across from the Arrow Club where the Panthers had dinner that evening with Rocky Jones and wife, Joan (Personal communication with Burnley "Rocky" Jones, October 12, 2011).

An important and relevant point of analysis is to determine how the arrival of the Black Panthers in Halifax impacted African Nova Scotians' sense of identity, and solidarity with other Black peoples outside of Nova Scotia. However, it will be an injustice to a holistic ethos if the story of the Panthers' arrival in Halifax is told without including the effect it also had on White society. Contrary to being a deviation from my central thesis of the invigoration of African Nova Scotian activism for social justice and equality, a reflection upon the reverberation of this visit on White people in Halifax would

be, in algebraic terms, an important variable in the equation of social justice and equal opportunity.

An immediate impact of the Panthers' visit was the formation of the Black United Front (BUF) (1968-1996), an umbrella organization "with a mandate to seek and expose instances of racism, to unite the people of all Nova Scotia's Black settlements into a conscious community of action, and to conduct programmes for Black education, employment and cultural awareness" (Walker, 1985, p.19). The BUF spawned reforms that have led to significant Black organizations like the Black Educators Association (BEA), and the Black Learners' Advocacy Council (BLAC) that created the Council for African Canadian Education (CACE) to advise the government on issues pertaining to African Canadian learners (BLAC Report, 1994, p. 17). The report also recommended the formation of an African Canadian Services Division of the Department of Education charged with matters of appropriate curricula and pedagogies for African Nova Scotian learners (p. 17).

It is my hope that the lessons gleaned from this research, of the learning that occurred during a clash of Whites and Blacks at the personal and institutional levels will be applicable to the ongoing struggle by African Nova Scotians for social justice and equity. In many ways it is a means "to re-ground ourselves to face the challenges of the present and the future" (Marable, 2011, p. 5). My overall goal was to understand how the sense of solidarity that underpinned the urgency for change, which I believe the Panthers' arrival in 1968 brought to African Nova Scotian activism can be harnessed to advance current African Nova Scotian struggle for social justice.

An arts informed research approach was employed in this research. The impact of the Panthers' visit is represented in a full length stage play in order to contribute to transformative learning among African Nova Scotians. I have chosen this art-informed research route because, "Even challenging conventions of positivism and following qualitative methods [have] resulted in research representations wrung dry of life – of emotion, of sensuality of physicality" (Coles and Knowles, 2008, p. 57). There are many ways of knowing and the artistic and the aesthetic, as epistemological pathways, are as valid as the so called scientific and the positivist. Two main data sources were used for this research: archival material, including newspapers, magazines, declassified RCMP files; and the individual qualitative interviewing of folks who lived particularly in Halifax at the time of the Panthers' visit. I have, as much as possible allowed the entire dialogue of the play be determined by the participants' voices and the speeches and writings of the principal people involved in the actual historical drama. Having a skeleton plot of the play from historical facts gathered from newspapers, journals and archived reports, I combined these with participant responses to formulate the dialogue of the play.

Representing my research with a play that I hope to produce on stage possesses the advantage of bridging the gap between academic research and the community. It makes research accessible to the public.

Education through Community Engagement
Jennifer R. Kelly

Introduction

The overall project subscribes to the conceptual engagement of "dig where you stand" (Lindqvist, 1978) the idea of exploring where we are located and getting an understanding that can lead to improved ways of working towards social justice. It is acknowledged that this arts-based intervention through the process of script-writing and reading is not a fully developed "performing community arts" activity. Instead, what we have engaged in is a blended community arts/research/professional play-script rooted in community knowledge. The play-script is part of a larger project using multi-modal research methods and contributing to a multifaceted presentation (display panels, community meetings etc.) of an understanding of the formation of African Canadian communities and their experiences in Alberta 1900-1960s.

Two concepts are drawn on to help understand how the play can act as a point of learning: safe spaces and intersectional analysis. Starting with safe spaces, it is evident that in order to access spaces for learning about oppression and dominance it is vital to also create safe spaces. As well, trust is an important aspect of creating safe spaces. For those university-based adult education scholars interested in "community-university engagement," it should be noted that safe spaces can only be created through continuous work with community groups. Further, working within Black communities requires a lens of intersectional analysis that allows us to access those discrete forms of oppression and dominance that work effectively within society through social categories of difference such as class, gender, race, nationality, ableism and sexualities.

Learning within Safe Spaces

The play-script *West Indian Diary* was the outcome of various focus group meetings with my research participants who came from the Caribbean to Alberta in the 1960s and early 1970s. A heterogeneous group consisting of teachers, electricians, office workers, and oil workers, the characters for the play were created around a number of actual immigration stories. In creating and highlighting the experiences of five main characters we were able to create a safe space for discussions to take place around broader immigrant experiences. Once a draft of the script had been written we organized a reading in order to get feedback from community members. The play reading allowed community members to take on the various roles constructed for the main characters. It constituted a safe space that was a starting point for ongoing development of learning that moves from practice to theory and back again (Cocklin, 1996). The idea of the play as a safe space allows

for the development of knowledge and understanding and how to work collectively towards activism and social justice. It allows for displacement by the participants so that some of the emotional investment that is often linked with and to power can be released. The importance of these safe spaces is that they can provide opportunities for self-definition. As Hill Collins suggests, "self-definition is the first step to empowerment: if a group is not defining itself, then it is being defined by and for the use of others (Sage www.sagepub.com). These safe spaces also allow black women to escape and resist "objectification as the Other" (Collins, 2000, p. 101). Conceptually it became evident that engaging with heterogeneity is a foundational approach to taking up a consequent intersectional analysis.

Learning through dialogue ~ an intersectional/interlocking analysis

To ensure rich dialogue and to allow for an engagement with intersectional analysis I gathered a heterogeneous group representative of the present day African Canadian community in Alberta; namely descendants of early black pioneers; immigrants from the Caribbean 1950s, 60s and 70s; recent immigrants from countries in Africa. I take up as useful, Cameron McCarthy's (1990) use of nonsynchrony whereby "individuals or groups in their relation to their economic, political and cultural institutions …do not share identical consciousness and express the same interests, needs or desires at the same point of time" (p.83). Through adult education techniques the playwright and I were able to start the discussion with the following questions: "the play wouldn't be West Indian unless it contained…? The most vivid thing about that time for me was…? Is there a topic that you wouldn't like explored in the play?" These guiding questions allowed for discussions that were contentious as they surfaced some difficult knowledge about gender relations within the different communities and the problematic nature of dealing with those when such knowledge can be turned against a traditionally marginalized community (Carby, 1982).

It was particularly instructive to listen and observe as these different community groups came to dialogue about each other's experiences and gain new insights and understandings about racism and racialization. Issues that were surfaced include how the descendants of the early black pioneers regarded the newer folks from the Caribbean and to what extent issues of racialization were a factor during the different phases of African Canadian immigration. This process of dialogue also allowed for discussion of the concept "community." What do we mean by the term community? What actions (social, intellectual and political) might be enabled and constrained through the use of the term? The reading led to a discussion that ranged from issues of representation in the play through to gender politics and shared experiences of racism. In addition to understanding the complexities of community, the knowledge from the existing research gives an intellectual boost to those adult educators who would argue for recognition of intersections and the relational in theorizing issues with regard to community and immigration. So for example it will allow women to discuss issues of gender relations in relation to men without assuming a fixed unity within the community.

Set Our Spirits Free
Késa Munroe-Anderson

This study explores the spiritual injuries historically inflicted upon African Nova Scotian (ANS) learners as a result of the alienation, racial and cultural oppression they have experienced in Nova Scotia's formal education institutions. Acknowledging these learners as whole, spiritual persons whose identities are intricately connected with their home communities through historical, cultural, and relational ties, the research examines how their spirits are nurtured in both spaces: formal education institutions and in their communities. Central to this research is the ANS participants' self-determination of what spirituality means to them and their articulation of this concept through storytelling. Noting the scarcity of research regarding ANSs and spirituality, particularly a cultural-based spirituality linked to formal education, this study fills an important gap in knowledge (Bernard, Maddalena, Njiwaji, Darrell, 2014; Beagan, Etowa, & Bernard, 2012; Este & Bernard, 2006). The research affirms African-centred spirituality as an anti-oppressive agent which serves as a source of strength, resilience and resistance to colonial and intellectual subordination for ANS learners, empowering them towards action and a reclaiming of their identities.

I invited First African Nova Scotian people to take centre stage as storytellers, and therefore, as knowledge producers in my research. Three intimate Talking Circles which met for six sessions each were formed in historic ANS communities including North Preston, Upper Hammonds Plains and North End, Halifax. A total of sixteen persons between the ages of 18 and 50 who are current or former members of one of these communities, attended public school education while living there, and are direct descendants of the First African peoples of Nova Scotia participated in the research. For the purpose of this study, First African peoples include descendants of the original settlers of African descent who have a long and continued history of residence in Nova Scotia. These ANSs are descendants of enslaved Africans (1686-1808), Loyalists (1775-1783), the Maroons (1796), and the Black Refugees (free and enslaved) from the War of 1812 (1813-1816) (Pachai & Bishop, 2006).

Additionally, using an arts-informed approach, I engaged community artists of African descent to begin each Talking Circle session with a one hour interactive workshop on an art-form which demonstrates African-centred spirituality and various ways in which people of African descent have traditionally told our stories. Such art forms include African drumming and dance, quilting, spoken word poetry, storytelling, visual art, and music (singing). Participants were actively engaged in learning and sharing during these diverse and interactive experiences. During

the second hour of the Talking Circle, six sub-themes related to the research question were used to frame our discussion: 1) Formal Education, 2) Informal Education, 3) ANS Culture, 4) Community, 5) Spirituality and 6) Racism and Oppression. I encouraged the participants to take on the role of griots, reflecting the African oral tradition, telling stories about their lived experiences through a series of prompt questions. Through these varied storying processes, participants explored the question: "What is the role of African-centred spirituality in the formal education of African Nova Scotian learners?"

Emphasizing the significance of centring the voices of marginalized ANSs as a focal point, I chose storytelling as the most culturally appropriate method to conduct my research (Chapman, 2005, Solorozo & Yosso, 2002). One of the most essential traditions of African culture (Banks-Wallace, 2002); storytelling demonstrates the significance that the researcher places on the cultural traditions of the research participants and their lived experiences (Chapman, 2005). Their stories are "narratives of identity" articulating who they are as ANS people (Errante, 2000). Using Africentricity, anti-colonial and anti-racism theories as my theoretical lens, I situate my participants as the expert knowers, the co-producers of knowledge with me in this research.

Through the deeply spiritual method and methodology of storytelling, my research challenges dominant ideologies and ways of knowing which further marginalize ANS learners (Huber, 2009). By inviting the multiple stories of First African Nova Scotians to be told, the research contests the mono-vocal manner in which knowledge is typically created, presented, and defined. Since storytelling is a social phenomenon, it also reflects spirituality, which research participants defined as knowledge, a way of knowing and a multi-dimensional, relational way of being in the world. Participants describe spirituality as interdependent connections to others, their community, cultural knowledge, physical environment, ancestors, and their God. Emphasis is placed on the significant role that their community and faith in God has played in helping them cope in the face of oppression, particularly during their formal education.

Evident throughout the research process was the reality that the spoken word connects to our spirits as African peoples, and must be called upon to assist us in finding answers to questions and solutions to problems in education. The spoken word emphasizes action (Rodriguez, 2011, pp. 37, 38) and freedom to be our multi-storied selves. Through the power of Nommo, an African term meaning "the productive word" and via storytelling, my participants were involved in the "creation of knowledge as a vehicle for improvement in human relations" (Reviere, 2001, p. 71). It is my hope that through the voicing of educational experiences, positive change in formal education will come to ANSs. Formal educators need to find new action-oriented approaches, engaging African-centred spirituality and placing race and ANS people at the centre of analysis to address the haunting issues facing ANS learners. Only then can we envision a future that breaks the historic destructive cycle and moves towards holistic learning for ANS learners and all others.

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'Troubling' Young People in Adult Education

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Young adults today have been described by various research and policy bodies as a 'generation at risk' (ILO, 2013), precarious (Inui, 2005), socially excluded (France, 2011), vulnerable (MacDonald, 1997), insecure (Feldman, et al 2011), wasted (Bauman, 2003), in crisis (Turnball & Spence), scarred (Gregg & Tominey, 2005), 'the walking wounded' (Fisher, 2011), disposable (Giroux, 2012), and "on the outside looking in" (Geobey, 2013 p. 5). This anxiety is certainly not unfounded, as youth globally have experienced record levels of un- and under-employment, the concentration and growth of the carceral, militarized state and the prison industrial complex, and a suggested loss of faith in traditional social, political, and economic institutions, as evidenced by social movements in Europe, the Middle East, North America, Asia, and South America. Anxiety around young people's engagement with these institutions is reflected in the proliferation of activity from international NGOs, supra-national policy and governance bodies, federal and provincial Ministries, and knowledge producers in both the academy and research organizations.

There is no doubt that from the standpoint of public policy, young people and young adults are a cause for concern if not out-and-out social crisis. Young people who are situated in the category of 'emerging adulthood' are an under-researched population, particularly young adults who experience racialization, state violence, and resulting forms of social vulnerability (Arnett, 2000). The language of emerging adulthood includes the period between 18 and 30 years of age where young people become independent and explore life possibilities. It is a time of profound change, when young adults acquire the skills and education they need for jobs and careers, establish households and relationships, begin families, and begin to contribute to society in meaningful ways. It is also a time in which young people gain political status vis-a-vis the state, become subject to criminal justice and financial institutions, and can experience a loss of social supports. There is a growing body of research to suggest that the forms of 'crisis' experienced by young people today will have a profound effect on their participation and engagement in traditional social and political institutions, and their ability to participate 'meaningful' in the knowledge economy.

This symposium will take up and trouble the relationship between young people and the field of adult education. Specifically, we will bring diverse perspectives on the various social crises faced by young people today in order to ask questions about how young people are situated within or excluded by the boundaries of our field. Drawing from ongoing research projects related to war, work in the sex industry, under/over employment, educational trajectories, health and well-being, poverty, violence, and community interventions, we will 'trouble' the relation between 'youth' and 'adult,' examining the ways in which we articulate adulthood as a project in the making of capitalist subjectivities. We will further ask what contributions the field of adult education brings to the emerging interdisciplinary field of 'youth studies' and how we can locate young people's lives in complex relationships of community, social movements, home, workplace, and learning.

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Youth In/As Crisis: Locating Youth & Young Adults in Policy Responses to Systemic Crisis

Sara Carpenter

Today we contend with a conceptual trend of attaching the notion of 'youth' to the notion of 'crisis.' There are several important 'crises' to which young people are linked and through which the inner relations of capitalist crisis become apparent. First and foremost their economic realities constitute a 'crisis,' both in terms of their own well-being as well as the long-term prospects of productivity and growth in various geographies. Following closely in rhetoric, their educational attainment and trajectories are of deep concern, particularly those who have the most precarious relationships to training and work, those who constitute the growing numbers of the NEET lists now held by many state bodies internationally. The conditions of material deprivation and insecurity brought on by economic crisis, as well as the interrelated conditions of war and militarism experienced by many youth around the world, bring their modes of political participation and engagement into doubt. Despite almost twenty years of trying to consolidate youth in the most toothless forms of civic engagement, the social movements of young people, their rebellions, and their contribution to the 'political instability' of various nations is all cause for grave concern on a global scale. Their extremist, fundamentalist, and radicalized worldviews constitute an ideological crisis for capitalism and bourgeois democracy. And still, without fail, the street violence of marginalized youth, from drug trafficking to gang activity, remains a constant threat to 'homeland security.'

In the province of Ontario the so-called 'crisis of youth' has sparked a great deal of activity on the part of the state, which is now filtering down, through the mechanisms of policy making and funding, to the delivery of services and provision of programming to young adults in both educational institutions and community settings. In this paper I will explore the utility of the lens of social reproduction as a way to engage the management of systemic crisis within capitalism by the state. I argue that by examining the response to various domains of 'youth crisis' through seemingly disparate activities of ministries and governmental bodies in Ontario, we can illuminate important material and political practices utilized by the state to control the social response to crisis and further understand the mechanisms of social reproduction in the sites of practice by education, human service, and other frontline workers.

In order to better understand how theories of social reproduction may help to understand 'youth' and 'crisis,' I examine three recent initiatives in the province of Ontario that have emerged in response to various articulations of 'youth crisis.' These initiatives are: the Ontario Youth Jobs Strategy, the Stepping Up strategic framework, and the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS). I argue that these initiatives are not geographically isolated to Canada, but rather represent international trends in policymaking and intervention in the lives of young people in response to specific social domains. Taken together they begin to illuminate the use of strategies of social reproduction for the reconsolidation of young people within reorganized, normalized capitalist social relations.

In these examples from the province of Ontario, we can see the well-documented prevailing logics of organizing youth subjectivities: entrepreneurialism, criminalization, individualization (Giroux, 2009). However, I want to push through and past the argument that the best way to explain these logics is through the cultural politics of neoliberalism and the pedagogical activity of governmentality. I am concerned by theoretical moves that de-historicize neoliberalism and forget its emergence as a strategy for the management of crisis within capitalism, specifically the crisis in accumulation of the late 1960s and early 1970s or even the emergence of liberalism as a counter-revolutionary strategy in the crisis of the collapse of feudalism (Federici, 2004; Wood, 1995). Further, I am concerned by theoretical moves to abstract the state as an entity away from the practical activity of people. As feminist sociologists working in the critical and historical materialists traditions have established (Ng, 1984, 1996; Smith, 1987; Smith, 2004), the state enters people lives through their practical labours and interactions with the labor of others: teachers, healthcare, police, frontline workers, immigration agents, inspectors and bureaucrats.

For this reason, I want to explore the state's response to these various 'youth crises' through the lens of social reproduction. Social reproduction is a much debated, contentious, and diverse field of theory within Marxian analysis. It is has many branches on its tree, although its major concerns focus on the social processes and relations that reproduce capitalism. In some instances, this is confined to the actual reproduction of labour power and labour supply and this work is manifested in feminist interrogations into the production and reproduction of life under both waged and unwaged conditions (Bakker, 2007). In this way, the theorization of reproductive labor is key to a conceptualization

of social reproduction. Other work in social reproduction focuses on the institutions largely charged with the production of labour supply, namely education (Ball, 2003; Collins, 2009). Still others look at the social organization of reproductive labor, namely the role of race, nation, class, age, status, etc in the determination of value, the organization of labour supply, and working conditions (Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992). Social Reproduction Feminism (SRF) is itself a strand of Marxist/socialist feminist theorizing that examines the theorization of labour in the role of social reproduction, expanding its conceptualization beyond notions of wage or spheres of public/private, and linking this theorization closely to the expansion of capitalism as a global sphere or social organization (Bakker & Gill, 2003; Laslett & Brenner, 1987; Luxton, 2006; Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson & McNally, 2014).

It is not my intention here to engage with these diverse modes of theorization, however I think it is most useful to take three key insights from the theorization of social reproduction in order to elaborate state responses to the 'crisis of youth.' The first is an emphasis on the social reproduction of the totality of capitalist social relations. The second insight from social reproduction theory asks us to examine the relation between space and scale in the state's activities of social reproduction. Ferguson and McNally (2014) have succinctly argued that any theorization of social reproduction, such as an examination of the state's response to youth, that limits its analysis to the nation-state will fail to address three important areas of social reproduction, each of which is deeply manifested in the so-called 'crisis of youth.' First, we will fail to see the relationship between the local and the global, the nation-state as a site of struggle within global capitalist relations. Second, we will not be able to see how it is that surplus populations are produced today through global processes of dispossession and primitive accumulation and "whose cross-border movement are at the heart of the worldwide production and reproduction of capital and labour" (p. 3). Third, a national gaze will obscure the central role that processes of racialization, histories of colonialism, and ongoing imperialist projects play in the creation of 'homeland' conditions of inequality. Said differently, an adequate theorization of social reproduction should force us to understand our national scapes in relation to global processes of production and reproduction and thus be better able to articulate the ways in which the local and global constantly interpenetrate in our lives. Finally, social reproduction allows for a return to the ontological and epistemological premise to better understand the role of actual people in processes of social reproduction.

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Black Queer Youth Coming of Age in Diverse-Divided Cities: Implications for Adult Education

Lance McCready

Since coming to Canada I've had to re-educate and revise my admittedly U.S.centric understandings of the sociocultural context of urban environments, intersectionality and the everyday lives of Black queer youth (BQY). This essay is a rare opportunity for me to reflect on this learning and draw implications for the kinds of adult education that is needed related to equity, social justice and critical pedagogy for queer young adults from marginalized and racialized backgrounds living in large urban centers. I draw from two research projects on young, Black sexual minority young adults that utilize qualitative methods to record their narratives. These narratives are a window into the complex

communities, power relations, programs and services that are part of the landscape of Canadian urban centres. They point to a radical form of adult education that takes seriously the sociocultural context of urban environments and the need for what Black feminist theorist Cathy Cohen calls "indigenous" organizations established by and for Black people whose needs are not being served by mainstream organizations (Cohen, 1999).

By 2030, according to Statistics Canada, more than 80% of Canada's population growth is expected to depend on immigration. Canada is widely viewed as a more socialist oriented nation that offers newcomers and refugees greater opportunities for prosperity in a society that is proud of being a multicultural "mosaic" (Fong, 2006) The majority of Caribbean and African immigrants to Canada have settled in Toronto and Montreal with the hope of achieving this prosperity for themselves and their families through education and employment opportunities (Milan & Tran, 2006). A dominant discourse in Canadian society is that because of Canada's multicultural policy, immigrants do not have to assimilate into the dominant White Canadian culture in order to gain access to education and employment opportunities (Fong, 2006). Rather, Canadian immigrants can gain access to these opportunities while maintaining ties to their "country of origin" (James, 1996). This scenario of equal access to opportunity is predicated on the notion that racism does not serve as a significant barrier to opportunity for Black people and other racialized populations (Dei, 1997).

The underbelly of the feel good multiculturalism discourse is the fact that Canadian urban centres are socially divided and some would argue anti-Black (Hudson, 2014; Bailey & Shabazz, 2014; African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2012). Given historical and contemporary evidence, it is hard to argue with these less positive views of Toronto. The city has changed, and continues to change, in terms of who lives where on the basis of residents' income and demographic characteristics (Hulchanski, 2010).

Black male young adults, most of whom live in the poorer, more racialized neighbourhoods of the city, are disproportionately likely to be suspended, expelled, and/or to drop out from school (Dei, 1997; Toronto District School Board, 2007, 2006). In addition to the challenges they face in the education system, young Black men are often portrayed negatively in the media (James, 2009). Across the city, young Black men are racially profiled more often than young men in other ethnoracial groups. (James, 1996; Smith et al., 2002 cited in Bernard, 2005; Smith et. al., 2002; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003). Blacks and Aboriginal people are overrepresented in Ontario's youth and adult jails, with some staggering ratios that mirror those of Blacks in American jails (McMurty & Curling, 2008; Rankin & Winsa, 2013). The proportion of AIDS cases among Black and Aboriginal youth has increased since the late 1980s and while the proportion of AIDS cases among people who identified themselves as White has decreased steadily (Public Health Agency of Canada & Centre for Communicable Diseases & Infection Control, 2014).

One of the ways BQY navigate the diverse-divided social geography just described is to lead a "double life" one in the racialized, low income neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city where they live and another in the more middle class, program rich environments where they socialize and leisure. Sean, a Black, gay-identifying young man in his mid-20s describes his ethnocultural affiliations as "My mom is Jamaican and my dad is from Congo." His narrative excerpted from a focus group I conducted as part of the evaluation of the BlackCAP 3MV program, provides the first example of leading a double life. He lives his "straight life" in the low-income, predominantly non-White Jane and Finch neighbourhood in the Northwest corner of Toronto (intersection of Jane and Finch streets) and lives his gay life outside of that, downtown. Robert, a young gay man I interviewed also as part of the BlackCAP 3MV evaluation lives in a lower-income Northwest neighbourhood near to where Sean lives. He leads a double-life to cope with the fact that his "values" differed from his neighbours. Both Sean's and Robert's narratives suggest that the Northwest Toronto neighbourhoods where they live are heteronormative and not supportive of their gay identities. Openly gender nonconforming BQY like Sean's friend Angel risk being the targets of gender-based violence. BQY like Robert who do not "have kids" may have difficulty relating or seeking support from members of their ethnocultural communities. What are the implications of some BQY leading a double life for programs and services for queer youth that aim to foster their resistance to and resilience to marginalization?

I have a longstanding fascination with policy debates related to the efficacy of targeted vs. universal programs. Proponents of universal policies advocate for programs and services designed to serve ALL youth whereas proponents of targeted policies advocate for programs and services aimed at particular groups of "at-risk" youth. For example, in Making Space for Diverse Masculinities (McCready, 2010) I describe how the culturally diverse urban high school where I conducted my research had extracurricular activities like the official school newspaper that aimed to serve the entire studentbody and a "Spectrum" newspaper that was established to meet the needs of ESL students. Should a school administration support the existence of two school newspapers, one mainstream and one targeted, or should they pressure the official school newspaper, which at the time had a staff almost entirely of White students, to be more inclusive? (McCready, 2004/2005).

In the context of Toronto, I continue to struggle with the question of which programs, mainstream vs. indigenous, are better suited to meet the education, health and wellbeing needs of BQY. In Canadian society, where the federal and provincial governments are the primary funders of education, health and human service programs, there is a stronger ethos, compared to the United States where programs and services depend on private monies, that mainstream programs can meet the needs of all queer youth, regardless of ethnocultural background. There are fewer government funds being made available for settlement programs and

services for newcomers and refugees, much less those who are sexual minorities (Munro et al., 2013; Murray, 2011).

Listening to interviews and focus groups I have conducted with Black male youth and young adults who identify as gay, bisexual, transgender and gender non-conforming, I am less hopeful that mainstream programs can be efficacious for BQY given the diverse-divided landscape of Toronto. BQY want to remain connected to ethnocultural communities even though they can be heteronormative and homophobic. The fact that most orgainzations for queer youth, including those specific to African, Caribbean and Black queer youth such as BlackCAP, are located downtown doesn't help. It means these organizations have a limited impact on the everyday experiences of BQY in the neighbourhoods where they reside. But who will fund and who will staff indigenous organizations for BQY? What is our role as engaged scholars who aim to produce knowledge and ideas that will lead to a more socially just society? I invite CASAE members to dialogue more about the everyday lives of queer youth of colour, the multiple dimensions of their identities and their intersections, the culturally diverse, socially divided landscapes of today's urban environments, and the implications of these dynamics for more radical adult education that can empower BQY.

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The Political Economy of Trafficking and the Age of Consent for Sex Work

Jamie Magnusson

Canadian law states that sixteen is the age of consent for sexual activity, and eighteen is the age of consent for "sexual activity that exploits the young person – when it involves prostitution, pornography, or occurs in a relationship of authority, trust or dependency (e.g., with a teacher, coach or babysitter)" (http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/other-autre/clp/faq.html). Many of the sex workers I have encountered in my community work were trafficked in the sex industry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen.

Life unfolds very differently for these children when their exploitation is discovered in comparison to youth who are exploited when they are in their late teens or twenty-something. Children will often be housed by the Children Aid Society within a few hours, and all 'adults' – a term that includes 'youth' -- connected to the exploitation will be arrested. For youth in their late teens and twenties the situation is very different. There is most often no investigation. An affirmative answer to the question "are you okay doing sex work" is all that is needed to thwart an imperative to investigate. Typically there are no questions asked at all. Youth who are exploited in the sex industry are -- from the perspectives of johns, the police apparatus, and social services -- adults. Their presence at international sporting events, carnivals, conventions, clubs frequented by the military, massage parlours, bars, and the streets are so common place that no one blinks an eye. The presence of youth sex workers has become naturalized across the urban landscape. They are working these sites because of economic necessity in that services that could possibly mitigate their precarious housing do not exist for those who have 'reached the age of consent'. My work with these youth is therefore within the purview of adult education, and as an adult educator this work is a critically important contribution to the emergent field of youth studies.

Imagine some of the contexts youth sex workers may find themselves, where their ensuring their health and safety may depend on a few well-placed questions having to do with the context of their sex work. These scenarios reveal the ways institutions connected to health and safety construct youth involved in sex work as adults. More importantly, youth are constructed as adults as a way of privileging the health and safety of everyone else in the exploitation context, at the direct expense of the health and safety of the youth.

1. In an emergency ward, beat up, strung out, having just been raped, trafficked youth are often not asked about how they broke their nose, fingers, or arm. They are not assessed to see if they have been raped. Their various breaks are tended to, and they are released. If questions are asked, they are likely to be asked in the presence of 'the boyfriend'. 'The boyfriend' is the pimp who performed the rape and the beating, and is accompanying his girl to make sure she is back in the street or massage parlour in record time, earning money for him.

2. After intervening in a fight, a cop pulls one of the parties – a youth sex worker -- to the side to ask questions about the altercation. The youth, high as a kite, tells her side of the story. The cop recognizes her as a street based sex worker, and asks her "Are you ok doing sex work?". The youth knows that she has to get back to work or risk a brutal beating from her pimp. She says "yes". The youth, who shows signs of chronic substance abuse and having been severely beaten, is given a warning, and she goes back to work. Alternatively, she is arrested for assault. When she is released, she will be beaten within an inch of her life.

The Emergent Political Economy Youth and Sex work

The transformation of cities is proceeding rapidly as global accumulation becomes increasingly financialized, and cities become a site of accumulation via ongoing acts of dispossession facilitated via austerity politics. Davis (2006) has provided evidence that slum growth throughout the global south is surpassing urbanization, and worldwide over half of humanity now lives in cities. Productive stagnation has become a stable characteristic of our current economy (often referred to as 'monopoly finance capitalism'), normalizing underemployment and low wages globally (Magdoff & Bellamy-Foster, 2014). The most accessible employment opportunities, particularly for youth, are in the informal and illegal economies within cities. The pandemic of missing and murdered Aboriginal women reveals how the violence of dispossession and migration to cities is gendered, and an aspect of the racialized project of genocide that is embedded within colonialism (see Andrea Smith, 2004).

Migration to cities is also productive of a queer diaspora characterized by lgbtq folks seeking community within sprawling mega-cities undergoing fractionalization and erosion of stable infrastructures under neoliberal and austerity policies Cities such as Toronto, where homosexuality has been decriminalized, are simultaneously desired destinations for the queer diaspora and also spaces where racialized lgbtq folk continue to be exteriorized through laws that threaten to revoke citizenship of racialized peoples who can be labelled as 'terrorists' for challenging the racist heteropatriarchal state (Bain, 2014). Already exteriorized subjects who are definitively shut out of formal economies, queer diasporic youth, and particularly trans youth, are able to make a subsistence living through sex work

These trends are part and parcel of the historical process by which capitalist accumulation has become increasingly 'financialized' in late capitalism. Bhattacharyya (2005) has argued that financialization, which has produced a burgeoning unregulated shadow sector of financial services intermingled with a regulated sector of financial services, has greatly facilitated the money laundering process by which illicit capital enters into the licit economy. Flowing from this point, as the distinction between illicit and licit money diminishes in the financialized form of capital, proceeds of illegal economies, characterized by brutal forms of what Marx referred to as 'primitive accumulation', or others refer to as 'dispossession', can become a significant source of licit accumulation through financial trading. Sex trafficking, the target of which is almost exclusively racialized and indigenous youth (including the lgbtq and the queer diaspora), then, is becoming more prevalent as a form of accumulation.

The gated and legal economy cannot exist without the illegal economy: the two work together dialectically. What this means in terms of a revolutionary adult education project is that adult education must definitively assert itself into the realm of youth studies.

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Youth in Transition: War, Migration, and 'Regenerative Possibilities'

> Today, there are approximately 232 million international migrants…Around 12 per cent (roughly one out of eight) are youth[1]

Shahrzad Mojab

Youth in Transition is a collaborative research project[2]. It is envisaged as a participatory, arts-based research project aimed at not only understanding the conditions of war, migration, and resettlement for youth from the Middle East, but also as a process to support youth to articulate and envision 'regenerative possibilities' in their own lives.

Youth and young adults today experience multiple forms of social and economic insecurity as they cross borders, transition from conflict zones to stable societies, and move from school to work (Heinz, 2009; Kelly, 2003). Policies focused on national security, including immigration and policing, often target young people, especially racialized youth, as the 'threat' against which notions of security are constructed (Giroux 2004, 2009). Increasingly numerous social crises associated with youth have been re-framed as 'security' concerns for Canadian society, including: unprecedented statistics on youth unemployment and under-employment; youth participation in informal/illegal economic activities and violence such as gang affiliation and street drug trafficking; the susceptibility of youth to extremist worldviews; and the mode and operation of their political expression. These ongoing 'crises' amongst youth have led to policy making at federal and provincial levels in Canada focused on the positive development, social integration, and civic engagement of youth and young adults (MCYS, 2012, 2013).

Within this more generalized social crisis amongst youth, the experiences of newcomers to Canada who have migrated from the conflict zones of the Middle East constitute a pressing social problem. Research has established a wide range of deleterious effects of militarization on the lives of young people, including: traumas of displacement and migration; access to basic health and human services; interruption of educational trajectories, skills development, and chronic un/under employment; alienation from new societies and problems in acculturation, particularly for ex-combatants; and complex identity formation concerns related to living in diaspora communities and the racism and gender oppression that typically arise in the condition of war and migration (Abbink, 2005; Carlton-Ford & Boop, 2010; Durish, 2013; Giroux, 2005; Johnson & Thompson, 2008; Kerka, 2002; Kibris, 2014; Levin, 2011; Magro, 2007; Mojab, 2013; Smyth, 2003; Stabile & Rentschler, 2005; Sutton, et al, 2008; Wilson et al, 2010; Zilberg, 2007).

For youth migrating from conflict zones of the Middle East language barriers, cultural differences, racism, sexism, and experiences of trauma compound the problem of social and civic integration into Canadian society. It is also made more challenging by their precarious status within Canadian society vis-à-vis their legal and cultural status as 'citizens' (Beauvais et al. 2001; Goldring et al, 2011) and the conditions of insecure work and education facing all young Canadians today (Geobey, 2013). While their experiences of war and state violence, and their migration journeys and their conditions as new arrivals differ, youth displaced from war zones experience a significant level of trauma and stress. Literature on trauma and mental health suggests that exposure to this level of violence and insecurity can impact both their development and their capacity to function as contributing members of society (Magro, 2007; Birman et. al, 2005; Lustiq et. al, 2004; Machel, 1996).

In this research, our main questions are:

1. How do young people experience war, militarism, and displacement from the refugee communities in conflict zones in the Middle East?

2. What characterizes the experience of 'transit' between a conflict zone and resettlement in a new society? What conditions do young people face in the process of transition and how do these experiences impact their attempts at integration and resettlement?

3. Given experiences of war and displacement, how do young people understand and navigate the resettlement process in Canada? How do young people formulate, express, and pursue their aspirations for 'regenerative possibilities' in a new society?

The theoretical orientation of Youth in Transition is a critical, feminist, anti-racist approach to youth studies research. Youth Studies is an emerging field addressing the particular social, material, and psychological needs of youth and young adults. It develops the interdisciplinary nature of educational studies through related bodies of knowledge

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1 Global Migration Group (2014) Migration and Youth: Challenges and Opportunities, p. 5 (available at http://globalmigrationgroup.org).

2 Myself and Sara Carpenter are collaborating on this project which is currently being assessed by the SSHRC Insight Grant review committee.

in human and cultural geography, sociology, economics, curriculum studies, adult education, aboriginal knowledge, critical policy studies, political science, anthropology, cultural studies, media studies, social work, women's studies, psychology and mental health, migration studies, and ethnic & equity studies. Youth studies, much like adult education, as a field of research has widespread agreement on the necessity of critical theoretical tools for working with youth across multiple lines of social identity including race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, and language. Adult education has the theoretical and methodological capability to fully explore the lived realities of youth. Experts in the field advise that in addition to a feminist, anti-racist, and equity orientation to youth work, particular philosophical commitments to working with youth must be present in research. These include reflexivity, participation, multiple avenues for expression and voice, critical institutional analysis, and commitment to an anti-oppressive framework (Akom, et al, 2008; Best, 2007; Cammorota & Fine, 2013; Kelly, 2000; Olorunda, 2011).

This theoretical approach necessitates a simultaneous methodological commitment to feminist participatory research. Feminist participatory research emphasizes the use of participatory methods of data collection in order to develop critical biographical accounts and discursive analysis of life experience. The methodology involves ongoing work by research participants to collect experiential data pertaining to the conditions of their own lives and their own interpretive processes. Previous research with marginalized youth populations has confirmed the success of an approach to youth research that emphasizes the importance of biography and critical reflection and which uses arts-based participatory methods (Cammarota & Fine, 2010; Henderson et al, 2006; Hodkinson, 2005).

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SYMPOSIUM

Transnational Migration, Social Inclusion and Adult Education

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ABSTRACT

This symposium Transnational Migration, Social Inclusion and Adult Education *discusses the historical transitions and emerging exclusionary trends in migration with a particular focus on the impact of neoliberalism. The contributions will reveal worrisome trends in migration policies and practices, the impact on the provision of relevant adult education, and will offer recommendations for adult educators to enhance social inclusion.*

Introduction

While migration has been a persistent human dynamic, the rates of global migration have reached historical peak numbers. Neoliberal globalization policies, growing global inequality and advanced transportation technologies have greatly accelerated the mobility of people across national boundaries. With the growing ease of global communication and transportation, migrants are now often transnational, maintaining strong ties to the country of origin as well as the host country. In settler nations such as Canada, immigration is a means to boost economic growth and has been utilized for nation-building and industrialization. Depending on the State policies and priorities of the time, basic education, language, literacy, skills training and professional education programs have been made available to certain groups of immigrants, however these programs have regularly stemmed from an assimilationist paradigm. Programs have been developed by various adult education providers—the state, educational institutions, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and ethnocultural community organizations.

This symposium addresses diverse facets of the topic: *Transnational Migration, Social Inclusion and Adult Education*: historical transitions and emerging exclusionary trends in migration; the impact on the provision of relevant adult education; and recommendations for adult educators to enhance social inclusion and social justice.

Contextualizing Transnational Migration
Shibao Guo

Migration takes many forms depending on, among other factors, whether the moving subject is a manual worker, a highly qualified specialist, an entrepreneur, a refugee, or if the impetus for migration is family reunification. The fact that migrants enter their destinations via diverse channels leads us to apply a range of labels to them, e.g., temporary workers, permanent immigrants, or asylum seekers. At present, however, it is not clear exactly how many transnational migrants there are. Global inequality means that transnational migration tends to be from less developed nations to the advanced industrial countries, toward OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) member nations. In order to draw some conclusions on the magnitude of contemporary transnational migration, it is useful to look at the OECD's comprehensive annual report on recent developments in migration in its member countries. According to recent OECD Annual Reports (OECD, 2008, 2013), some of the salient features of today's transnational migration trends in OECD countries include the following. First, migration of both permanent and temporary immigrants from outside the OECD to OECD countries continues to increase, from an average of 790,000 persons per year between 1956 and 1976, 1.24 million per year during 1977-1990, and 2.65 million per year from 1991 to 2003. Numbers in 2010 reached almost 4 million. Temporary migration is also increasing, but at a slower pace than permanent-type migration, sitting at about 2 million in 2010. Furthermore, asylum seeking in OECD countries rose by more than one-fifth in 2011 partially due to the "Arab Spring", exceeding 400,000 for the first time since 2003. On average, immigration accounted for 40% of

total population growth over the period 2010-11 in OECD countries whose populations are still growing.

Second, migrants from Eastern Europe and Asia continue to dominate. In 2011, China (10%), Romania (6%), Poland (5.3%), India (4.7%), the Philippines (3.1%), and Mexico (3.1%) provided one third of total migrants into OECD countries. Migration to European countries continues to be characterized by free circulation within the European Economic Area (EEA), which rose by 15% in 2011 and is now four times more common relative to migration from elsewhere. Third, the migration of highly skilled workers has increased during the past two decades. Many OECD countries have adopted point-based systems for the selection of high-skilled candidates, assigning scores in the areas on their education, skills, and resources. Fourth, depending on the destination country and the period of time considered, 20% to 50% of immigrants leave the host country within five years of their arrival, either to return home or to move to a third country (OECD, 2008). Migrants move again for four major reasons, including failure to integrate in the host country, individuals' desire to return to their home countries, achievement of a savings objective, or the opening of employment opportunities in their home countries (OECD, 2008). The 2013 report indicates that flows out of southern European countries most affected by the economic crisis (e.g., Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) have accelerated by 45% from 2009 to 2011 (OECD, 2013). Many countries continue to seek ways of encouraging skilled members of these diaspora to return.

As a result of transnational migration, the foreign-born population of OECD countries as a whole reached 12.5% of the total population in 2011, representing an increase by about 30 million persons over ten years (2001-11). Among some of the top immigrant receiving countries, 26.8% of Australia's citizens were foreign born, followed by Canada at 20.6%, Germany at 13%, the United States at 12.9%, and the United Kingdom at 11.5% (OECD, 2013). It is predicted that the populations of other OECD member states will increasingly resemble these countries in the coming years with respect to both prevalence and diversity.

Settlement Services in the Training and Education of Immigrants: Towards a Participatory Mode of Governance
Hongxia Shan

In Canada, immigrant settlement was primarily the responsibility of immigrants themselves and those who brought them to Canada prior to World War II. The Canadian state was not involved in immigrant services until 1948. At that time, settlement services were mainly set up to assist families of Canadian soldiers and war refugees to adjust to life in Canada. In 1974, the Department of Manpower and Immigration expanded its mandate and assumed responsibility for coordinating immigrant services. In particular, it established the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, which has since provided funding

to non-governmental organizations to deliver settlement services such as information, orientation, and referral to services. As the government better recognizes the economic cost associated with the devaluation of immigrants' qualifications, government funding for immigrant services has tripled since 2006 (Government of Canada, 2014). As a result, the last 10 years or so have witnessed the emergence of many new programs and services, including training programs that are geared toward bridging immigrants to their fields of practice. In addition to the federal government, provincial and other local governments, charitable organizations and private foundations also provide funding for immigrant services. Delivery of services is often conducted through non-governmental organizations, particularly community-based organizations, including ethnic-specific immigrant service agencies (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), as well as educational institutions (e.g., Friesen, 2011; Slade, 2012).

This contribution provides a historical review of the policies, practices, and research related to settlement or immigrant services in Canada, with particular attention paid to the roles that they have played in immigrant training and education vis-à-vis labour market segmentation and deprofessionalization. It shows that while implicated in the production of segmented labor market, immigrant services may nonetheless play a critical role in the empowerment of immigrants and immigrant communities. It also identifies the discursive and ideological shift in settlement services, i.e., from assimilation to integration.

While integration has officially been made a goal for immigration and settlement in Canada, how to integrate this ideal into practice remains a challenge. There are, however, important movements on the ground and emerging institutional spaces that adumbrate a participatory mode of governance, which involves immigrants in the design and delivery of the services. I argue that this is the most promising approach for best practice in settlement services. By involving immigrants in the management and delivery of programs, the immigrant service sector could contribute to immigrant empowerment, citizenship building as well as social change at large.

Informal Adult Learning and Emotion Work of Service Providers for Refugee Claimants
Susan M. Brigham, Catherine Baillie Abidi and Elizabeth Lange

While migration generally is a complex process, forced migration increases the complexity, vulnerability, and risk. Tightening economies and rising neoliberal economic policies have shifted refugee policy toward deterrence practices versus humanitarian responses (Gibney, 2004). Given this crisis in the system of asylum, refugee claimants who are fleeing persecution, seeking safety and applying for refugee status in another country, endure a continuous state of precariousness. For this reason, service providers become an integral part of their lives. In this symposium, we focus

on an empirical study of the experiences of immigrant service providers for refugee claimants in Atlantic Canada.

Our findings show that informal learning within the workplace contributes to immigrant service providers' understandings of the vulnerabilities and settlement needs of refugee claimants. Learning and teaching opportunities are taking place in the everyday activities of their working lives; as one participant states:

> Sometimes …I get a call from the hospital regarding a client, and then I end up talking with the nurse or the social worker for an hour about refugee claimants, or the difference between a claimant and a sponsored refugee.

Our findings also indicate that service providers' awareness and understanding of emerging migration policies largely correlates to their experiences with refugee claimants. However, many Atlantic region participants work with a small number of claimants so they often have fewer opportunities to become familiar with constantly changing federal policies. Navigating changing policies for refugee claimants, given increasingly restrictive policies, is described by all participants as intellectually and emotionally exhausting.

Our participants consistently indicate there is an intensity of emotions involved in providing service for refugee claimants, particularly as mediators between the claimant and the bureaucratic state. In these roles they are engaged in emotion work, whereas the state, policymakers, and bureaucrats can be disengaged from the emotive experiences and face-to-face encounters with refugee claimants. For example, this participant states:

> The majority of these people who arrive in container ships, when they get out of detention they're very frustrated…They're upset, they kind of want to take it out, they need to release the tension and the stress, and everything that's happened. And you know, we often are the recipients of that frustration, and it's difficult because then it's hard to form a respectful relationship. And they become even more vulnerable.

Yet, the role, skills and knowledge of service providers is unacknowledged and undervalued, as is the embodied frustration and heartbreak that yields a variety of coping mechanisms.

Our examination uncovers the relational power dynamics of emotional labor in which research participants negotiate and balance emotions and organizational *feeling rules* for the benefit of their clients, their own sense of professionalism, and in turn the state. Recognizing emotion labour, ideologically oppositional working environments, shifting policy contexts, and the lack of educational opportunities for those involved in immigration service work is vital for addressing this area of practice, particularly enhancing the quality of life for refugee claimants.

Deconstructing Language Policies and Programs for Adult Immigrants in Canada
Yan Guo

Research shows that language is one of the most outstanding challenges facing adult immigrants in transitioning to a new society (Guo, 2013). Adult education is often charged with the responsibility of providing English as a Second Language (ESL) programs to help newcomers upgrade their language and skills. Until the early 1990s ESL programs for adult immigrants took an assimilationist approach to citizenship preparation and nation building. In 1992 Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) was created as part of a federal integration strategy. The policy objective of integration is a two-way process, requiring mutual adjustments by both newcomers and Canadian society. In practice, however, the integration discourse endorses the assimilation of immigrants into British based Canadian norms (Li, 2003).

One way that the federal government's policy on integration has been implemented is through teaching Canadian cultures. Most ESL curriculum documents and teaching guidelines tend to present Canadian culture as a national attribute consisting of sets of stable values and behaviour patterns (Illieva, 2000). Sauve (1996) argued that "we live in a society that sees itself as multicultural while continuing to be biased in favor of white, Anglo-Saxon, Christian, middle-class traditions and values (p. 21).

Another way to implement the federal government's policy on integration was to prepare immigrants for the Canadian labor market. To address the issue of the lack of Canadian experience the ELT program made unpaid work experience part of its components. While these programs purport to offer professional language acquisition and labor market knowledge, some service-providers have attempted to mould skilled immigrants according to an ideal of the compliant worker (Soveran, 2011).

Current immigration and adult immigrant language policies endorse a conceptual framework of integration, but the policy in practice is assimilationist not integrationist. The ESL programs, focusing on teaching Canadian values, have failed to integrate cultural difference and diversity into language education. The current policy directing adult immigrant English language education in Canada emphasizes human capital models, the functional goal of job preparation, and individualized skills (Gibb, 2008). ESL programs for adult immigrants have become a mechanism of neo-liberal control to produce ideal workers for the Canadian labor market (Ng & Shan, 2010).

The preparation of citizenship education in ESL programs for adult immigrants, from a recognitive justice perspective, would reject the current deficit model that seeks to assimilate immigrants to the norms of the dominant culture. This perspective calls for *pluralist citizenship* that recognizes that immigrants have multiple attachments to specific languages, cultures and values (Guo, 2010). Adult educators can incorporate immigrants' transcultural experiences

into curriculum and explore the meanings of Canadian citizenship from immigrants' perspectives. It requires a transformation of policy and practice in language programs for the social inclusion of adult immigrants to take into account plural ways of belonging, dynamic negotiations of transnational identities, and plural ways of becoming Canadians (Guo, 2010; Waterhouse, 2011).

The Quantification of Literacy and Language Education
Tara Gibb

Newcomers to developed and immigrant-receiving nations experience unemployment or underemployment, and deficient literacy and language proficiency is cited as one cause (Chiswick & Miller, 2013). The policy response has been to develop national and international literacy and language assessment tools where literacy and language are constructed as acquisitive, socially isolated, and culturally neutral skills. Examples of these tools include the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), and the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages to name just a few. Drawing on ethnographic research and practice theories, literacy and language research illustrates the challenging implications that the quantification of learning has for programming and pedagogy.

The first is that language and literacy programming has shifted from a focus on civic and social participation to one of labour market attachment. Framed through neoliberal discourses, these testing and assessment frameworks send a strong message to immigrants and refugees that belonging and participating in their adopted home is based on their labour market attachment. A second implication is that these testing and assessment tools are culturally and theoretically problematic. Rather than fostering an understanding of what people actually do in their literacy and language practices, these assessments present idealized forms (Atkinson, 2012). Furthermore, language and literacy practices are constructed as culturally neutral, giving little recognition to the ways that practices are socially and locally situated. It is unlikely that assessments focused on universal standardization are offering accurate depictions of immigrants' and refugees' communicative competence. Thirdly, adult literacy and language educators and programs are subject to expanding regulatory and accountability measures.

What do these language and literacy tests and benchmarks mean for the social inclusion of new immigrants? Only certain forms of literacies and language are privileged, leaving little space for pluralistic ways of knowing and they deny the centrality of culture, social relations, and locality in people's daily literacy and language practices. Standardized and universal approaches to assessment and practice maintain cultural hierarchies and perpetuate

social and economic stratification (Maddox, Aikman, Rao, & Robinson-Pant, 2011). Transformation of the existing social order could include dialogue among policymakers, employers, researchers, and practitioners with the goal of developing assessment tools and practices that acknowledge the collaborative work involved in literacy and language practices. Recognition for how literacies and languages are situated in and informed by local social relations might offer more accurate representations of immigrants' competence.

Migrating Professional Knowledge: Progressions, Regressions and Dislocations
Bonnie Slade

Migration, moving from one country to another, implicates professionals in multiple transitions, many of which are unexpected and unwelcomed. Since the 1990s, skilled migration for permanent and temporary settlement has been rapidly increasing. In the global competition for skilled migrants, professionals are highly sought after in both traditional immigrant receiving countries (Canada, U.S., Australia) and increasingly in more historically restrictive regions, such as the European Union. For national governments of immigrant-receiving countries, professional migration is viewed as strategic, addressing labour market shortages, as well as dealing with issues of aging populations and low birth rates. Aspects of migration such as population flows, settlement and integration are well-researched, and are generally approached from an economic, demographic, sociological, or cultural perspective. From an adult education perspective, researchers examine how professional knowledge crosses national borders, encountering new systems of professional regulation and higher education, facing different value systems related to professional knowledge and experience, new gender configurations of professions, different work practices and material realities.

While migration is a very contentious issue, research has shown that both policy makers and citizens believe that skilled migration is beneficial to the economy, culture and professional practices of a country. The perceived benefit of professional migration, however, rests on certain assumptions about the labour market integration of these professionals. Critically, it assumes that they will be able to practice their profession, providing essential services and contributing to the growth of the economy. Adult educators in Canada have shown that the economic promise of skilled migration is often not realized. Many professionals experience difficulties in establishing themselves in professional practice in Canada, facing deskilling and labour market exclusion. Although Canada purposefully recruits high numbers of skilled workers annually, migration to Canada for professionals has been shown to be a risky endeavour.

Drawing on three empirical research projects as well as related literature on transnational migration and adult education, this contribution examines the professional

trajectory of immigrants in Canada, arguing that deskilling is itself a transition that can be empirically investigated through examining the knowledge practices of immigrant professionals. This raises questions about how deskilling is accomplished through exclusions and inclusions in various knowledge practices.

Globally there is a tension in adult education between serving social purposes and the needs of the labour market. Critical adult educators with an awareness of these global transnational migration dynamics need to find ways to keep immigrant professionals connected to their professions and professional discourses. Employment programs without this critical structural awareness may simply be reproducing exploitation and deskilling for immigrant professionals.

Rethinking Social Justice and Adult Education for Welcoming, Inclusive Communities
Beth Lange and Catherine Baillie Abidi

Contemporary transitions in migration require the adult education community to engage in deep and critically reflective dialogue about the scale of social justice and social inclusion. With globalization, the scale of justice now needs to be considered transnational, as trans-border injustices now include climate events, predatory capital, international security, disease, technology issues, population dislocation, and unilateral actions of superpowers; as well, many actors now, from social movements to nongovernmental organizations, are transnational (Fraser, 2009).

National self-interest has consistently shaped immigration policies, from the first wave of colonial expansion to the second wave of industrialization and the Great Migration to the Americas and Australasia, driven by raced, classed and gendered policies (Hanlon & Vicino, 2014). In the early third wave, a more liberal, humanitarian approach to immigration emerged mid-20th century, a form of redistributive justice through a social welfare state and a form of recognitive justice through official integration policies. However, these small steps have been systematically eroded since the 1990s as economic priorities have surged to the fore. National self-interest now explicitly drives the immigration tap – turned on in times of prosperity and turned off in times of economic constraint and fear (Stalker, 2001). Exclusionary trends are on the rise, from the selection of 'designer immigrants' for their professional and economic resources, temporary foreign worker programs, securitization border policies, labour market exclusion or occupational skidding, managerialist and assimilationist policies, and ability to revoke citizenship at any time. While immigrants are now better educated and in better health when they arrive, they have experienced less successful integration over the last 20 years (Wayland, 2006). As global inequality reaches record gaps, redistributive justice and recognitive justice have been losing ground.

As Fraser (2009) argues, this calls for a reframing of justice, toward redistributive, recognitive and representational justice. Adult education requires a critical lens to explore how "barriers" and "gatekeepers" influence the overall migration experiences of immigrants (Guo, 2010). Further, representational justice incorporates a political dimension and "tells us who is included in, and who [is] excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition" (Fraser, 2009, p.17).

Adhering to the social justice underpinnings of adult education historically, this three-fold concept of justice can be facilitated through: asset-based practices which values the abilities and experiences of migrants; increased conversancy about migration history and policies among adult educators; creating an immigrant/refugee-positive climate; cultural brokering for two-way integration; recognizing ethnocultural organizations as places and spaces for adult education; fostering global citizenship education; legitimatizing plural knowledge systems; considering settlement services as pedagogical spaces; enhancing participatory governance in settlement services; avoiding complicity in the unnecessary retraining and deskilling of immigrants; acknowledging the emotion work and learning needs of service providers; and challenging restrictive policy and funding regimes. In these ways, the field of adult education can enact justice from a transnational perspective and adult educators have the opportunity to contribute to the co-creation of welcoming communities in which immigrants belong and contribute.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION/
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SYMPOSIUM

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Six Blind Men and an Elephant:
The Futile Quest for Consensus on the Competencies Required for Good Practice

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Abstract

Four efforts to identify transnational competencies or develop broad-based curricula for the preparation of adult education practitioners are described and critiqued. The parable of the "blind men and the elephant" is employed to argue both the futile nature of these projects and the importance of learning "…from the lived realities of differently located others." Although there are important limitations to the projects described, there is great merit in continuing a transnational conversation about what "good practice" means in the early 21st Century and how best to prepare adult educators for this important, complex work.

Introduction

Adult education as a field of study and context of practice is highly diverse with rather ill-defined boundaries. Many efforts have been made to "map" the territory of adult education both in terms of the research produced as well as the various settings in which practice occurs. Globally, adult education has evolved quite differently from one country to the next based on local needs and circumstances, government policies, and the priorities and values of leaders and communities. The work of adult education practitioners is framed—constrained and enabled—by the nature of the organizations in which they work, the expectations of the learners they serve and of the social structures in which they are embedded, the programs that are designed to prepare them for practice, and by the growing number of "qualifications frameworks" that attempt to specify the knowledge and skills required for good practice. But how is "good practice" determined and whose voices influence decisions about the capabilities necessary to achieve it?

We employ the parable of "The Blind Men and the Elephant" in part to recognize the limitations of any effort to characterize the highly diverse—some might say diffuse—field of practice, especially in a transnational context. Tarc (2013)

summarizes nicely some of what can be learned from this story:

> In a general sense, the elephant represents the external world or 'reality." The quality of blindness marking these subjects' existence in the world suggests that human beings do not have direct access to reality or, more precisely to the whole of reality. Most literally the story suggests that one's understanding of the world depends upon how one is positioned and upon what 'part' of reality one is 'in touch with'….we also learn that despite our incapacity to perceive the whole or sense what another sees from his or her distinct vantage point, we have a propensity to cling to our own limited understandings and spend our energies convincing others of the 'rightness' of our version of reality, rather than attempting to learn with and from the lived realities of differently located others. (p. 21)

This symposium presents and critiques several efforts made to articulate the knowledge, skills and dispositions required for practice and how these have influenced the development of curricula for the preparation of adult education practitioners. Each presenter will discuss projects that attempted to articulate either the competencies required for good practice or the elements of a curriculum intended to prepare adult educators for practice.

Key points discussed include:

- The image of "adult educator" that guided the project.

- The range of responsibilities considered central to the role.

- The process used to arrive at the competencies/curriculum.

- The strengths and limitations of the product produced.

- The degree to which the competencies/curriculum can be used outside the context in which it was developed.

- Competencies, Curricula and Good Practice

- Bernd Käpplinger on *Key Competencies for Adult Learning Professionals in the European Union* (Research voor Beleid, 2010).

It's the economy, stupid! The economy is, for this document, the crucial background like in Clinton's 1992 US election campaign. The European Union (EU) commission considers lifelong learning a key area for promoting economic development: "Member States can no longer afford not to have an efficient adult learning system—integrated into a lifelong learning strategy, which provides participants with increased labour market access, promotes social integration and prepares the participants for active ageing in future" (Research voor Beleid, 2010, p. 17). Social integration or active citizenship is frequently mentioned in EU policy documents, but the main goals are economically framed. Critical adult education literature frequently critiques the economic lopsidedness of lifelong learning discourses which are also popular within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and in various national government discourse (e.g., Popović, 2013).

This background entails advantages and disadvantages. One key advantage is the increasing resources available for adult education. While the learning of adults was in former times only rudimentarily supported by states, this has changed. The financial support is often temporary and program- or project-based, which is challenging for sustainable development. Nonetheless, those involved in research and practice profit—literally—from this development. Another advantage is an increasing interest in developing frameworks and systemizing the divergent field or rhizome of adult education. While professionalization is difficult to achieve—or even fiercely opposed by activists in social movements—the pathways for standards and codes of practice are promoted within this context. The publication Key Competencies for Adult Learning Professionals (Research voor Beleid, 2010, p. 10) was thus funded by the European Commission. It identified a "…set of key competences… applicable for all professionals working in the adult learning sector, by abstracting from the specific context in which professionals work. Moreover, it attempts to include all competences needed to support the activities carried out on an institutional level. This means that not only teaching activities, but also other activities (for example management activities and program development activities)." The outcome is the model in Figure 1, which was constructed out of literature analysis, expert workshops and the analysis of job descriptions from within organisations working in adult education:

Figure 1: Key competences of adult learning professionals
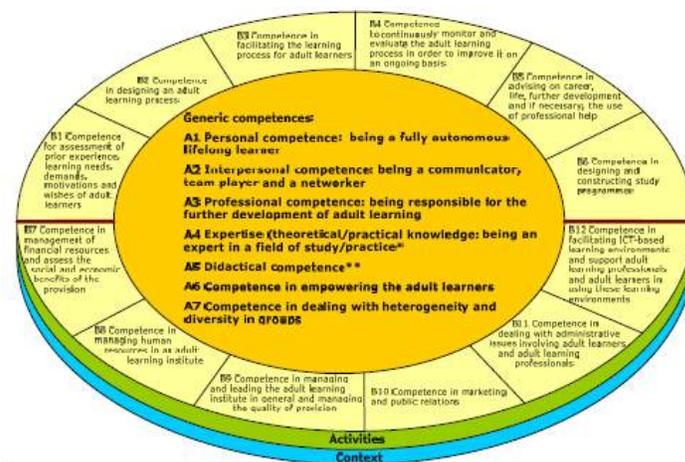
Source: Research voor Beleid, 2010, p. 11

It is a far reaching outcome-oriented, comprehensive model. The differentiation in competences, activities and contexts makes sense. The complexity of adult education becomes visible. Overall, the project and its product have great potential to contribute to a broader understanding of the field within Europe and beyond.

Nonetheless, the model and its economic focus have serious limitations. The whole approach is based on a managerial perspective with an industrial logic as applied in quality management systems. Professionalism is partitioned into numerous clusters of competences to be performed, measured and steered on an organizational or governmental level. Professionalism is implicitly intended to be subsumed by learning organisations. The document frequently refers to an organizational rather than a professional level: "In general, most instruments can be implemented at the employer level. These instruments range from establishing networks of professionals to institutional self-evaluation. The employers of adult learning professionals therefore play a key role in enhancing the quality of (their) staff" (p. 15). A radical interpretation could even see elements of de-professionalization being part of this approach since the space for individual action based on professional judgement is put under organizational control. There is no discussion about content or the aims of adult learning beyond economic goals. Of course, economic goals cannot be non-political, but they are hidden behind an agenda which values efficiency and does not want to discuss goals or alternatives. It is striking that the whole document (157 pages) does not contain words like "ethics", "politics" or "moral." The word "interests" is only used twice. Paradoxically, the whole document seems to be apolitical, while its framing is highly political.

The neglect of the socio-political and ethical dimensions of adult education (c. Sork, 1996) is a serious shortcoming of the whole approach found in this publication. It is today even more important to remember that, "Historically, the radical tradition locates adult education as an integral part of progressive social movements: part of the common cause

of liberation, the advancement of collective interests and the political project to create a more just and egalitarian social order" (Martin, 2000, p. 259). Today, Martin's claim cannot be answered solely on a national or European level, but must also be answered on a global level. The parable of the blind men reminds us that the approach analyzed is partly useful, but limited to a primarily economic perspective with attention to specific interests of a limited number of stakeholders. Professionalism is not solely about management and acquiring numerous competences, but deals also with content and the different and often conflicting aims of education. Good practice must have a wider scope. Professionals must develop capabilities and act within this wider scope and cope with dissent, ambivalence and contradictions.

- Katarina Popović on *Curriculum GlobALE: Curriculum for Global Adult Learning and Education* (Lattke, Popović & Weickert, 2013)

This joint project of the German Institute for Adult Education – Leibniz Centre for Lifelong Education and the Institute for International Cooperation of the Association of German Adult Education Centres set out to jointly develop and implement "…a scientifically based and transnationally compatible curriculum that will provide a basic qualification for adult educators…. The objective of the project… was to develop, test and disseminate a core curriculum for training adult educators outside of the university sector which, being in line with the basic principles of Adult Education, satisfies international scientific standards and is suitable for use on a transnational scale" (Lattke, Popović & Weickert, 2013, p. 5).

Curriculum GlobALE is unambiguous about the idea of the adult educator who stands at the end of the training process. It is not a neutral location, but is based on a clear value system, with roots in a human rights-based approach. These values are mentioned several times in *Curriculum GlobALE*— sustainable development, peace and democracy, gender and cultural sensitivity, etc. The values are visible not only in the description of the curriculum, but also in the cross-cutting issues and in the set of competencies, and they are expressed in the basic principles *Curriculum GlobALE* is based upon—competency-oriented, action-oriented, participant-oriented, and aimed at sustainability.

Since adult education is seen as a prerequisite for the right of self-fulfilment and realisation of one's full potential, adult educators shall, in consequence, "strive to empower participants to take charge of their own interests and to attain their aspirations. Using their methodological knowledge they shall enable participants to take an active role in the learning process and, depending on the respective circumstances, shall support them tackling their issues of concern" (Lattke, Popović &Weickert, 2013, p. 13).

Although the diversity of adult education is recognized in *Curriculum GlobALE*, the competencies of adult educators are perceived as common, so the main responsibilities that adult educators worldwide should share include:

- the task of supporting adult learning processes;

- the task of promoting the emancipation and self-determination of adult learners;

- recognising adult learners as persons "of age", i.e. mature and responsible persons who decisively (co)determine their learning process.

The other tasks are related to the specific role an adult educator or trainer has in different stages of the process: need analysis, developing a training curriculum, implementing – performing, evaluating. Even more important, some general knowledge about adult education, adult learning and teaching is needed, as well as some theories and concepts about adult learning. The curriculum provides for both the development of cognitive abilities and skills as well as the ability for self-reflection, to examine one's own views and values, and to work on motivation and emotional aspects. "Another key element regarded as having central importance in the curriculum is an understanding for the broader social context that significantly shapes the underlying conditions for the actions of each adult educator. This includes not only the political and legal framework conditions of a country or a region, but also the prevailing concepts and views on adult education, including unspoken, latent views. The understanding and the prejudices that exist in a society or culture with regard to the learning and teaching of adults represent a context-related condition that contributes towards influencing the actions of adult educators. Conscious reflection on this aspect therefore forms an integral part of the competency-related basic skills of professionally working adult educators" (Lattke, Popović & Weickert, 2013, p. 14).

The specificity of *Curriculum GlobALE* is its ambition to be suitable for worldwide use, across all borders and in different cultural contexts. The bases for this ambition are: common competencies, needed for every adult educator, no matter which context or which field; need for professionalization, expressed as the need for quality education and training of adult educators, teachers of adults, multipliers, trainers and others.

These two rather bold presumptions are based in the way *Curriculum GlobALE* was developed – it is based on practical projects and experiences from different contexts, not only on the normative idea that such endeavor is needed. There are three main pillars:

a) existing train-the-trainer programs from the context of the project work of DVV International from many parts of the world,

b) several existing national qualification systems and standards for adult educators,

c) transnational competency standards for adult educators which have been drawn up within the framework of European projects.

Based on all analysed projects and experiences, a set of common and most frequently identified competencies was defined, extended by some scientific elements and insights

and 'polished' through exchange with experts from various organizations and different parts of the world (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. The structure of Curriculum GlobALE and its five modules, p. 18
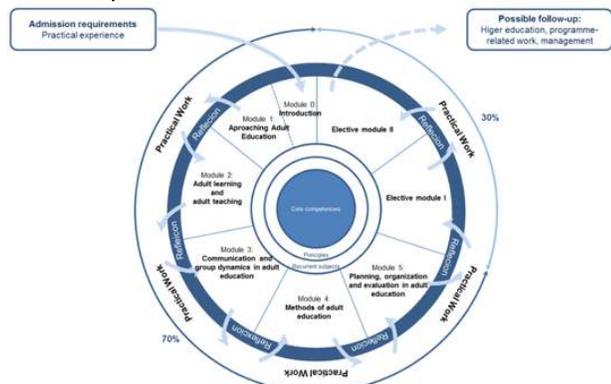
The use of *Curriculum GlobALE* in various contexts is the main idea of the project. The values, principles and competencies should enable worldwide application, but also the fact that *Curriculum GlobALE* offers, besides the common core, sufficient scope for variability, allowing for different needs to be met in individual cases, for various fields and dependent on the social, political and economic framework. The scope of design freedom within the five core modules is broad and, in particular, the variable part of the curriculum, which is to be entirely freely designed and accounts for 30 percent of the total curriculum.

The strengths of this program are at the same time its limitations. Only the implementation will be able to show if the idea of globally-common competencies is valid, and if it can, at the same time, satisfy local needs. The formal aspects could also be a serious obstacle: the program is not saying much about entrance criteria, ways of assessing and evaluating results and success of the training based on the program, and not much about the outcomes in terms of certificates, diplomas, etc. Therefore, it is not easy to integrate it into the national system of training of education personnel, even in Europe, where the reference to EQF [European Qualifications Framework] Level 5 might be helpful—especially the recommended number of hours of practical work, its combination with the training and potential validation of competencies obtained in prior learning do not give enough support for implementation. Further, even if there is agreement on the core competencies, *Curriculum GlobALE* might be too ambitious and difficult for some countries and regions where adult education is not highly developed —a possibility of two or three different outcomes could enable more flexible but still compatible implementation. As a curriculum for trainers in adult education, it is very demanding; as a curriculum for multipliers and trainers of trainers—it lacks some competencies. The heterogeneity of the target group made it difficult to be clear about the 'users', and although the program could be simply implemented (or

part of it), it will not be easy to integrate it and to get it recognized across contexts.

- S. Y. Shah on the *Participatory Adult Learning Documentation and Information Networking* (PALDIN) project (Shah, 2005).

Professional development of adult educators has been one of the neglected aspects of adult education in India. Several evaluations of literacy campaigns and adult continuing education programs in the country have traced the ineffectiveness and poor quality of programs to the lack of professional competence of adult educators (National Literacy Mission, 2008 & 2009). The institutional infrastructure in the country is inadequate to meet the increasing demand for professionally qualified manpower in adult education. Of the 703 universities in India (as on March, 2014), only twenty-one universities—Madras, Sri Venkateshwara, Bharatidasan, Gandhigram, Andhra, Barkatulla, Hari Singh Gaur, Jiwaji, H.N.B Bahuguna, Delhi, Jamia Millia Islamia, Jawaharlal Nehru, SNDT, APS Rewa, Dayal Bagh, Shivaji, Manipur, North East Hill and open universities like the Indira Gandhi, Global and B.R. Ambedkar—offer certificate, diploma, master's and doctoral programs in adult education (Shah, 2013).

In fact, the need for developing a specialized academic and administrative cadre of professional adult educators as an "indispensable prerequisite" for the success of adult education programs has been reiterated by several policy documents, specially the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) and the "Strategy paper on capacity building" (Government of India, 2011; National Literacy Mission, 2012). Often it has been observed that due to the urgency of launching the program and limited resources for and avenues of training, a large number of adult education organizations employ personnel with minimal or no professional qualifications or training. Attempts to provide on-the-job or in-service training to them have been limited in scope and found to be ineffective. In fact, the need for building and strengthening the capacities and competences of adult educators through a comprehensive professional development program has been repeatedly highlighted in several adult education forums in the country.

How to design and deliver a cost effective program for the professional development of large numbers of adult educators spread over a vast geographical area has been one of the challenges facing adult educators in a big developing country like India with a current population of 1.2 billion. This issue was taken up by the Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi) in collaboration with the International Institute of Adult and Lifelong Education (New Delhi) and Adult Learning Documentation and Information Network (ALADIN) of the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (Hamburg) which sponsored a pilot study on the status of adult learning organizations and adult educators in India with a view to exploring the possibilities of designing an accessible, relevant professional development program. The study identified 207 organizations—which included

academic institutions, governmental and nongovernmental organizations, documentation centers and libraries—and relevant data was collected through a survey.

The survey revealed that, on average, each organization had 3-4 personnel attending to different tasks ranging from program management, training, research, evaluation, information management and documentation. Their designations included teachers, researchers, program coordinators, administrators, activists, librarians and information officers and most of them had more than two years of experience. In terms of educational qualifications, over 75 % were university graduates with baccalaureate degrees and the rest had master's degrees. Some of the organizations were very small with just one or two staff members involved in multitasking. Most of the staff members had limited domain knowledge and skills (Shah, 2005), so the challenge was how to equip them with the requisite knowledge and skills through a comprehensive program. Since they were geographically spread over the entire country and already in employment and not in a position to attend a full-time program, it was felt that the best option would be to offer a professional development program through an open distance learning mode. The target group for the proposed program was restricted to middle level adult educators having not more than two years of professional experience.

The development of the curriculum framework was taken up in a systematic manner not only by reviewing the content of the existing courses and training programs but also holding a focus group discussion with selected stakeholders. The framework was further discussed with experts and finalized in an international workshop. Keeping in view the focus on participatory research and inclusion of information management, documentation and networking, the program was named Participatory Adult Learning, Documentation and Information Networking (PALDIN). It was comprised of two learning packages written in a self-learning mode:

- **PALDIN-1**: *Participatory Lifelong Learning & Information Communication Technologies*

- **PALDIN-2**: *Process Documentation, Dissemination & Networking.*

It was estimated that the completion of the learning packages would require a minimum of 480 hours of study and practical work. In terms of open and distance learning, this amount of work entitles the learners to earn sixteen credits.

The primary aim of the program was to upgrade the professional competence of adult educators in terms of domain knowledge and skills. The specific objectives were to:

1. provide learners with a conceptual understanding of the various roles of adult educators in the context of contemporary socio-economic life that requires a continuous stream of lifelong learning;

2. help learners acquire relevant knowledge and skills and sharpen the existing ones pertaining to adult learning, information and communication technologies,

documentation, information management, dissemination and networking; and

3. provide learners with opportunities to apply what they have learned in each unit so that they could reflect on their new learning and apply it in their day-to-day work situations.

The two learning packages comprising 31 units were pilot tested by a group of thirty learners drawn from different organizations and also reviewed by a panel of experts. After incorporating their suggestions, the learning packages were finalized and hosted on the UNESCO website as open courseware for wider use (www.unesco.org/education/aladin/paldin).

Although the program was launched with the expectation that a large number of adult educators might access the material to improve their professional competency, in reality, there were not many takers. It was reported that without a certificate from a recognized university, most of the adult educators were not keen to access the materials. Hence, an attempt was made to approach Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) to develop a diploma program based on the PALDIN materials. The university reviewed the materials and expanded it to five courses of 34 credits (24 credits of theory courses and 10 credits of practical courses). The courses are:

- MAE-001: Understanding Adult Education

- MAE-002: Policy Planning and Implementation of Adult Education in India

- MAE-003: Knowledge Management, Information Dissemination and Networking

- MES-016: Educational Research

- MAEL-001: Practical Work (www.ignou.ac.in)

The PALDIN program evolved in two stages. During the first stage, the program was conceived as a collaborative activity of a number of national and international agencies—UNESCO, Jawaharlal Nehru University, International Institute of Adult and Lifelong Education, University Grants Commission, National Literacy Mission and Indian Adult Education Association—and had very few resources. Most of the work was undertaken by the course coordinator and writers as a voluntary activity. However, during the second stage when the learning packages were expanded into the diploma program of Indira Gandhi National Open University, there was full financial backing, a lot of media support, and print materials were added to enrich the program.

Although during the first phase, the curriculum framework identified several topics, some of them could not be included in the learning package due mainly to the non-availability of expert writers and limited resources. Since some of the writers did not show much interest in writing the units (mainly due to the nominal honorarium), important topics like program planning, evaluation and training could not be included in the learning materials. The PALDIN course

covers the general issues linked to adult learning and literacy, creation of literate environments, information and communication technologies, document processes, networking and management of libraries. However, "…viewed from the perspective of program planning, the PALDIN curriculum provides a good foundation for some key processes and relevant theoretical resources, but does not provide the range of alternative approaches to planning and planning tools that might be needed by those for whom this is a primary responsibility" (Käpplinger & Sork, 2015, p. 185-186).

It was reported that a number of potential learners could not access the learning package due to the non-availability of computers at their place of work or home. Despite the special care taken to write the materials in simple English, some of the learners had difficulty in comprehending which discouraged them from accessing the materials. However, it was reported that some sections of the learning packages were translated into Bangla and used during the training programs organized by NGOs in Bangladesh. PALDIN materials were regularly used by master's students of Jawaharlal Nehru University and in several short-term training programs organized in India by different agencies.

It has been reported by the course coordinator of IGNOU that response to the diploma program was lukewarm due to the lack of publicity and high fees (Shah, 2013). The lack of recognition of the diploma program by potential employers like the National Literacy Mission seems to have discouraged several adult educators from enrolling. However, in the absence of a comprehensive professional development program for the massive number of adult educators in India and elsewhere, the learning package hosted on the UNESCO website can be of great help in enhancing professional knowledge.

- Thomas J. Sork on *Standards for Graduate Programs in Adult Education*. (Commission of Professors of Adult Education, 2008)

The membership of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE) primarily consists of faculty in US-based universities, most of which are subject to regional accreditation bodies and standards. (Adult education programs are not typically accredited but US universities and their teacher education programs are.) Historically, in the US and Canada, most preparation programs for adult educators have been at the graduate/post-graduate level. *Standards for Adult Education Graduate Programs* —originally developed in 1986, revised in 2008, and currently under revision again—identifies core areas of study for master's and doctoral level preparation programs and describes a set of standards that should be applied in assessing these programs. It was developed, in part, to provide a point of reference for those responsible for assessing the quality of programs and the role of adult education within a larger College or Faculty of Education.

The section of the proposed revised *Standards* that addresses the curriculum lists seven "topical areas" that should be included in master's level programs:

- Introduction to the nature, function and scope of adult education
- Adult learning and development
- Teaching adult learners
- Curriculum and program planning
- Introduction to the study of technology and online adult education
- Historical, philosophical and sociological foundations of adult education
- Overview of educational research

For the doctoral level, there are nine topical areas listed:

- Advanced study of adult learning and development (theory and research)
- Historical, philosophical foundations of adult education
- Study of leadership, including theories of organizational leadership, administration and change
- The changing role of technology in adult education
- Study of issues of policy in relation to adult education
- Globalization and international issues or perspectives in adult education
- Social, political and economic forces that have shaped the foundations and discourse of adult education
- Advanced speciality courses relevant to unique program and faculty strengths (e.g., continuing professional education, workplace learning, social movement learning, etc.)
- Qualitative and quantitative research methodology coursework to support dissertation research and ability to utilize existing literature.

In North America, undergraduate programs for adult educators are rare. Most of those who study at the graduate level entered adult education "through the back door," meaning that they entered practice by taking a job—often based on possessing a suitable undergraduate degree—and then "discovered" there was an academic field of study and graduate-level preparation programs.

Standards was originally developed somewhat defensively so that adult education programs could claim to have standards when accreditation bodies came calling or when unsympathetic deans questioned whether the study of adult education belonged in faculties or colleges of education. There has been a relatively high level of consensus—at least historically—on what the "core" of a graduate-level curriculum should include, but the relatively small number of faculty in many graduate programs makes it difficult to adequately cover all of the recommended topical areas.

At least one study (Sonstrom, Rachal, & Mohn, 2012) has assessed the degree to which North American doctoral programs are in compliance with the *Standards* and concluded that—based on analysis of course descriptions—"…collectively the 37 programs met 65.8% of standards by having courses which included the topical areas….only two met all nine" (p. 147). Based on this, we have to question the degree to which *Standards* is having the desired effect of promoting a more cohesive view of the field and more consistent curricula across universities.

There has been resistance within the North American professoriate—some might say, vociferous opposition—to the idea of developing a "competency" or "qualifications" framework for adult educators. This is based, in part, on the notion that adult education is more of a "calling" or vocation than a profession and, in part, on suspicions about the level of certainty we can achieve about the capabilities required to work effectively across multiple organizational contexts with diverse learners. Those who are opposed to "professionalizing" the field are more accepting of a list of "topical areas" to include in study and this has led to a *Standards* document that offends no one but also doesn't say much about the depth or breadth of the intellectual foundations of the field or the specific knowledge, skills and dispositions needed for good practice.

Standards leaves us, therefore, with a rather broad and ill-defined image about what being an adult education practitioner involves and provides no benchmarks to judge how effective most graduate programs in North America are in preparing practitioners for the increasing demands of complex professional roles. As governments and transnational organizations increasingly embed adult and lifelong education into national and international economic and social priorities, we could challenge ourselves to go further than the *Standards*—to learn from what is happening elsewhere and to begin a bold—and no doubt contentious—conversation about what "good practice" means in the early 21st Century.

Concluding Comments

Analysis of these four efforts to bring some degree of consistency and depth to preparation programs has demonstrated that developing a transnational or global curriculum for adult educators is a major challenge. Returning to the parable of the blind men and the elephant, we cannot hope to fully understand the complex landscape of adult education—and the demands placed upon adult educators within that landscape—using our limited perception. We each sense a different part of the elephant and frame our view of the field and our understanding of the work of practitioners based on this limited perception. We hope that casting a critical lens on these four efforts does not discourage a continuing conversation about what good practice entails and what capabilities it requires. The strength of all these efforts is that they go far beyond the idiosyncrasies of single institutions and single jurisdictions and challenge us to think more deeply about who we are preparing for what kind of work.

It may seem like our claim that reaching consensus on the competencies required for good practice is a futile quest is intended to discourage the conversation and other projects with a similar aim. However, that is not our intent. We believe, as Tarc (2013) does, that our limited ability to perceive the entire elephant is instead an invitation… *"to learn with and from the lived realities of differently located others"* (p. 21), including the lived realities of women who are conspicuously absent from the parable!

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A Testbed Critical Document Analysis of University of Saskatchewan Master of Continuing Education Theses: An Initial Mapping of Adult Education in Saskatchewan

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Abstract

The proposed research has the overarching goal of achieving a systematized analysis of a three-themed subset of the existing adult education theses at the University of Saskatchewan. The theses were organized under three particular adult education themes: Indigenous focus, university extension, and non-formal learning centers. The critical analysis of the content of the theses has begun with regard to the variety of categorical elements within the critical literature review process. Next steps include relating the content and issues discovered in the process to larger themes within the field of Canadian adult education. The work will lead to a future analysis of the entire set of theses.

Literature

Meta-analyses of adult education materials are not unusual activities for practitioners who view a portion of their work to be in service of the larger profession. In the well-known 1992 volume *The Literature of Adult Education*, famous American adult educator Cyril O. Houle compiled a bibliographic essay that provided a comprehensive analysis of the nature and scope of the enormous literature on adult education in North America at that time. Every ten years the profession in North America produces the *Handbook of Adult Education*, in which the ever-changing authors review the last decade's literature. Respected Canadian historian Michael Welton works directly with adult education primary sources in his writings. His recent book *Unearthing Canada's Past: A Short History of Adult Education* provides a sweeping overview of the movement of adult education across Canada. All of these forms of literature work with primary sources and are efforts to locate individuals, communities, movements, and moments that can collectively strengthen adult educator's knowledge and practice. There is a perceived gap in the popular literature in regard to adult education in the Saskatchewan. Given that current U of S lifelong learning courses are place- and community-based with an Indigenous focus, having readings that speak directly to issues

and strengths of the province would be highly welcomed. An analogous approach to mapping the history of adult education in Saskatchewan is the long-term goal of this project.

Methodology

The research study employs a critical literature review framework that is recognized as a research approach in and of itself. Susan Imel, a former director at Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), wrote in an article entitled Writing a Critical Literature Review that many do not realize that constructing a freestanding literature review that is organized, systematic, and critical is an accepted form of research. Analysis conducted within this framework allows for a full examination of the contents of selected theses that fall within the three themes: Indigenous focus, university extension, and non-formal learning centers. The testbed process was to train the graduate student on the critical literature review format and options. Next, we read all the theses titles and abstracts to locate a smaller subset that fits within the three-themed parameter. At this point the system of critically examining the subset of theses was constructed. There are many ways of doing this task (topically, historically, culturally, etc.) but the chosen lens will emerge from the titles, locations, and purposes of the thesis subset collection. Once the lens is chosen, an Excel spreadsheet will be created by the graduate student, populated by the theses-appropriate categories (subjects, methodology, design/analysis, theoretical framework, conclusion/results, implications, weaknesses, strengths, etc.) The actual document analysis will then be conducted by the graduate student using this carefully constructed framework and in consultation with the professor.

Significance

The research project is a very important element in the regeneration of adult education as a discipline at the University of Saskatchewan. The former freestanding continuing education master's produced over 200 graduates,

many of which are likely to be working as adult educators in the province. This rich history would provide the current lifelong learning cohort program members many opportunities for internships and networking, along with a richer understanding of the profession of adult education throughout the province. The research is original since nobody has done a systematic analysis of the theses and graduates of the former master's program. The anticipated contribution of the research is a better understanding and overview of adult education in Saskatchewan during the last 60 years. This history has very limited visibility in articles and books on adult education in Canada. The resulting manuscript, and potential future reader in book form, will begin a new tradition of producing works on adult education in Saskatchewan by both faculty and students.

Student Training

One graduate student was employed to help construct the document analysis process and test-bed. This work is being conducted in direct consultation and partnership with the faculty member. The student was trained in best practices of constructing a critical literature review and conducting document analysis through examining samples and conducting a guided test run of three theses. The student is now responsible for searching through the theses database for topics that fit into the three prescribed areas. Once the theses were selected and approved by the faculty member, the student began analyzing the sets using the test-bed process originally constructed. After the review has been completed, the student and faculty member will co-write a paper for future presentation and publication.

Current findings

Having started the process of critically analyzing the Master of Continuing Education (M.C.Ed.) theses, the following themes have evolved:

1) Most of the theses in the 1950-1990's were geared towards assessing the adult education needs of health care and agricultural practitioners and citizens in the province. We infer that this was done in an effort to inform policy decisions regarding the implementation of adult education programs across the province. Hence, the program had a strong program development component. For example, the theses that were done in collaboration with the department of nursing or with nurses would have an impact on public health policies and health education and promotion in the province.

2) Up to the 1990's there were only two studies with an Indigenous focus in the M.C. Ed. Program. Much of the research from an Indigenous perspective were conducted in the Indian and Northern Education Program (INEP). This begs the following questions: What factors resulted in a paucity of research in adult education from an Indigenous perspective? How was this remedied by the College of Education?

3) The two fields that most of the studies were conducted in were agriculture and health care. We are yet to discover what factors let the province focusing on those two areas of priority in comparison to others during that era and what does an emphasis on research in these two areas imply about policy decisions and development in the province in that era compared to the rest of Canada?

4) Many of the studies used quantitative research method, which was more in vogue during the 1970-80s.

(NB. This list is not exhaustive; it represents a fraction of the theses that were completed under the three areas of focus: Indigenous perspective, University Extension and Informal/Non-formal learning centers. The best is yet to come!)

ROUNDTABLE

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The (~~Victim~~) Learner at the Centre: A Poststructuralist Evaluation of Public Legal Education Programming for Migrant Workers in British Columbia

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Abstract

Canada's immigrant settlement services sector is one of the best in the world and yet it doesn't have the authorization by its funder, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, to serve the increasing population of temporary foreign workers (TFWs) employed at low-paid/low-skilled occupations. Because of human rights flaws attributed to Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP) the legal services sector in British Columbia has been able to fund limited programs and services aimed at teaching TFWs their legal rights and how to "name it, blame it, claim it". I will draw from poststructuralist perspectives to examine the role public legal education has at subjectifying transnational migrants to the Modern Western law. I will look at socio-economic constraints and opportunities for PLE to offer some level of immigrant services for TFWs by shifting away from a victim-centered and towards a learner-centered model. Data analyzed for this study will include relevant organizational mandates and mission statements, project evaluations, and annual reports.

Globalization and the transnational movement of migrants are not new phenomena (Portes et al, 1999; Sklair, 2001; Howard, 2011), but have more recently and increasingly become problematized, mediatized, and politicized. In Canada, public programs and services for immigrants, which traditionally have been the government's right hand at providing immigration and integration help to newcomers, are now being negatively impacted by new public policies, laws and regulations that directly or indirectly mirror the anti-immigrant sentiment many are attributing to the global neoliberal economy system (Thobani, 2007). Some of Canada's responses to contemporary globalization and transnationalism are notable for its exclusionary attitude and can be evidenced in immigration policies and programs. Migrant workers programs are Political economist Nandita Sharma asserts that as early as 1979, with the implementation of the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program

(NIEAP), Canada's immigration system has shifted "away from a policy of permanent immigrant settlement towards an increasing reliance on temporary migrant workers" (2006, p. 20 in Valiani, 2011; Valiani 2013). Like then, current Temporary Foreign Workers Programs (TFWPs) enable employers to rely on migrant workers to fill in determined jobs typified by the National Occupation Classification (NOC) as either high-, inter-mediate, or low- low-skilled occupations. Because of this shift towards temporariness, the only chance foreigners from certain backgrounds have to obtain legal immigrant status in Canada, is to become a Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) in an occupation requiring low-skills. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC, 2011, 2014) no less than 70,000 temporary foreign workers (TFWs) participate annually in the British Columbia workforce. Noticeable, the majority of TFWs are employed at low-skilled, low-paid occupations which can be performed with little or no English language skills and no formal schooling. Because of their low-skills these TFWs would be suitable to receive immigrant settlement services such as English language, employment, and citizenship education (Fenwick et al, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006, 2010), but under Canada's new immigration system these TFWs are not eligible to enter the pathway to permanent resident status and eventually Canadian citizenship.

A new form and new actors in the provision of immigrant settlement services is found in the public legal services sector of British Columbia. By examining and documenting the human rights flaws of Canada's TFWP, the legal rights community (e.g., Dauverge, 2008, 2010; Depatie-Pelletier, 2011; Depatie-Pelletier and Khan, 2011; Lenard and Straehle, 2012) has successfully drawn public and government attention to the legal needs of TFWs and their problems to access the legal system. One example of the legal attention to the legal needs of TFWs is the concern with the labour exploitation -- a form of human trafficking-- of vulnerable migrants, especially women and children. The United Nations Office

on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) defines labour exploitation as the world's second most common form of human trafficking and estimates that 32% of reported trafficking cases involve migrant workers. The laws of Canada offer some protection for migrant workers who may be victims of human trafficking; unfortunately, the judiciary prosecution of these crimes has proven very difficult (Kaye et al., 2014). Nevertheless, and despite their good intentions, public legal services for TFWs are underpinned by the Modern Western legal rights model (Rawls, 1971), which requires the client (i.e., the TFW) to (self)identify with the concept of plaintiff or victim of a crime, to be represented by a lawyer or legal interpreter, and to rely on the judiciary to right the wrongs. Under this model, meeting the legal need of people means teaching them to "*name it, blame it, claim it*" (Felstiner et al., 1980-1981).

While public legal education (PLE) programs and services have become popular and accessible resource for the human rights community to help migrant workers in British Columbia, a literature review of the history of both the immigrant settlement and the public legal services sectors in British Columbia, reveals a disconnect between what a successful PLE project is and what TFWs are in fact willing and able to do with their knowledge of their legal rights. The challenge for providers of public legal services for TFWs is to account for what some refer to the institutionalization of the precarious immigration and employment status of low-skilled transnational migrants (Goldring, Berinstein and Bernhard, 2007, p. 37). Programs that want to address the legal issues of migrant workers need to account for their limited language skills, low-income conditions, and work permits that restrict their mobility and makes them unwilling and/or unable to seek legal remedy. This study examines the planning and reporting of short-, mid- and long-term outcomes of PLE for TFWs. Following on the steps of Freire (1976, 2010), I draw from a socio-economic critique on globalization and Modernity (Fraser, 1987; Ritzer, 1993, 1994, 2011; Henry, 2005); and liberating pedagogies (Tisdell, 1998; Cervero and Wilson, 1999; Mojab and Carpenter, 2011; Carpenter, 2012) to ask two guiding question pertaining the success of PLE: "How do organizations providers of PLE know TFWs know their legal rights?" and "Where do frontline service providers find limitations and opportunities to transform their practice from plaintiff-centered to learner-centered?"

To answer that question, this study resorts to institutional ethnographic methodologies (Smith, 2005; Devault, 2013; Smith and Turner, 2014) to examine organizational documents (e.g., organizational mandate, PLE funding proposals, project plans, evaluations), and work with selected organizations at examining the various stages and models of planning and evaluating PLE programming for migrant workers. The analysis of organizational documents, and interviews with key informants represent data on the ontological and ideologies that inform PLE programming and practices.

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CASAE • ACÉÉA

Pedagogy, Policy, and Precarity: Young Adult Learners and the State

Trevor Corkum, Chloe Shantz-Hilkes, Scott Zoltok

Policy makers in Canada are increasingly focused on learners under the age of thirty, due to their persistent under-employment, electoral (dis)engagement, transitory migration patterns, and more. In recent years, Canadian governments at all levels have intervened in the lives of these young adults through state mechanisms as diverse as public policy, education reform, and settlement initiatives. Yet the question remains of how individual young adults experience this shifting landscape. With some exceptions (e.g. Kennelly, 2011), previous research into the lives of young adults has mostly focused on high-school students of colour in urban areas (e.g. Nolan, 2011; Rios, 2011; Saltman and Gabbard, 2011). Other theorists have put forward the idea that 'youth' is no longer a question of age, but rather of social 'precarity' (Giroux, 2009). In the following papers, we explore the ways in which young adults experience and learn from their interactions with the state within three distinct domains: youth entrepreneurship, youth political participation, and youth migration.

In Toronto, where social innovation and entrepreneurship are touted as potent solutions to youth unemployment (Lynes, Wismer and Andrachuk, 2011; Montgomery, Dacin and Dacin, 2012; Sorenson and Stuart, 2008), in-depth interviews with nine young adults involved in a state-funded innovation program raise key questions about the limits of such an approach. The program is a part of *Stepping Up*, the province's strategic policy approach to youth 'development'. Interviews exposed three key tensions experienced in this program, which reveal a policy approach to self-development that abstracts the individual and excludes the social.

Multiple research participants commented on the conflict that arose within the program cohort and community, but perhaps it is the *origin* of the conflict that is most striking. According to one participant, Jimmy, "a lot of community building stuff is like long term invested…if I don't find that enjoyable, and I don't have to, and I've been explicitly told

that I shouldn't if I don't think it's gonna be valuable for me, then why would I do it". Through a focus on self-development, tensions emerged within the group setting as the prioritization of the self in theory and policy conflicts with the need for engagement with the social world in practice.

Participants also raised concern about privileging projects relating to personal development over social change. "There was just a huge amount of focus on the self, like every single thing was about taking care of yourself, and doing this for yourself, and assessing yourself, and it was like there's a real lack of conversation and dialogue about reaching out and doing meaningful things. It seemed really self-indulgent." [Bunk, excerpt from interview]. Participants who prioritized social development felt excluded and restrained through a policy framework that conceives of social change as an individual phenomenon.

Finally, participants commented that the claims of the policy were abstracted from daily life. In the lead-up to an interview, Lester remarked that the entire philosophy of this program was that if you put youth together in a room, they will come up with 'big' ideas. The reality, he said, was that if you youth together in a room, they are just going to be youth: worried about their futures, etc. [field note]. As navigating a difficult economy becomes the norm for more and more young people, policymakers' focus on youth as 'wells of innovative potential' blurs the ability of these programs to effectively respond to participants' pressing needs.

Turning from youth entrepreneurship and innovation to young adults' political participation, we see a growing preoccupation with the study of pedagogical interventions believed to foster formal political engagement (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). To date, however, a majority of this work only predicts young adults' *intentions* of participating in politics (e.g. Ross & Dooly, 2010; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Furthermore, much existing research conceives of participation in normative terms: treating young

adults' endorsement of conventional forms of engagement as unambiguously desirable and their burgeoning disavowal of such mechanisms as indicative of apathy rather than alienation or agency.

This paper draws from in-depth interviews with ten 18-34 year old Canadians who identify as left-wing and who choose to participate *formally* in politics (through political party involvement, get-out-the-vote initiatives, and the like). These interviews expose tensions between participants' varied pursuits of social change on the one hand, and their commitments to normative forms of political engagement on the other. Additionally, it considers the relationship between these young adults' past pedagogical experiences and their current political participation, asking what *kinds* of engagement much-lauded practices such as government simulations, dialogue-based instruction, and student involvement in curricular design appear to foster.

Overall, a significant number of participants did attribute their engagement, at least in part, to such experiences. In particular, many emphasized the transformative nature of encounters with overtly political teachers. However, such pedagogical interventions did not *necessarily* disrupt participants' commitments to participating in conventional ways. For example, Amy said she remains interested in "seeking change through the electoral process," and has "never really been involved in any particular movement." Chantal, meanwhile, declared herself unwilling to "dedicate the next forty years of [her] life to building something that might not work." Those participants who did possess more critical analyses of the limitations of liberal democracy, meanwhile, tended to attribute that criticality to the influence of their families. "To engage in formal politics is not to necessarily disrupt the status quo," acknowledged Emma, who also spoke at length about the "political education" she received from her parents. Ultimately, participants' accounts confirm that participatory/active pedagogies can – as anticipated – play an important role in helping young people develop capacities for formal political engagement. Importantly, however, this study also suggests that these pedagogies will not necessarily (or even probably) provoke a meaningful critique of conventional forms of democratic participation.

Finally, we turn to an exploration of the migration experiences of queer international students in Ontario. Life history interviews with eight LGBT-identified international students reveal varied approaches to negotiating political, social, and educational sites of power in Canada. These accounts also point to the Canadian immigration system's covert enactment of *homonationalism* (See Puar 2006; 2007) through the provision of preferential paths to formal citizenship for those young people who are best able to conform to hegemonic notions of belonging.

Troubling the popular government claim that Canada represents a chance for globally mobile queer youth to live a more 'open' life (Binnie 2004; Manalanson 2005; Ahmed 2006), these interviews reveal how queer international students experience their lives in Canada in complex, even contradictory ways according to intersectional axes of identity. For Shameel, for example—an upper-class Bengali man who migrated to Canada for undergraduate studies—the ability to live his sexuality more fully meant sacrificing many of the privileges and power accorded to his class position in Bangladesh. As a result, like most participants, he feels continually "in-between." "Everywhere I go [now], there's an emptiness".

American MBA candidate Mark's identity as a gay, upwardly mobile black man provides daily moments of both subtle and overt forms of discrimination in Toronto. His previous ideas of Toronto as a liberal, welcoming multicultural city soon evolved as he found it increasingly difficult to fully embody all aspects of his identity in either education or social spaces within the city. The fetishization of racialized LGBTQ men he experienced in Toronto's gay spaces—a consistent theme across the interviews—echoes Cantú's (2009) understanding of how "relations of ruling" are reproduced in the day-to-day to stigmatize and mark queer men of colour. For his part, Shameel's experience of discussions around diversity within the gay community is that they generally involve "white people talking about their [own] sexuality."

Nevertheless, both Mark and Shameel have found ways to navigate systems of power in order to achieve particular personal and professional goals, such as securing coveted internships or meaningful employment. Interviews to date reveal the *relative* ability of each participant to find ways to navigate power, relying on high levels of education attainment, personal (sometimes powerful) networks, and an understanding of personal mobility that appears rooted in Ong's (1999) notion of "flexible citizenship"—the ability, based on relative *economic privilege*—to negotiate borders and perform citizenship strategically across various physical and imaginary spaces. Importantly, initial research shows that the ability (or inability) to "border-cross" is experienced differently according to gender, race, class, and language level, among other identity markers.

In conclusion, qualitative research in the areas of persistent youth unemployment, electoral disengagement, and education migration reveal the complexities of young lives in question. While policy efforts often focus on abstracted, two-dimensional concepts that reify particular notions of youth and opportunity, the fullness and richness of research participants' own lived experiences reveal the degree to which actual human lives resist static policy prescriptions that reinforce or recreate existing forms of power in the day-to-day.

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Training and Development in Hopeful but Challenging Times: An Analysis of Material Published in *T&D* in the 1970s and 1980s

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ABSTRACT

By learning from history, Training and Development professionals can discover strategies that worked for strengthening the field in the past—so we might transfer them into practice today--and others that ultimately proved unproductive for the field, so we might avoid them. Or, as the old saying goes, those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it. To explore the history of the field, this paper presents the preliminary results of a systematic analysis of TD *magazine, the magazine of the Association for Talent Development, the world's largest professional association for Training and Development professionals, between 1972 and 1988. The preliminary analysis presented here explores the progressions of discussions of external change, teaching techniques, and evaluations during those years, and identifies key points of discussion and the evidence used to support it.*

Introduction

Many practitioners feel that Training and Development is rapidly changing. Some of that belief results from the introductions of many technologies, whether ones for teaching such as e-learning and live virtual classrooms, or for administering training groups, such as Learning Management Systems. Some of that belief results from significant economic changes, such as the slow, but steady, reduction of financial support for job-related training by employers and the increasing reliance on outside organizations, known to many as outsourcing, to provide training-related services, rather than relying on employees.

But what was training like in the "good old days?" Exploring that, we can, at the least, learn about the work of trainers when technology did not play as significant a role in the work and its operations, and under different economic circumstances. At the most, we might discover strategies that worked for strengthening the field—so we might transfer them into practice today--and others that ultimately proved

unproductive for the field, so we might avoid them. Or, as the old saying goes, those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

To learn from the history, however, one must mine it. One excellent source of insights of a particular era is the journalism of that era, which reports on the news and issues facing a group. That's true for society at large and it is also true for specialized communities, including professional ones, like that of Training and Development professionals. The community of Training and Development is fortunate to be served by several long-running publications, *TD*, which is the magazine of the Association for Talent Development (formerly the American Society for Training and Development), the largest professional association for training and development professionals in the world and that has been published since the 1940s; and *Training* magazine, which is a commercially published magazine published since 1963.

Although every time period is interesting in its own right, we are particularly interested in the 1970s and 1980s, a period when society in general was adjusting the profound social changes introduced in the 1960s and difficult economic circumstances, characterized by two prolonged energy crises, high inflation, and the initial rise of global competition in the once-dominant manufacturing sector.

This paper reports the preliminary results of an analysis of one of those magazines, and is guided by the research question, What were the key issues in Training and Development in the 1970s and 1980s. Specifically, we explored these issues:

- Specifically, which topics do articles cover?

- What is said about these topics during that time period?

Methodology

This project—which is still in process now—results from an evaluation of a representative selection of the approximately 2000 articles published in the journal between 1970 and 1989. The issues to be evaluated were selected according to a defined criterion that ensured a representative cross-section of articles from the two decades would be addressed within the limits of this unfunded project. Using a content analysis methodology similar to that used by researchers in the field of management, Human Resource Development, and professional communication (such as Ghosh, Kim, Kim, & Callahan, 2014; Boettger & Lam, 2013; Carliner, Coppola, Grady, & Hayhoe, 2011; Deadrick & Gibson, 2007; Klein, 2002), each article that has a byline was analyzed by both of the researchers on this project for primary and secondary topics, intended audience, and the affiliation of the authors. We did not code articles without bylines because they were either press releases that had been published verbatim or presented news about the ASTD.

Selection of a Research Methodology:

Because the purpose of the study was to identify the topics covered in the 1970s and 1980s, the research would involve identifying at least one representative publication to analyze and then analyzing the topics covered by its articles and identifying the authors of those articles. Boettger and Palmer (2010) identify this as a form of *content analysis*, which they describe as identifying how frequently certain themes appear, then exploring their relationships. Klein (2002) suggests a particular methodology to analyze articles published in peer-reviewed journals:

- Identify which articles to include in the study

- Determine which characteristics of the articles to track

- Determine how to track those characteristics

Content analysis stresses consistency in its procedures and analyses, the use of an a priori design and replicable methods. To minimize the likelihood of bias in coding, researchers decide which are characteristics coded and the criteria for assessing and coding them before observations begin, which researchers refine through trial coding sessions. To further ensure the trustworthiness of decisions made in choosing and characterizing the articles, Deadrick and Gibson (2007) suggest that at least 2 people should participate in the process of classifying (coding) articles. We used this guidance from the literature to make sure that the analysis was as systematic and transparent as possible.

To view a representative sample of articles for training and development professionals from the 1970s and 1980s, we needed to choose both a publication and articles within them. Two general interest publications were published throughout the time period: the trade magazine, *Training*, published by Lakewood Publications (now Lakewood Media) and the *Training and Development Journal* (now called *T&D*) published by the American Society for Training and Development (now the Association for Talent Development). Because one of the co-authors has a relationship with the publishers of Training, we decided to limit ourselves to the *Training and Development Journal* to avoid a potential conflict of interest.

The *Training and Development Journal* published 12 issues per year, each year, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, publishing between 15 and 20 articles per issue, for a possible collection of 3600 and 4800 articles. To make the task manageable, we decided to review only a selection of the articles. We could have randomly chosen articles but were concerned that, in doing so, we would lose some of the continuity that comes from evaluating entire issues and sequences of issues, which often contain multi-part articles. So we devised a sampling technique in which we would evaluate entire issues for 3-month periods, and from a selection of years. We chose to review every other even-numbered year between 1972 and 1988; reviewing issues from the first and third quarters of years 1972, 1976, 1982, and 1986 (January, February, March, July, August, September), and the second and fourth quarters (April, May, June, October, November, December) of years 1974, 1978, 1984, and 1988. With this complex sampling system, we would see an entire years' worth of publications so if a particular feature appeared in a particular month of each year, such as a report of the annual conference, it would be included in the sample. The preliminary conclusions in this article cover approximately a sample of approximately 300 articles.

Within each issue, we decided to limit the evaluation of articles to those that contained a formal byline; that is, ones in which authorship was explicitly identified, a common practice for publications analyses like these (such as Carliner et al, 1984 and Boettger & Lam, 2013). In general, this reduced the total number of articles by 30 to 50% per issue as the *Training and Development Journal* published numerous press releases, such as announcements of new products from manufacturers and events intended for trainers.

After determining which publication to analyze, we determined which characteristics to track. We used previous analyses of literature on human resources (Deadrick & Gibson, 2007), human resource development (Ghosh, Kim, Kim & Callahan, 2014), educational technology (Klein, 2002), and professional communication (Boettger & Lam, 201X; Carliner, Coppola, Grady & Hayhoe, 2011) as a guide to the features to track, which suggested we track authorship and topics (some studies tracked 1 per article; others tracked 2) topics per article.

To provide a framework for coding articles, we adapted two frameworks of topics. One was the competency model of the Association for Talent Development, which captures some of the key skill areas in the work of Training and Development professionals, which we felt might drive some of the articles in the magazine. We were also guided by a framework from Gosh, et al (2014), which identified broader themes in the academic literature in Human Resource Development and might capture topics missing from the other framework. In the end, we categorized articles on these topics: Administering/managing the training function, Book/film/software

review, Creating training, Evaluation/needs assessment, Facilitating training, Other HR tasks/Career development, Press release, Proposition and theory: management/change, Proposition and theory: training and development, Professionalism/state of the profession, Research studies, Subjects we teach—management/supervision, Subjects we teach—basic literacy, Subjects we teach—leadership, Subjects we teach—new hire, Subjects we teach—sales, Subjects we teach—technical skills, Subjects we teach—trends and fads, Subjects we teach—other, Technology, Diversity/cross-cultural issues. We identified a primary and secondary topic for each article; the order is significant. Then we analyzed patterns in the data.

To test the classification scheme, we conducted a series of norming sessions in which we jointly coded two issues of each publication in the study to determine where we needed to modify the methodology. For example, we immediately encountered press releases, a topic we had not anticipated, and had to decide how to treat them. We excluded them from the survey but maintained the code so we could identify them when conducting our initial, independent assessments so we could quickly identify them and remove them from the sample.

Next, we independently coded the remaining issues in the sample, a year at a time. When we completed these assessments, we compared the assessments for the amount of agreement. Initial agreement was high (approximately 70 percent). To reach consensus on the remaining articles, we held norming conversations, in which we explained how they reached their conclusions. Through these discussions, we not only reached consensus, but also strengthened decision-making and generated other impressions, which we kept in a researchers' notebook. These issues could become topics for a discussion section or a future analysis of the data set.

After completing the analysis, the researchers compiled aggregated statistics about each journal, including total numbers of articles published in each topic area, total numbers of articles using each research method, and first authors. Then the researchers compiled statistics for the entire body of literature reviewed.

The full disclosure of the methodology and the dual coding of each article ensures the trustworthiness of the data. Because all of the data for this study comes from already-published research, the Manager of Compliance (who oversees the Research Ethics Committee) at the university for the first author indicated that additional research ethics approval was not necessary.

Themes in the Literature

In this section, we present the preliminary results of our analysis. The analysis primarily focuses on themes in the data.

Topical Issues That Presented in the Training and Development Literature

A review reveals three pattern for topical issues, the first pattern is one-hit wonders, this pattern features odd ball topic or proposition that have not stood the test of time and have disappear as fast as they appear. A second kind of topic we have called *others*, appears with regularity. "*Others* "is a topic that address groups deemed new or different to the organizations and thus requiring a rethinking of training response. And, a third more common patterns are topics what appears like a pendulum these topics swing from being in favor to being out of favor.

The one hit wonders are easiest to identify from a 50 year vantage point and give the reader pause to think about what topics in today's literature may be as humorous or odd in 2065. In the 1970's we saw metrification, an article targeted to HRD specialist who were expected for education. It offered to combine to help their managers cope with the 1975 Metric Conversion Act. The 1980s gave us Synergogy which was hailed as a new strategy benefits of teacher-centered and learner-centered instruction. That is a systemic approach to learning in which members of small teams learn from one another through teacher structured interactions, thus the idea of synergy in learning. Neither of these idea are unworkable nor even out of sync with current practice or immediate concerns but they were short lived.

The second category of articles are those devoted to what we are calling "*others*". In the 1970's the language of diversity and inclusion had not been established so discussions of others is often awkward. The 1970's was ripe for articles related to others due to the women's movement, EEOC and Affirmative Action. Articles that addressed the women's movement ranged from recommended films and training materials to designing programs for women managers. Minorities are the focus of articles on designing special supervisory training programs and strategies for recruiting, retaining and advancing minority employees. Dealing with new groups of others such as the handicapped yields little more than a presents of guidelines from the U.S. Department of Labor and advice for designing an affirmative action program for the handicapped. The 1980's sees a continued focus on women and decline in articles about disadvantaged and minority workers. Other in the 1908's expands to include cultures external to the United States.

The third pattern of topical issues are those that we believe will swing from being in favor to being out of favor as our research continues in the 2000's. A classic example is the advocacy in the early 1970's for a "training systems" (instructional systems design) and this continues into the 1980's with articles on needs assessment, evaluation, and piloting.

Teaching Techniques Described in the Training and Development Literature

We explored the literature on teaching techniques in general, and then look at the three "subjects we teach" that receive a disproportional amount of attention; (1) manager/

supervisory training, (2) leadership training, and (3) sales training. Articles that address the general approach to teaching focus on the basics; and with so much territory to cover there is very little repetition. The three subject areas we teach share the striking characteristic that they alignment with management trends of the time.

The general teaching techniques presented in the 1970s and 1980s can still be found in the literature today such as games and simulations, the use of learning styles, small group strategies, self-directed learning; and the use of instructional systems design. Included in the teaching technique is the use of technology. The 1970's offers advice on audio tapes, and creating videos. The 1980's moves that advice to computer based training. General teaching advice is not as plentiful as one might expect for a new field.

Managerial and supervisory training offers a window into popular management theories and propositions of each decade. Articles in the 1970's suggested programs should be informed by *position and personal power*; and use *typology* (a mix of interpersonal and technical competence) to design programs. Managerial and supervisory programs become more complex that offering operations how-to information. Those designing supervisory programs are advised to clearly communicate the philosophy of the organization to three levels of the organization responsible for the development of supervisors.

The 1980s and the women's movement brought more women into management and supervisory roles. As a result, a new male/female management approach—called that *androgynous* style—attuned to the new worker, environment, and realities of the 1980's is championed and management/supervisory programs are redesigned. The 1980's also saw the rise of Japan's productivity and in response articles recommended a "*nonlinear management*," program for management in which the objective is to use proven aspects of Japanese managerial thinking.

Leadership training in the 1970s and 1980s likewise aligns to the trends of the times. There is steady beat of interest in Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership model for most of the 1970's. The model stresses there is no single "best" style of leadership. Rather, the most successful leaders are those that adapt their leadership style to the situation. In the 1980's there is backlash and articles are asking if *The promise of leadership-style training: An outdated myth?* If the leadership development articles of the 1980's are any indication, the answer is "yes". The field moves on to look at leadership development being done by universities and even an article that describes *When leaders develop themselves.*

Sales Training is the third most popular domain of the subjects-we-teach. Articles from the 1970's and 1980's recommend strategies that are emblematic of the times. The 1970's offered a 10-step behaviorist approach it described as "A Pragmatic Approach to Sales Training" and it provided clear steps to create a sales training program. Newer ideas were being integrated like the idea of management by objectives (MBO). This idea was translated into sales

by objective (SBO) and advice was provided on designing sales programs with SBO. Other recommendations for program development included teaching transactional analysis to provide salespeople with a vehicle for analyzing the sales environment while the drama is in progress. The 1980's continues appropriate ideas to innovate sales training. One suggestion was teaching neurolinguistic programming (NLP) principles and techniques such as; mirroring, verbal marking, and reinforcing the customer so they would be willing to listen and be receptive to a sales presentation.

Discussions of Evaluation in the Training and Development Literature

Evaluation in this section includes both needs assessment and program evaluation. Literature on evaluation stands out for its pragmatic approach to the topic and the consistent themes and linkages. It is interested to note that evaluations on ROI do not appear in our sample but looking at the complete catalog of articles form the 1970's and 80's ROI is a topics.

In our sample for the 1970s and 1980s nineteen articles were classified as evaluation. The majority of the articles deal with evaluating programs and in particular *management development* programs. The advice in these articles is relatively consistent regarding the importance of measuring behavior change, learning change and changes in results. There is a consistent recommendations to involve management and to create evaluation strategies before programs launch. The rationale for doing program evaluation in these decades is to improve the program.

The second type of evaluation is on needs assessment, though to a far lesser extent and program evaluation. Needs assessment, like program evaluation is pragmatic. The articles are focused on how strategies for doing front end analysis, interviewing managers and gathering inputs.

The third theme in evaluation is technical execution. That is how to do things like create survey questions, design, and determine what data is needed, how to calculate scores, and how to avoid common errors. These articles are basic and do not assume any prior knowledge of technical topics.

This section stands out for consistency of advice, themes that complement one another and recommendations that link to training topics like objectives and legal responsibility. What is lacking is a building of sophistication across two decades. Evaluation of programs is viewed from multiple perspectives but the discussion never becomes more sophisticated or complex.

Conclusions

These preliminary results suggest a few issues. First, Training and Development professionals seem to have supported organizations in implementing change in their organizations as well as helping employees respond to external pressures, a point amplified by the discussions of trends in the magazine and that many Training and Development

professionals see as central to the job. Second, Training and Development professionals seem to have been absorbing many of the developments of the concepts and techniques generated by research earlier in the century as well as psychological developments of the day into their classroom work. Third, Training and Development professionals seem to have a strong interest in the effectiveness of their work, partly out of personal interest, partly out of a need to demonstrate accountability. Much of that effort in the 1970s and 1980s was specifically focused on evaluating learning. On the one hand, some of the specifics seem to differ from our times, when the discussions of teaching techniques seem to focus on using Powerpoint and the discussions on evaluation seem to focus on Return-on-Investment. On the other hand, the themes do not seem particularly different nor do the goals of these conversations, such as discussing teaching techniques to explore new ways to engage learners and discussing evaluation to determine whether training programs ultimately met their goals.

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ROUNDTABLE

CASAE • ACÉÉA

A Policy at Odds with Principles: A Workers' Compensation Policy in the Context of Adult Education Principles

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This paper provides a brief outline of my ongoing research on a specific set of workers' compensation policies in Ontario, and the extent to which they align with what I refer to here as adult education "principles". The "principles" refer to a variety of values represented in various philosophies of adult education – such as access, learner choice, self-direction, security and power. The policies under examination prescribe the types of adult education a workers' compensation claimant (a "worker") can access as part of her benefits.

This intersection of adult education and vocational rehabilitation presents an opportunity to explore particular areas of interest for our field, including the influence of neoliberalism on government agency policies, the growth of instrumental learning, the labour market of a "knowledge economy", the concepts of performativity and return on investment in adult education, and the unique experiences of persons with disabilities.

Given that, according to the policy under consideration, workers may be compelled to participate in training at the peril of losing their income replacement (loss of earnings) benefits, the question must be asked whether these workers are truly able to access adult education that *they agree* will be of benefit to them, whether they might be compelled to undergo training not of their choosing, and what the potential consequences of these policies might be.

This pare provides a brief background of the workers' compensation legislation and policy under review, as well as an overview of the approach and methods taken for the research underway. I look forward to receiving input and feedback from other professionals and scholars in the field of adult education during this research roundtable.

Provision for Adult Education in the Workers' Compensation System

Workers' compensation refers to a state-run, no-fault insurance system under which the workers and employers have waived the right to sue. The employers, who fund the system via insurance premiums, are protected by collective liability, and workers are guaranteed compensation benefits. In Canada, the system is administered by twelve separate compensations boards, each of which holds exclusive jurisdiction to administer the system. Intended to be at arm's-length from government, a compensation board is the sole decision-maker and final authority on all workers' compensation claims decisions (Association of Workers' Compensation Boards of Canada/AWCBC, 2014).

Workers' compensation benefits may include medical aid, loss of wages, permanent disability, or rehabilitation. Where a disability results from the workplace injury or illness, and the worker requires assistance to return to work, rehabilitation benefits may include vocational rehabilitation services such as training on the job or formal training assistance (AWCBC, 2013).

The "Return to Work Hierarchy"

Ideally, a worker who has lost time from work due to illness or injury will return to work (RTW) in her own job, with her own employer. The employer may need to accommodate the worker's disability. Sometimes, a worker can RTW with her own employer but in a different job; this may require some form of training so that the worker is capable of performing the new job duties. In other cases, the employer may be unable or unwilling to re-employ the injured worker. In such cases, "return to work" shifts toward "labour market re-entry", which entails the provision of more complex vocational rehabilitation services, the goal of which is to identify – and prepare the worker to return to work in – a "suitable occupation" in the broader labour market.

Legislation and Policy: Work Reintegration

Ontario's Workplace Safety and Insurance Act, 1997 ("the Act") intends "to accomplish… in a financially responsible and accountable manner" compensation, recovery, return to work and/or labour market re-entry for injured workers or their surviving spouses (WSIA 1997, Part I section 1). The Act is supported by a twenty-three section Operational Policy Manual (OPM). Section 19 addresses return to work, which since late 2012 is also termed "work reintegration".

OPM Document No. 19-02-01 "Work Reintegration Principles, Concepts, and Definitions" addresses a worker's RTW with the injury employer, to include "retraining for a suitable occupation (SO) with that employer" (Workplace Safety and Insurance Board/WSIB, 2012). The nature of this retraining is defined as "a short-term training program which leads to a job with the injury employer" (WSIB, 2012). OPM Document No. 19-02-01 also defines the term "employable", a term which "refers to a worker having the necessary skill and training to be capable of obtaining and performing full-time or part-time employment on a regular basis in the labour market" (WSIB, 2012).

OPM Document No. 19-03-03 "Determining Suitable Occupation" addresses the concept of suitable occupation or SO, defined as

> a category of jobs suited to a worker's transferable skills that are safe, consistent with the worker's functional abilities, and that to the extent possible, restores the worker's pre-injury earnings. The SO must be available with the injury employer or in the labour market. (WSIB, 2012).

In order for an occupation to be considered "suitable" for an injured worker, it must have regard for the worker's functional abilities, her "employment-related aptitudes, abilities, and interests", and labour market trends (WSIB, 2012).

The bulk of the research to be undertaken centres on OPM Document No. 19-03-05 "Work Transition Plans". This lengthy policy document prescribes the types of education available to workers as part of an approved Work Transition plan, and limits around timeframes, costs and even education providers. This policy also addresses the circumstances under which a worker's loss of earnings benefits may be adjusted, including when the worker "fails to participate in the development of the WT plan or the completion of WT plan activities" (WSIB, 2012).

Theoretical Framework, Methodology, and Methods

Using a critical theory approach, I intend to explore the political and ideological contexts in which these particular policies were established and are enforced – whose interests are served, and more pointedly, whose are not. Specifically, I intend to present these policies as a mechanism by which injured workers, already a marginalized group of vulnerable persons, are disempowered further, even while accessing a program originally established to act as part of the social safety net. I intend to explore the extent to which this policy fails to reflect the societal principles of equality, democracy, and social justice that were at work at the time the workers' compensation system was established in Canada.

By conducting a critical historical inquiry, I intend to explore the social, political, economic contexts in which both the Ontario's workers' compensation system and these work reintegration policies were developed. I will test some of my assumptions, including that the policies were not only a result of neoliberal economic influence, but a response to pressure to address the Workplace Safety and Insurance Board's highly-publicized unfunded liability.

Using a mix of methods such as document, contextual, power, and critical policy analyses, I will examine elements of power embedded in the policy, and the extent to which the power of injured workers is either protected or reduced. I will attempt to present the worker as situated within larger political and economic forces at work, with the intent of contributing both to the empowerment of injured workers and to a progression of what is essentially a social program closer toward the goals of social justice and human freedom.

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ROUNDTABLE

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Aesthetics in Education: Case Studies from Vancouver, Cape Town and Tbilisi

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ABSTRACT

The Art Peace Project *at the University of Hamburg has grown out of a number of experiments (three to five day workshops) to see whether producing art or analysing art can help to generate fresh ways of seeing oneself and the world. The workshops provide a venue for participants from varied social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds to explore the aesthetic, the existential and the political as overlapping processes.*

Methods used in workshops have ranged from improvisation theatre, puppetry, storytelling and photography. In the "art school" or "writer's retreat format" there is opportunity for ordinary people to be taken seriously as artists. The learning occurs within activities of research, exhibition and reflection. Documentation and analysis of the divergent experiences of participants provides the necessary information for ongoing improvement and experimentation. In the presentation, the role of liminality in learning will be introduced through three case studies, from Vancouver, Cape Town and Tbilisi.

The paper examines ways in which aesthetic space expands the range of learning possibilities. For many people, involvement in the creative arts unsettles assumptions, and ensures equal status where activities are equally unfamiliar and structured to challenge each individual. *The Art Peace Project* at the University of Hamburg has grown out of a number of experiments to see whether producing art or analysing art can help to generate fresh ways of seeing oneself and the world. Workshops that last between three and five days usually use improvisation theatre, storytelling or photo-art. These provide opportunity for ordinary people to be taken seriously both as artists and as researchers.

The project understands itself in relation to the work of John Dewey, notably his: *How We Think* (1910), *Democracy and Education* (1916), and *Art as Experience* (1934). The theoretical framework is built on an analysis of John Dewey's notion of "experience", which sees education, art and politics as interrelated (Dewey, *Art as Experience*, 1934). Aesthetic space offers an intensity and a way of addressing ambiguity which are necessary for professional breadth in adult education. Dewey's theory shifts the understanding of the art process from the physical manifestation of art (as an expressive object) to the process of creating art, or the development of art as "an experience". What then is aesthetic about an experience? Dewey responds that experience, as aesthetic, is a "manifestation, a record and celebration of the life of a civilization, a means of promoting its development" (*Art as Experience*, p. 326). A reflexive model of research is developed which overturns the subject-object dichotomy, and enables participants to be active researchers. A combination of discussion and questionnaires, along with photo-elicitation (Harper, *Visual Studies*, 2002) serves as the means of interpretation.

The process used in the workshops is based on a number of experiments designed to generate new approaches to using the creative arts in intercultural and human rights education. Workshops provide a venue for exploring the aesthetic, the existential and the political as overlapping processes. Based on Carl Rodgers' (1993) conceptual framework that human beings become increasingly trustworthy when they feel that their most subjective experience will be taken seriously, the facilitator sets the stage for profound and meaningful dialogue between the participants. As participants gradually recognize that there are many different perspectives and accept the differing views that they realize that, as Freire wrote (1972: 63) "there are neither ignoramuses nor perfect sages; there are only men who are attempting, together to learn more than they now know". Hence learning is dialogical process of inquiry rather than person-centered. The process of enquiry is in three activity stages: research, exhibition, and reflection.

An art school format offers opportunity to produce individual work while interacting with others. From the start, participants know that they will be producing art for exhibition, and that this will involve research of oneself in relation to a given theme. Working concepts are developed, individually or in groups. Some practice in stage performance can help people to become familiar with slipping in and out of roles. The place in front of the camera becomes a travelling stage where it is possible to experiment with different ways of being.

The stage is a place where it is possible to suspend for a while the normal way of doing things. Art offers a way of revealing and of hiding. The activity of conceptualising, producing and exhibiting one's own work is usually accompanied by a degree of concentrated thought and emotion. Anticipation about how different audiences might respond to one's exhibition is never far off. Writing a text, which offers one's own interpretation, may help to consolidate the experience, but once public, a picture takes on a life of its own and can be interpreted in many ways.

According to John Dewey, we learn not from experience, but by reflecting on experience. An understanding of research which views participants as subjects, and not as objects of research, means that reflection becomes a major part of any learning. A method of 'photo-elicitation' is used as a means of thinking about the learning. Towards the end of a normal three to five-day workshops, photographs of group processes taken over the previous days can be used to explore how people were feeling and thinking at different points. The artworks produced themselves are an ongoing reminder of moments of uncertainty and courage, warmth and alienation. Such exercises in abstraction and synthesis are more than routine impact evaluation, they are central to the workshop itself. Where possible, reference to theoretical literature, is for participants a recognisable distancing device. Discussion in relation to texts, which they had been required to read beforehand, occurs then in a clearly demarcated scientific space.

The task set ourselves was finding ways of educating democratically.

Establishing such platforms for dialogue would be one of the ways, as long as the participation is equal and fair. Certain educational approaches might empower some and disempower others. If 'unhindered communicative freedom' (Habermas) is the means to democratic citizenship, then ways need to be found to ensure that this is also possible in settings characterised by marked differences in ability or culture, and in which certain dominant communication styles are privileged. Depending on the educational method used, some will be silenced while others have the advantage of being able to make their point of view eloquently. By increasing the range of communicative modes, the chances can be improved for unhindered communicative freedom (Waghid, 2005). Aesthetic learning processes are an important extension to discursive practices. Diversity of educational opportunity brings an increased communicative

possibility for individuals. Participants have access to powerful and nuanced tools, which they can use to examine issues, society and themselves. And because they are doing so alongside others, the art school format offers quick insight into the personal projects of all the others in the group.

In the presentation, the role of liminality in learning will be introduced through three case studies, from Vancouver, Cape Town and Tbilisi.

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ROUNDTABLE

CASAE • ACÉÉA

Teaching, Learning, and Working on the Periphery

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In her book, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, Spivak (1993) writes:

> If the 'somewhere' that one begins from is the most privileged site of the neocolonial education system, in an Institute for the training of teachers, funded by the state, does that gesture of convenience become the normative point of departure? Does not participation in such a privileged and authoritative apparatus require the greatest vigilance? (p. 53)

Beginning 'somewhere' is what this roundtable presentation seeks to do, with a closer examination of officially unacknowledged and sometimes 'secret' teaching, learning, and working on the periphery. Adult education, despite its best efforts to be socially responsible and a moral imperative, is at an ethical crossroad. Post-secondary education, government agencies, and training programs continue to dominate and structure adult educators and learners through attaching credentials, pay increases, work visas, and other benefits that create hierarchies in society. As Freire (1984) reminds us, dominant power relies on marginalized groups to conform to systems in exchange for social and economic benefits. Through this process, adult education has marginalized educators, learners, and workers, especially those who do not 'fit' normative identities, understandings, and life paths. As Spivak suggests, there needs to be greater 'vigilance' towards dominant regimes and a demand for equal access, fair treatment, and flexible adult education practices that operate on the basis of social difference and social realities. This presentation is based on a forthcoming edited book by Mizzi, Rocco, and Shore (in press) that features global case scenarios that illustrate: 1) where adult education has failed people on the periphery, 2) moments of resistance and reclamation of 'adult education', and 3) a demonstration of how teaching, learning, and working on the periphery has rich potential to further shape the field of adult education. We

highlight two cases from this collection. The first profiles Mizzi, Hill, and Vance's 'secret' work on international queer activism and education and the second highlights Brigham's work on unauthorized migrant workers.

Queer Storytelling as 'Secret' Resource Building Work, Disruption, and Pedagogy
Robert C. Mizzi, Robert Hill and Kim Vance

This paper has multiple purposes. First, through the act of storytelling there is awareness to 'secret' resource-building work being done in various cultural spaces (acknowledging that much action also occurs overtly). Second, there is question of the dominance of 'formal' schooling and other Western inventions that do not recognize this secret work nor seek ways to alleviate the challenges. Last, there are considerations for community workers when it comes to sexual and gender minority communities.

Robert's Narrative of Community Building: Delivering capacity-building seminars to community educators is a common form of community work. In one instance, I was invited to work with two grassroots, sexual and gender minority rights organizations in Central Asia. The mandate was to co-facilitate with a Canadian lesbian colleague a series of skills-building workshops that relate to working with media, strategic planning and volunteer mobilization. We managed to plan this event together with the organizations, and with great care because the police had stepped up their efforts to stop such educational events from taking place. Without warning they may demand entrance into the "secret" office and remove the learners and facilitators in order to shut down the educational experience. While homosexuality is legal in Central Asian countries, police still feel rather uncomfortable with social organizing efforts taking place. Coupled with recent homo/transphobic attacks against the sexual and gender minority community and a public denouncement of homosexuality by politicians,

there is just cause to keep this work on the "down-low."

Negotiated Meaning: Human engagement in the world is primarily about negotiating meaning-making and constructing subjective knowledge (Wenger, 1998). Such negotiation of meaning, for some, entails achieving rights and respect for sexual and gender minorities which seems to be a never-ending battle nearly everywhere. On one hand, the desire for community workers to be inclusive of sexual and gender minorities' informational, emotional and social needs in their practices and policies is more pressing now than ever before. Discussions about sexual and gender minorities are taking place worldwide with sharp divisions being drawn and violence remaining a pervasive aspect of life for many sexual and gender minorities. On the other hand, community workers are often ill-equipped to effectively handle the needs of sexual and gender minority citizens due to the legal, social and religious barriers that legislate and normalize hate, injustice, and prejudice. Contexts vary from one region to the next, and with those variances come new sets of politics, problems, and policies.

A Framework for Sexuality and Gender Inclusion: We argue that it is first important to question the dominance of educational institutions and how they 'gatekeep' what kinds of training and education are considered (in)valid. A second step is to trouble formal education or training, since not everyone can openly describe their education on, say, democratic leadership if this training was done in secret. A third aspect encourages community workers to join the conversations, be informed of the debates, discussions and thoughts, and then begin to teach and act in inclusive ways. Finally, deploying fugitive knowledge with civil and human rights education as anti-oppression tools to build skills and capacity for queer advocacy.

Unauthorized Migrant Workers Living on the Edge of Canadian Society
Susan M. Brigham

Rapid economic, political, social, and cultural changes are occurring globally, and overlaying these changes is a neoliberal ideology which is contributing to a vulnerable populace. Included in this vulnerable group are migrant workers who face marginalization and exploitation, especially unauthorized migrant workers. The experiences of unauthorized female migrant workers have not received critical uptake in the field of adult education.

In this paper, I draw on my qualitative study that involved interviews with Black Jamaican women, all mothers, who had worked unauthorized in Canada as caregivers, and had since returned to Jamaica. Caregiving is often deemed low skilled, highly flexible, and informal as it is confined to the employers' private homes. It is described as undesirable work and is largely performed by women, many of whom are racialized migrants. I very briefly touch on three themes in the research data: vulnerabilities, regrets and resistance.

Research Study Themes

Vulnerabilities: The conditions of the research participants' work varied although all were involved in home-based tasks and all experienced varying degree of exploitation. One participant explains: "My employers knew I didn't have [authorization] to work in Canada. They hired me anyway but they knew I couldn't complain about my salary or about the job". In addition to the fear of being reported or deported the worry about one day requiring medical attention was constant, as reflected by this participant who had injured her back when lifting a person in a wheel chair up a set of stairs: "[My employer] couldn't help me with my [medical] issues. I couldn't go to the hospital because I didn't have [health insurance]. I couldn't work, I couldn't stand."

With regards to vulnerabilities related to living arrangements, one participant explained that: "the disadvantage of when you live in [employer's home] is that you don't have any hours when you should stop working. It is like going back into slavery". Living out provides more independence but it may leave the worker at risk for living in poverty and poor housing conditions.

Regrets: All the participants' biggest regret was being away from their children for long periods of time, between 5 to 10 years. Their absence from home caused emotional stress as in this participant's example:

> What my daughter went through, she got pregnant at 14 and I was not there for her. She was raped, she became suicidal and the family … [did] not want to call because they know your papers are not okay. … she could not talk to mummy. I spent many nights crying.

Resistance: As much as the women were made vulnerable by various mechanisms they also spoke of ways they resisted oppressive conditions. For instance, participants drew on the strength of their Jamaican identity to set boundaries in their work:

> Jamaican women are good workers but we have limits. When [employers] tell us that, "you have to walk this dog and pick up after the dog" a Jamaican woman will not do it. And when they will tell you to wear a uniform and walk in the park with babies, a Jamaican woman will not do it. We know what slavery is.

Additionally, participants found support in transnational networks and social spaces, which bolstered their resilience, and strengthened their ability to resist.

A call for adult education: A challenge for adult educators is to reach these 'hidden' learners and those who do not have the opportunities, time, or energy, to engage in learning opportunities. This challenge demands a variety of imaginative ways to create new spaces for learning and

take advantage of existing social spaces. Adult educators in community organizations can engage migrant workers and others in the analysis of the migration experiences which can expose links with complex social and economic issues. Understanding these links can lead to action.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION/
L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

ROUNDTABLE

CASAE ◆ ACÉÉA

Developing the Learning Spirit to Decolonize our Learning Institutions

Jim Sharpe

Mount Saint Vincent University

ABSTRACT

This session will explore four pedagogical methods for exploring decolonization of Canadian pedagogy and curriculum. Based on Battiste (2014) and Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall (2013), this roundtable with explore ways to decolonize place, social relationships, systems thinking and reified capital that dominates our thinking. Using these four realms, the roundtable will explore how to "Nourish the Learning Spirit" (Battiste, 2014) to rebuild relationships with First Nations, aboriginal groups, and all peoples.

Introduction: Ways of Seeing

Marie Battiste (2014) in her book "Decolonizing Education" calls for the nourishing of the learning spirit to overcome four hundred years of colonialism in Canada. The impact of residential schools, the assault on indigenous languages, and the colonialism of the Indian Act, all provide examples of the history of cultural genocide to overcome in this country. The recognition of the treaties in the 1982 Constitution and the more recent apology for residential schools are the start of a process of reconciliation. For this to happen we must start with our learning institutions where we learn to create a just society together.

The development of indigenous knowledges, the concept of "Two Eyed Seeing," (Bartlett et al., 2012) and the resurgence of aboriginal languages are necessary to incorporate within our learning institutions including universities, schools, and community learning organizations. John Ralston Saul in "The Comeback" (2014) calls for reconciliation as he identifies the cultural resurgence of aboriginal groups as the most important cultural event in current history of Canada. He draws upon the huge contribution of First Nations to the uniqueness of Canadian society throughout history.

Four Realms of Decolonization

The round table will include discussion of four realms of decolonization:

The first realm is the decolonization of place. Each place has a story based on the perception of the past that is circulated in the present. In Canada, many of our place names, including the word Canada, are from First Nations languages. The recovery of the meaning of our places and the stories based on the understanding of the original names and the stories behind them is a first step in decolonization. For Halifax, it means the recovery of Kjipuktuk (Chebucto) the big harbor that is the centre for the spring fishery where the Mi'kmaw return each year in "Tquoluiku," the frog croaking month of May. In Lyn Gehl's (2014) book, "The Truth the Wampum Tells," she tells the story of the recovery of the stories encoded in the Wampum Belts of the Treaty of Niagara (1764) and the promises encoded in the symbols and stories. We need to recover these stories of our place, our history and our relationship with each other.

The second realm is the decolonization of our social relationships. In our society we reproduce the authority of power, where those with the most control of media, control the channels of daily communication and the images that produce meaning. In Canada our history of treaties with First Nations has been ignored, forgotten and misunderstood. The intention of the original treaties were to protect and share the land and peoples for respect, support, and commerce. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with the Indian Act and residential schools, this original intention was replaced by colonial attitudes of superiority and assimilation. As with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Residential Schools, we need a period of reconciliation where we respect indigenous culture, recover indigenous languages, and recognize indigenous knowledges. We need to change our learning institutions to include this culture and knowledges and rebuild relationships of

trust. This must include the recovery of the exchange of stories as the means for creating community. This can be done through accepting the saying, "We are all Treaty People." We must retell the story of the treaties and recover the original intention of living together in mutual respect.

The third realm is the assertion of the primacy of the life world over systems thinking. This builds upon Habermas (1987) analysis of his "building communicative competence." It is required that we deconstruct the systems of empire that oppress us and respond with life world stories, actions and values. It involves forming a new relationship with the natural world, where nature is not considered "natural resources" for our economic system, but our living environment, required for our future. We also need to privilege social relations over "human resources" where individuals are valued for their potential, their achievements and their creativity, rather than their labour to contribute to the system. Unless we base our learning institutions in these values of respect and humanity, we will only work to maintain existing systems of oppression rather than institutions for the creative development of all.

The final realm is the assertion of living spirit over the primacy of dead capital that forms current systems of power. It is necessary to go beyond social relations and systems thinking to forms of governance that nurture human potential. This needs to be done in our universities, colleges and school boards. In Nova Scotia there is a start with the creation of Mi'kmaw Kina'matneway, a First Nations School Board and representation of First Nations on the regional school boards and universities. However, it also needs to happen at the faculty and departmental level, where decisions of curriculum and programs are initiated. It is critical that our institutions take control of reproducing the society that we want, rather than reinvent forms of oppression. In learning institutions the life of living spirit provides the future direction over learning systems of oppression. Our institutions must focus on the living spirit rather than reproducing systems of empire.

Discussion at Roundtable

At this roundtable session, we will use the method of "Indigenous Storywork" (Archibald, 2008) to share pedagogical strategies for decolonization. I am especially interested in sharing strategies that can be used in learning institutions to promote inclusion, recognition of indigenous knowledge and respectful relations. I invite you to share your story of cultural recovery, revival and true emancipation.

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ROUNDTABLE

Re-framing mental-illness and trauma: The consciousness-raising potential of "art-viewing" and guided gallery visits

Lauren Spring and Gillian McIntyre

Art Gallery of Ontario

How educators in a gallery setting may help facilitate conscientization when working with marginalized and/ or traumatized groups

For decades now, adult educators, social workers, and others who interact regularly with marginalized populations have found great value in the pedagogical framework presented by Paulo Freire (Ballengee, 2008; Burstow, 1991, Kokkos, 2010). In spite of the fact that codifications (one of the most powerful consciousness-raising tools introduced by Freire in the late 1960s), often prove particularly effective when working with oppressed individuals or groups, few educators, therapists, or health care professionals currently make use of them when working with people diagnosed with mental illness or PTSD (Ballengee, 2008; Burstow, 2006; Lloyd, 1972).

This roundtable examines the literature on recent trends in bringing together the visual arts and mental health. Most often what is termed, 'art therapy' today takes the form of art-making (Potash, 2013; Roberts et al., 2011) during which participants create a drawing, painting or sculpture as a form of general personal expression, or as a "safe container to hold the felt experience" (Rappaport, 1998, p. 1). According to Talwar (2007), these experiences can also help the client and therapist access "the non-verbal core of traumatic memory" (p. 22). Such approaches are undoubtedly beneficial for some. The arts can speak volumes when common words fail and, hence, created works may indeed serve as a useful gateway into it complex feelings and stories that clients and therapists can work through together. However, an increasing amount of recent literature also cautions us to be wary of the ways in which art therapists are being forced to adapt their practice in order to gain acceptance within more traditional medical circles. For example, many art-therapists (in the US especially) have begun using the work their clients create as a form of "assessment" or

as a diagnostic tool. Gilroy (2012), in her comprehensive book *Assessment in Art Therapy*, takes this trend seriously and points out that though in the UK, the definition of "assessment" is typically interpreted as meaning "to sit beside," (which is relatively encouraging), in the United States however, the word is often interpreted as meaning "to assist in the office of the judge" (p. 11). The danger here is that the multi-layered work being done between client and therapist, runs the risk of being reduced to a series of diagnostic checkboxes: Based on details in a painting created during a therapy session for example, a therapist may interpret a client's coping strategies or thought patterns as "symptoms," or inadvertently pathologize a client's ordinary human reactions to traumatic experiences.

Our roundtable seeks to move attention away from the role art therapists play and proposes instead non-diagnostic ways that adult educators may be of service to vulnerable populations in a visual-arts based context—especially when it comes to working with those diagnosed with mental illness, PTSD, or addiction. To illustrate this idea, we provide the reader with a brief overview of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy which is founded on the notion that participants are not merely "recipients" of knowledge, but "knowing subjects" in their own right. Freire's praxis-based approach views education as a "partnership" that is founded on co-learning and for which the teacher's primary role is to facilitate dialogue with students. In Freireian pedagogy, such discussions are designed to provoke reflection amongst learners and a critical understanding of their situation. We also provide the reader with a definition of Freireian codifications and describe how these "pictures…within which lie themes that change people's perceptions of life," have traditionally been used in community, classroom, or group therapy settings (Peckham, 2003). Following this, we make the case that when working with participants in a country like Canada, where ideas of oppression are often multifaceted

and nuanced (i.e. there is not always a clear "oppressor" or "oppressed" in a given situation), traditional codifications may not go far enough to reflect the complex emotional realities of participants. Drawing on the work of transformative learning scholars such as Kokkos (2010), and Dirkx (2001) who argue that aesthetics are also an essential (if under-appreciated) aspect of consciousness-raising, we will propose that whereas traditional hand-drawn Freireian codifications may provide participants with rational approaches to understanding issues/ injustices that impact their lives, art-viewing in a gallery setting may help participants connect on more emotional and visceral levels to the complex situations they find themselves facing.

As anyone who has ever or been brought to their knees in front of a Rothko, or had tears spring to their eyes when faced with Basquiat's expressionist outcries can tell you, visual art has a tremendous, often overwhelming, emotional power. It is the opinion of the authors that if selected wisely and in connection with the lived experience of participants, certain works of art in galleries around the world might serve as codifications in and of themselves, and possess the power to inspire not only intellectual discussions about the issues at hand, but also the emotional and imaginative aspects related to these oppressions.

Our guiding research questions are: What are the benefits of using existing paintings and sculptures (created by some of the world's best artists and on display in galleries around the world) as a starting point when working with those diagnosed with mental illness or PTSD? If introduced to the artworks by an educator who has basic knowledge of the paintings/sculptures (the techniques being used, some details about the artists' biographies etc.) will participants find ways to relate to the works? If so, how? And can the experience provoke an "awakening of consciousness" (Lloyd, p 5) or self-examination of some sort?

Using a case study example of an in-gallery experience that took place at the Art Gallery of Ontario and was facilitated by author Lauren Spring, we will demonstrate, as many transformative learning theorists have also suggested, that consciousness-raising is not only a cerebral process that requires rational awareness, but is also an imaginative process that calls for the emotional engagement of participants. Authors Gillian McIntyre and Lauren Spring are both employees of the Education Department at the Art Gallery of Ontario. McIntyre played a key role in overseeing the Garfield Weston Accessibility Program (GWAP) pilot project that provided free guided gallery visits for Ontario organizations serving people diagnosed with mental illness and addiction. Spring, who has been working as an Adult Education Officer at the Art Gallery of Ontario since 2008, and leads several tours per week, had the privilege of facilitating many of these GWAP program tours. Very familiar with the gallery's collection, Spring has also become well versed in the art of helping visitors make meaning through the works selected for the tours. Our roundtable discussion will focus in on one particular tour that Spring facilitated for military veterans

who had been diagnosed with PTSD. The tour stop example we highlight, illustrates how compelling and consciousness-raising an art-viewing experience can be. It also reveals how a thoughtful aesthetic choice made by an artist five decades ago, can strike a chord with participants' emotional realities and experiences today.

We will conclude this paper by drawing on developing research that offers empirical evidence of ancillary benefits of gallery visits and especially gallery tours for those diagnosed with mental illness and addiction as well as for those involved in their care, and suggest that more research into the "imaginative" and aesthetic aspects of conscientization in gallery settings be conducted (Camic et al., 2013; Roberts et al., 2011).

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POSTER
PRESENTATIONS

ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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CASAE • ACÉÉA

1) Mandating Goals and Dreams for Adult Literacy Learners

Annie Luk

OISE/University of Toronto

Most of the adult literacy programs in Ontario are funded and overseen by Employment Ontario as an agent of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU). The Ontario Adult Literacy Curriculum Framework (OALCF) was released by the Province in October 2011 as the primary guiding document to adult literacy programs that receive provincial funding. Integral to the OALCF are the five "goal paths" the Province creates for learners: employment; apprenticeship; secondary school credit; postsecondary; and independence. Details on the goal paths include roles for program staff, qualification requirements for learners to take the specific goal path, how achievement is recognized as well as the specific skills learners are expected to develop.

Using Bourdieu's concepts in language and symbolic power, these descriptions reveal the positions of the different agents in the field of adult literacy policy. This poster presents analysis that is based on viewing adult literacy policy as a field to understand the different positions occupied by various agents or players. More specifically, the focus of the research is to understand the symbolic power exhibited in the goal paths specified for learners and how the symbolic power has implications on learners' habitus and capital. The analysis of the Province's symbolic power through its policy documents also demonstrates how the Province maintains its position in the field in relation to the learners.

2) Rethinking Professional Development in Social Work: Incorporating a Canadian Aboriginal Perspective

Karen Atwal & Jessica Egbert

University of British Columbia

The current requirements for continuing professional education (CPE) in the field of social work in Canada are dramatically shifting – going from a state of no mandate to requiring that all social workers complete 40 CPE hours annually in order to maintain registered status. As this profession begins this latest step in its journey towards professionalization it provides the field of adult learning with an excellent case to study from which many parallels can be drawn. The field of social work in particular shares many of the same defining characteristics as Adult Learning and Education – a commitment to helping vulnerable and marginalized populations as well as a hugely diverse workforce ranging from front-line activists, to positions within regional health authorities, to academics in a variety of higher education settings. In addition to these similarities both professions are faced with an erosion of the turf they have historically laid claim to, and fall victim to one of their most essential characteristics – that of being broadly defined and openly inclusive in nature. In this poster the authors will review the history of the professionalization of the field of Social Work; lay-out the change in requirements for CPE as mandated on the provincial level using the example of the British Columbia College of Social Work (BCCSW); describe the current options available for fulfilling those requirements in both face-to-face and online formats; and explore how a Canadian aboriginal perspective could be incorporated into this latest stage of the professionalization journey that the field of social work currently finds itself.

3) Les processus de reconnaissance des acquis et des compétences (RAC), au Québec, des 10 ordres professionnels les plus fréquentés par les professionnels formés à l'étranger (PFÉ).
(Prior learning assessment and recognition in Quebec, for professionals trained abroad, among the 10 most solicited regulatory bodies)

Anna Maria Zaidman et/and Jean-Luc Bédard

TÉLUQ

Les professionnels formés à l'étranger (PFÉ) constituent une part croissante de l'immigration récente au Québec. La reconnaissance de leurs compétences professionnelles peut advenir au terme d'un parcours souvent complexe. Parmi ces professionnels, ceux dont la profession est règlementée au Québec doivent composer avec des exigences spécifiques découlant des processus de RAC des ordres professionnels.

L'objectif principal de cette recherche exploratoire est de tracer un portrait des parcours de reconnaissance des acquis et des compétences (RAC). Cette recherche concerne les PFÉ non visés par des Arrangements de reconnaissance mutuelle France-Québec. Pour ce faire, nous avons recensé les pratiques actuelles de RAC des 10 ordres professionnels les plus fréquentés par les PFÉ. Nous avons également examiné les pratiques de RAC des principales institutions d'enseignement offrant des formations d'appoint pour des PFÉ. Notre présentation porte en particulier sur les coûts demandés aux professionnels, les délais de traitements des dossiers, les formations d'appoint disponibles et les critères d'accès à ces formations. Il s'agit des professions suivantes : ingénieurs, infirmières, médecins, infirmières auxiliaires, comptables, pharmaciens, chimistes, avocats, psychologues, physiothérapeutes et thérapeutes en réadaptation physique. Notre analyse illustre de grandes variations en termes de coûts, durée, disponibilité des formations d'appoints, complexité de parcours, ainsi que de nature (partielle ou complète) de la reconnaissance.

4) Mindful Listening: Indigenous Students Speak About Adult Basic Education Placement Assessment.

Francine Emmonds

University of British Columbia.

Going back to school can be a life changing experience for adult learners. Educational institutions offer a wide variety of adult basic education (ABE) programs, from fundamental literacy and numeracy to university preparation courses. How are students succeeding in their pursuit of further education? How can we tell? Critical review of ongoing programming is essential in order to research and deliver coursework in the best way possible. From my experience in working with adult learners, I have noted that although ABE placement assessment is often a necessary step to upgrading high school coursework, it may not always function as a gateway to higher education. The challenges it holds may connect to decreased retention rates and unrealized academic potential for would-be ABE students. Although students' narratives would provide unique insight into this specific issue, the current academic literature does not reflect many of their voices. Indigenous adult learners' stories of their education experiences can offer essential information about how academic assessments are implemented and received. My research on this aspect of ABE is grounded in a conceptual framework based on traditional oral teachings, which will allow for an overall approach that incorporates an Indigenous epistemology and methodology, and seeks to make room for these stories of placement assessment.

5) The KGO Adult Literacy Program: Building Capacity and Community from the Ground-up

Phylicia Davis

University of Toronto/Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

When it comes to adult literacy, policy does not meet the needs of the community. Within Ontario, Literacy and Basic Skills (LBS) programs are administered by the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities through the Employment Ontario model. Over time, this model has increasingly focused exclusively on employment, with reduced attention to social and cultural reasons why adults engage in literacy programs. Based on the reality that nearly 56% of adults in the Kingston-Galloway-Orton Park community (located in east Toronto) struggle with basic literacy, and in contrast to the current Employment Ontario model, the KGO Adult Literacy Program serves as an example of how grassroots adult literacy initiatives can not only effectively address community needs but empower learners in increasing their literacy skills on their own terms and for their own reasons. With the KGO Adult Literacy Program, its focus is not on numbers but rather---and most importantly, the impact and this includes the narratives of our learners. The program not only takes a social justice approach to adult literacy but challenges the current paradigm where literacy programs in Ontario has become more of numbers game than it is about actual people and harnessing their love for learning. The KGO Adult Literacy Program is two-fold: aiding in improving the reading, writing and math skills of learners but also, how they see themselves differently in the world.

6) Allied with Indigenous Peoples: What Can we Learn?

Joan Garbutt

Brandon University and University of Calgary

In Canada there is a growing need to understand the burgeoning alliances that are forming between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The "zone of Aboriginal education" was described by Marlene Atleo (2013, also citing Aoki, 1991) as a "third space…in which these lifeworlds have been mutually evolved in time, space, and power relations rife with contradictions and struggles" (p. 42). The 'lifeworlds' of which she spoke are 1) Aboriginal/First Nations/Métis/Inuit and 2) Canadian Euroheritage. Atleo (2013) also described the "historical evolution of the zone of Aboriginal/Settler relations" as moving from an "accommodationist model" (wherein the Aboriginal population actively accommodated early settlers) to the "assimilationist model" (wherein the Settler population sought to assimilate the Aboriginal population). Hope for the future exists, Atleo suggested, within the 'third space' and a more highly evolved interface, wherein the Aboriginal and Settler populations can forge new relationships within a "dialogic, constructivist model" (see p. 41, figure 3.1). With Marlene Atleo's (2013) "zone of Canadian Aboriginal adult education" in mind, this poster will focus on selected stories of alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians and attempt to interpret the ways in which overlapping "third spaces" encourage dialogical teaching and learning that have been essential to these relationships.

7) Personal Free Writing for Academic Research: Beyond Research to Becoming Human

Sharon Jarvis

University of British Columbia

In this poster I provide a map of a journey I took to overcome the agony of academic writing. While I had no problem finding research questions, writing biographical pieces, researching my main topics, reflecting, identifying contrasts, and so on, I struggled to determine my epistemology, methodology and findings - in other words the academic dimensions of my project. I found them in a flash of recognition as I reviewed over 80 pages of daily entries I have created in a writing course. Using Paulo Freire's (1970) idea of generative themes (which speak to ontology and epistemology) and through Natalie Goldberg's (1986) ideas for releasing the writer

within, my themes emerged, but so did the realization that this free writing process was also my epistemological and methodological approach. That process led me to realize that knowledge is embodied, historical and spiritual, and that free writing, telling one's story, is a methodology not only for academic research, but for becoming human. Since conducting a Google Scholar search that did not produce any matches using the key words creative/free/expressive writing as methodology, I have concluded that this particular methodology fills a gap in social science qualitative research. However, I must mention the work of Vivienne Elizabeth (2008) who concurs with my findings. She found that "participants writing is … a method of inquiry" and "it attends to the well being of research participants whilst providing social science with access to rich qualitative data" (para, 1), but her study differs from this study because this approach is biographical.

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8) Peace Activity Program Proposal for YMCA Fairview, Halifax

Andras B. Kocsis

Mount Saint Vincent University

The focus of my project was to introduce the Peace Activity Event to the Fairview community of Halifax. The event started with a week-long "peace themed" activity program for adults, youth, and children and ended with the Peace Day event where peace was celebrated as a community endeavor.

From a lifelong learning perspective my practicum at YMCA provided the platform to promote the practice of peace by running various programs, activities and workshops for both Canadian citizens and permanent resident immigrants (locally from Iraq, Kenya, Congo, Bhutan, and Israel). The sessions focused on the value and the benefits of diversity and fostered the debate on how to integrate diversity in the Fairview community in a more efficient way. The activities were designed to incorporate cultural awareness, focusing on the countries of origin of the participants. Elements such as cooperation, knowledge, creativity and peace provided the framework in which inter-cultural and inter-religious differences were expressed in a positive, mutually-respectful, and socially just manner.

By promoting diversity with peaceful means and through creativity, and by providing an open platform for non-formal education and local networking, the program was regarded as a great success by everybody concerned and was lauded for its benefit to all residents in the Fairview community. Its participatory learning and research the program was welcomed and supported by all associations involved and was proclaimed in the House of Legislative Assembly by the local MLA.

9) Adult health education: analysis of patient-pharmacists' knowledge exchange.

Sophie Renet, M. Chaumais; M. Humbert, A. Rieutord, Antoine Béclère; O. Las Vergnas

Université Paris Ouest; Université Paris-Sud; AP-HP- Hôpital; HUPS; Université Paris Ouest

The new "patient-pharmacist" partnership modifies patients' and pharmacists' knowledge and practice. This suggests a collaborative approach to meet patients' health needs. Studies have shown that patients are satisfied of the relation with their pharmacist but don't know pharmacists' roles and exchanges on treatment related health issues are low (33-60%). These impact the knowledge exchange and provoke a suboptimal pharmaceutical care, especially for chronic diseases. Asthma and pulmonary arterial hypertension (PAH) are two chronic diseases with differences in terms of prevalence, management.

Pharmacists have to learn from factors which influence patients' outcomes and thus serve as barriers to pharmaceutical care, according to the disease.

Initials findings of this first-part observational study analyze the knowledge exchanges between chronic patient and pharmacists (hospital and community). The analysis method was based on semi-structured interviews conducted in asthma and PAH patients. Preliminary results presented suggest some barriers and facilitators for chronic patient and their pharmacists involved in the knowledge exchange. Finally, the influence of age, sex, disease, grade of severity, learning devices and process on data obtained is presented.

This research will contribute to improve the knowledge exchange according to a patient-centered approach and to provide material for pharmacists' professional learning.

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10) Perspectives on blended learning in higher education: A case study of a Faculty of Education

Sait Atas, Shehzad Ghani, and Maurice Taylor

University of Ottawa

This poster presents the results of a case study on best practices in blended learning at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-one key informants including professors, students and decision makers within the faculty. Results that emerged from the data analysis centre on four key themes as being teaching presence, social presence, cognitive presence, and infrastructure support both at the faculty and institutional level. The teaching presence is embedded in instruction that focuses on ensuring continuity between the face-to-face and online sessions by means of a well-defined course structure. The second theme, social presence is where students develop group cohesion by means of interactive exercises that promote trusting relationships among group members before moving into on line tools. The third theme, cognitive presence, is influenced by the range of opportunities such as problem posing, searching for alternatives, reflection on action and connections made by group members in both face-to-face and on line sessions. The fourth overarching theme is infrastructure support both at the faculty and the institutional level. These four emerging themes together utilize effective pedagogical strategies for the best blended learning practices in one particular faculty. Taking together, these different practices can be seen as possible indicators of progress for both students and professors and a means for assessing learning outcomes. In addition, these practices can help inform the future design of a blended learning pedagogy both in terms of the content and the course structure.

11) Learning Gender Fluidity and Arts-based Revolutionary Praxis

Dawn Shickluna

OISE, University of Toronto

Recent research by Egale Canada, including the Final Report on the First National Climate Survey on Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia in Canadian Schools, unequivocally illustrates the magnitude of unsafe spaces for gender diverse young adults. Gender continues to be an identity category that is regulating and which creates normative expectations. It is a category both constructed and maintained materially and discursively within narrow, unquestioned parameters engaging in what Paula Allman has coined an uncritical/reproductive praxis.

This poster presents the research of a pilot project on lived experiences of non-binary gender identity and expression within heteronormative, dichotomous social relations of everyday life. Using the methodology of performance ethnography, I have explored self-identified queer young adults' lived experiences of gender identity and gender expression, and collaboratively created dramatic monologues presenting the ethnographic data.

The epistemological and methodological underpinnings of this work are rooted in a Marxist feminist position of pursuing inquiry at the level of everyday lived experience to produce knowledge about social relations and structures, and an inquiry and praxis of critical pedagogy. My work further considers the role of performance arts in the emergence of critical consciousness and revolutionary praxis exploring the relevance of theatrical forms of knowledge production and dissemination. My poster presents a discussion of the methodology, a sample of empirical data in the form of a dramatic monologue, and a discussion of both the process and the content from a critical, queer, Marxist theoretical position.

12) Case study of ESL level 0 program in UBC Learning Exchange

Simin Sun

University of British Columbia

For most of the new immigrants to Canada, English might be the first barrier that they meet in the new society. Many of them will refer to English as a Second Language (ESL) programs to improve their language. There is a large amount of studies focus on language and literacy teaching and learning per se. However, little of them have analyzed the ESL program from adult learning perspectives. This paper is a case study of ESL level 0 class in UBC Learning Exchange center. It analyzes educational issues emerged from this program with adult learning theories. This long-term, community-based case study approach is an examination of ways in which applying adult learning theories into practice can improve language and literacy programs, as well as benefit the local community. Furthermore, using case study qualitative research method is also a good opportunity of praxis for adult educators, as it is a great practice of connecting theories and practice.

An overview of the ESL level 0 program is provided first, along with how the researcher start to get involved in this program. The ESL level 0 class is offered by UBC Learning Exchange, which is situated in the downtown eastside of Vancouver. Level 0 means English low-beginners. As many educational issues emerge from this program, a new curriculum development process is described in the second part. Embedded within this discussion are suggested implications for adult education practice and theory. The author concludes her discussion with proposal of further research to explore more complex social and educational issues behind this community program.

13) Lifelong Learning: The PhD—A Life History

Cathy VanderVliet

Brock University

Speaking of lifelong learning, Grace (2013) points out that "the past variously permeates the present" (p. 100) and it is this sentiment that motivates a philosophical-historical critique of my own past—a genealogical analysis that interrogates a family history and culture and its intersection with the institution of schooling. Motivated by my own personal immigrant tensions of social and cultural difference in Canadian educational institutions, I seek to understand the underlying relations of the social that exists in the schooling, and its capacity to support or constrain a learner's commitment to lifelong learning.

Schryer (1998) argues that Dutch immigrant women's experiences have been most often told with a patriarchal pen (e.g., Ganzevoort, Horn, VanderMey, Speerstra), thus many relevant gendered experiences and themes have been missed in past research. He points out that the gender dimension is difficult to fit into "a kaleidoscope picture when so much of the experiential world of women remains hidden from view" (p. 200).

A life history is different than narrative in its purpose and analysis. It goes further, beyond the individual or personal, and places narrative accounts and interpretations within a broader social context. It has the potential to critically interrogate the meaning and significance of the past as it influences the present and the future. Cole and Knowles, (2001) explain, life history moves "around the perimeter of the context" (p. 24) and takes "snapshots" (p. 24) that might illuminate central issues like ruling relations in schools.

Woven in a life history, I bring to the fore, critical theorizing and feminist thinking and consider lifelong learning in becoming a PhD student.

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14) Ns Scholars: Scholarship program for international students who wish to remain in Nova Scotia.

Yuhui Zhang

Mount Saint Vincent University

In order to help more international students to stay in Nova Scotia, the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration and Citizenship and Immigration Canada funded a program to enable international students easier immigration to Nova Scotia. In the past, a lot of excellent international students went to other provinces after they graduated from universities in Nova Scotia because they cannot find many opportunities in here and the immigration policy did not have any advantage for international students. In order to change this phenomenon, the international Education Center (IEC) at Mount Saint Vincent University has launching a program named Nova Scotia Scholars to assist international students who wish to remain in the province. The new policy issued by the provincial government states that international students are eligible for a 3 year's post- graduate work permit after they graduate, and once employed, international students may apply for immigration status. The overall aim of the NS Scholars program is to provide all the tools required for international students to have a successful transition from student to employee to immigrant. Nova Scotia Scholars will provide an individualized plan for each student, which includes immigration consulting, career preparation, building connections, language preparation and cultural preparation, in order to help international students to have a successful transition.