Michael Schemmann (Hg.)

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Inhalt

Trends and Issues in Canadian Adult Education Research. An Introduction to the Topic

Tom Sork, Michael Schemmann

The 41st volume of the *International Yearbook of Adult Education* is dedicated to Canadian Adult Education Research and is edited by Tom Sork as a guest editor and Michael Schemmann. The decision to focus on this topic goes back to the editor's last year's visit as a guest scientist at the University of British Columbia which allowed for several discussions about the current state of Adult Education Research in Canada and Germany. As a consequence, this volume is conceptualized to display the ongoing research of Canadian Adult Education in order to present a folio on which Adult Education Research in other countries can be reflected. As such this volume is meant to exhibit current topics and theoretical and methodological approaches as well as empirical findings which are highly relevant in Canadian Adult Education Research.

However, before presenting the concept of this year's volume, we want to give an overview of basic infrastructures and fora of Canadian Adult Education and in that way start off by mapping the field. We will begin with a brief historical overview of the development of Adult Education Research before taking a look at trends and issues over the time. To get an idea of the genesis of research topics over time, we will analyze both the themes of the annual conferences of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) and the topics of the volumes of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (CJSAE). Following that step, we will introduce the concept of this volume and give an overview of the contributions before concluding with some remarks by the editor on changes concerning the International Yearbook of Adult Education.

1 Development and Infrastructure of Adult Education Research in Canada

The practical side of adult education dates back to the nineteenth century and sees lines of development in learning opportunities for workers, extramural courses from Universities and social movements like the women's movement. Accordingly, Canadian Adult Education has a longstanding tradition and developed characteristics that can still be traced at present (Nesbit & Hall 2011). In 1998, Draper and Carere published a selected chronology of adult education in Canada which dates back the origin to even 1800 and which illustrates the rich tradition of adult education in Canada.

This is also underlined in recent publications. An introduction to the field indicates to three distinct and enduring historical lines of Canadian Adult Education:

> "A set of unyielding social purposes, informed by passion and outrage, and rooted in a concern for the less-privileged.
>
> A systematic and sustained philosophical and critical analysis that develops the abilities to connect immediate, individual experiences with underlying societal structures.
>
> A keen attention to the specific sites, locations and practices where such purposes and analyses are made real in the lives of Canadians (Fenwick, Nesbit & Spencer 2006, p. 17)."

As a field of study, the development began rather late. It was during the 1950s that first initiatives towards professionalization could be traced. As such, first organizations of adult educators appeared in some provinces and the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) as a practice-oriented organization began to organize some regional conferences (Grace & Kelland 2006, p. 12). What is more, universities started to offer credit courses at that time, which were mostly taught by Roby Kidd. The University of British Columbia was the first University to offer a Master's program in adult education in 1957.

In the meantime, there is a Master's program on adult education offered in each province. The databank "mastersportal.com" indicates to eight Master's programs in Adult Education in Canada. Three of them are offered by the Universities of British Columbia in Victoria (Curriculum and Instruction) and Vancouver (Adult Learning and Education; Adult Learning and Global Change, online). Furthermore, adult education programs are offered at the Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish (Adult Education) and the University of Calgary (Adult Learning). Somewhat more general programs which include adult education modules are offered at the University of Alberta, Edmonton (Aging), at Athabasca University (Integrated Studies Adult Education) and at the Concordia University Montréal (Education Studies).[1] Certainly, the program offered by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) of the University of Toronto needs to be added to this list. As regards doctoral programs, the larger ones are to be found at the University of Toronto, the University of Calgary and the University of British Columbia.

Coming back to the beginnings of the development around the late 1950s, Canada's caliber in the field of adult education and its worldwide standing at that time became evident in 1960, when the Second World Conference on Adult Education of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was held at Mac Gill University in Montreal and Roby Kidd was elected as its President (de Maeyer 1997, p. 27). Adult Education both in Canada as well as in the whole world had experienced extraordinary growth and consequently the conference articulated the confidence that adult education will develop as an integral part of the chain of

1 www.mastersportal.com (June 12th 2018).

education in a lifelong perspective. What is more, Roby Kidd also became the first chairperson of the UNESCO international committee for the expansion of adult education which was also responsible the follow-up of the conference (ibid.). The eminence of Canadian Adult Education in an international perspective also becomes evident when looking at other Canadian personalities and their engagement in international organizations. As further examples we would like to hint to Budd Hall, who served as President of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), and Paul Bélanger, who also served as President of ICAE and also as Director of the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning in Hamburg, Germany. We would also like to indicate to the role of Statistics Canada in establishing and realizing the PIAAC study by the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) (St. Clair 2016).

One further major milestone in the development of Canadian Adult Education Research can be seen in the foundation of the CASAE. CASAE was founded as an expert association for researchers in 1981. About two decades before, it was American organizations that had attracted Canadian professors and researchers. Roby Kidd and James Draper, OISE, however, took the initiative and started a process that led to the foundation of CASAE. In 1980 there was a meeting at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, which was attended by 75 people (Grace & Kelland 2006, p. 10). The meeting discussed the general idea of an organization for the study of adult education in Canada as well as its nature, i. e. its purpose, function, goals, finances and steering committee (ibid.). The foundation of CASAE is certainly a landmark in establishing Canadian Adult Education Research.

Finally, as regards the infrastructural development of Canadian Adult Education Research, the launch of the CJSAE in 1987 by CASAE needs to be pointed out. Since the Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education is no longer published (authors are asked to contact the new Journal of Professional, Continuing and Online Education), it is the only well-established Canadian journal for Adult Education Research. CJSAE has the intention to disseminate knowledge gained in adult education research. It is a refereed journal that is published in May and November each year, since November 2012 online only. It also provides immediate open access to the content.

2 Trends and Issues in Canadian Adult Education Research

In order to get an overview of the trends and issues as well as the topics that were researched during time, we would like to undertake an analysis of both the themes of the annual conferences of CASAE and the topics of the volumes of the CJSAE.

As regards CASAE, there is documentation of the annual conferences to be found dating back to 1995. Thus, our analysis will start in that year and will end in 2018. Concerning the conferences from 2011 onwards, they did not have a clear topic

in the call for papers anymore but asked more generally for proposals. Therefore, they are not included systematically in our analysis. What is more, the 19th annual conference in 2000 at University of British Columbia, Vancouver, was an international conference held in cooperation with other national associations like the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA) or the Adult Learning Australia – Research Network (ALA-RN) and international associations like the European Society for Research in the Education of Adults (ESREA) and thus also did not have a specific topic. Consequently, fifteen topics could be taken into account within this analysis.

When considering the results, it does not come as a surprise that the topics have a tendency to initiate reflection. Thus, the terms "thinking" and "re-thinking" are found quite frequently. What is more, these initiations of reflection are also connected with temporal elements. As such, reflection of *The Past, The Present, The Future* (1995) can be found as well as *Shaping the Future* (1998) or *Challenges of Adult Education in the 21st Century* (2005). Furthermore, a focus on space and the dialogue of the local and the global can be observed. The global dimension was at the center in 2008 with the title *Thinking beyond borders. Global Ideas, Global Values*. But also, the local dimension came to the fore with titles like *Learning in Community* (2007), *Rethinking Community* (1997) or *The City. A Festival of Knowledge* (2006). As a last, findings it can also be pointed out, that the titles very often allude to the roots of the adult education movement. As examples we hint to *Adult Education for Democracy, Social Justice and a Culture of Peace* (2004) or *Re-thinking Community. Culture, Solidarity, Survival* (1997). Elements of vocational education and training can be found once in the title *Rethinking Education, Training and Employment* (1996). All in all, it seems that Canadian Adult Education Research is very much oriented towards the tradition of liberal adult education. However, we are aware that our conclusion must bare the limitations of such an analysis in mind. Therefore, we point out that this is only one glimpse at trends and issues in Canadian Adult Education Research.

Another glimpse can be gained by looking at the titles of the numbers within the volumes of CJSAE. Launched in 1987, the volumes only started to have a thematic focus as of the year 2007. Due to a few exceptions since then, seventeen issues can be analyzed in view of their thematic focus. In the volumes before 2007, however, all in all three articles and one special issue could be identified, which somehow analyze the at that time state of Canadian Adult Education. We will refer to these articles and the special issue before analyzing the thematic focus of the seventeen issues.

In 1989 Garrison and Baskett from the University of Calgary published an article titled *A Survey of Adult Education Research in Canada* (Garrison & Baskett 1989). They surveyed the 1986 membership of CASAE in order to analyze both nature and extent of Adult Education Research in Canada. All in all, 247 CASAE member questionnaires were sent out, 60.7% (150) replied after one reminder. The reported findings display demographics, academic background, affiliation and experience, job description, barriers to publishing, areas of research and numbers as well as types of

publication. However, the most striking findings were that only 10% of the university affiliates understood research as their major job. What is more, 4% of the respondents claimed to spend more than 40% of their time on research; also, the research areas and interests of respondents were quite diverse (ibid., p. 32).

The above-mentioned special issue titled *Adult Education Research in Canada* is to be seen in the context of UNESCO's Fifth World Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA V) held in Hamburg in 1997. The UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning as the organizing unit came up with the idea of a world trend analysis on Adult Education Research. It gave the mandate to organize this to the Canadian UNESCO commission. The Canadian UNESCO Commission invited colleagues to work on this survey and the various contributions were brought together in a symposium held in 1993 in Ottawa, Canada. This special issue covers six reports that were written after the symposium as well as two articles from observers of the Canadian scene.

In 1999 Welton published an article on the eve of the millennium titled *Research Perspectives towards the 21st Century. Where are we and what do we do now?* In his article he refers to the special issue of CJSAE presented above and a publication titled *Learning for Life*. He takes changes in the debate on universities as a starting point. As such he refers to the predominance of natural sciences and the growing influence of the marketplace. Welton (1999, p. 20) states, that the

> "texts make it pellucidly clear that no matter how hard we adult educators have tried, we have not succeeded in establishing a full-fledged discipline of adult learning in the academy, despite millions of dollars of research monies, lots of empirical work, and reports generated within Thomas Kuhn's normal service paradigm".

By further reflecting on the historical development of Canadian Adult Education Research, Welton suggests four striking themes that he considers as a basis for future reflection. First, with Canadian Adult Education at a crossroad and not having established an own singular identity, he suggests to maintain the social frame for adult education. Secondly, Welton proposes to think optimistically about the chances and possibilities of an interconnected globalized world instead of focusing on the risks and dangers. Thirdly, he advises to think about the values that Canadian academic adult educators want to keep up in a work society that is in crisis. And fourthly, Welton suggests to focus on the renewal of democratic citizenship in the global era (Welton 1999, p. 24 f.).

In 2003 Butterwick, Fenwick and Mojab published an article on Canadian Adult Education Research in the 1990s (Butterwick, Fenwick & Mojab, p. 2003). Their starting point was a debate in which on the one hand an erosion of the social movement legacy of adult education was to be observed. On the other hand, it was argued that the boom of feminist theory, poststructuralism, cultural studies and postmodern approaches led to the fragmentation of the core adult education. Consequently, they examined the liberatory potential of adult education and analyzed three different sets of data: articles of CJSAE, student graduate theses and the conference proceedings of

CASAE. Analyzing in an inductive approach, each study had its own themes, categories and ways of coding data. In the article the authors displayed the results of juxtaposing and comparing the independent studies. As a central finding the study reports, that "attending to social inequalities does not appear to be simply 'fashionable' as some have suggested; it has been a persistent, albeit marginal theme in the research reported in these data sets across this decade" (ibid., p. 15). However, the study also showed that hardly any attention is given to the study of race, class and sexuality in Canadian Adult Education Research.

When looking at the thematic foci of the issues as of 2007, it becomes obvious, that the journal has been quite focused with Canadian Adult Education in a self-reflective way for a longer period of time. As such, volume 20, 1 is titled *Adult Education in our Country*, volume 21, 1 *The Continued Dynamism of Canadian Adult Education*, volume 21, 2 *Adult Education in Troubling Times*. To continue, volume 22, 2 is titled *Staying the Course*, volume 23, 1 *Canadian Adult Education. Neither Dying nor Dead*. This tendency ends with volume 23, 2 titled *Keeping the Flame alive*. Next to that, a sociological focus can be identified, represented by titles like *The entwinement of Learning and Social Structures* (volume 25, 1) and *Exploring Society's influence on Learning* (volume 25, 2) (The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education 2007ff.). What is more, it has to be noted that there is a strong representation of feminist research on adult education represented in the journal.

In conclusion, our brief and rough analysis showed that Canadian Adult Educations Research has a tendency to be highly self-reflective, very much focused on social dynamics and social issues, shows a strong representation of feminist approaches and is highly obliged to the classical idea of adult education contributing to empowerment and enlightenment.

3 On the Concept and the Individual Contributions

The concept of this volume with the intention to display Canadian Adult Research capacity is based on the understanding of adult education as a multilevel system. As such, Adult Education is not only confined to the actual learning processes but rather has to take into account the level of the organization as well as the level of society. Thus, we followed the differentiation between the macro, meso and micro level when conceptualizing this volume.

To the macro level the articles of *Ralf St. Clair* as well as by *Maren Elfert* and *Judith Walker* can be assigned.

The article *All dressed up and nowhere to go: PIAAC in Canada* by *Ralf St. Clair* from the University of Victoria focuses on the relationship between adult education research and policy making. The author creates a case study of Canada drawing on an analysis of grey and academic literature, various interviews with experts and his personal knowledge as an academic within the field. The paper starts out by analyzing the involvement of Canada in the series of surveys carried out since the 1990s as

well as their theoretical foundations. It then takes a look at the governance and general development of literacy programs in Canada resulting in the conclusion that the impact of PIAAC data on policy and practice is rather limited. By applying the actor network theory *Ralf St. Clair* then tries to theoretically explain the reasons for the limitation.

Maren Elfert and *Judith Walker* focus on the history of literacy in Canada. In their article titled *Level 3, Bureaucrats and Stigmatisation: Why 'Mainstreaming' Literacy Failed in Canada* they differentiate three phases in the Canadian history of literacy. As such, the first phase is dated from 1970 to the publication of the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and is to be understood as the phase when the interest in literacy in Canadian society grew and certainly reached its peak. It was also the phase in which a profound adult education infrastructure was developed. The second phase dates from the publication of the IALS till 2005 whereas the third phase since 2006 saw a clear policy shift towards literacy which is framed as a failure of mainstreaming literacy. Mainstreaming literacy refers to bringing literacy from the periphery to the center of political interest and institutionalizing adult education policy. The paper analyses the reasons for this failure empirically based on interviews with stakeholders.

The articles by *Shauna Butterwick* and *Francine Emmonds* can be assigned to the meso and micro level. Whereas *Shauna Butterwick* focuses on women's contributions to the development of Canadian adult education and its organizations, *Francine Emmonds* argues both at the meso and micro level when taking the contribution of Elders to indigenous adult learning next to organizations that offer adult basic education into focus.

Shauna Butterwick's article titled *Out of the Shadows: Women's Adult Education Leadership in Canada* takes its staring point in the development of Canadian adult education. However, women's contribution to this development remain rather invisible even though they are significant, substantive and manifold. Thus, the central goal of the article is to highlight some of these contributions and to explore their outreach and their consequences. On the one hand *Shauna Butterwick* focuses on Women's leadership in social movements and analyses the leadership in Atlantic Canada, African Canadian women's leadership and more contemporary initiatives of feminist activists as well as indigenous women's leadership. On the other hand, she focuses on women's leadership in the creation of feminist organizations and spaces within formal institutions. As such amongst others the Canadian Association for Adult Education as well as literacy campaigns and libraries come to the fore. The paper concludes with reflections on how important it is to highlight women's contributions in order to have a complete picture of Canadian adult education leadership.

The article *Indigenous Approaches to Adult Basic Education Research: Lessons learned from the Elders* by *Francine Emmonds* focuses on Adult Education Research which considers indigenous ways of knowing and learning. The article concentrates particularly on the role of indigenous elders in interpreting and communicating oral teaching dealing with life and lifelong learning. The paper offers a twofold perspec-

tive: on the one hand it reviews some examples of Canadian adult education centers where adult basic education programs are offered for Indigenous students. As such the article presents a selective overview, also analyzing the particularities of these programs. On the other hand, it concentrates on the special roles played by the elders and their traditional teaching in order to support the adult learners in the adult basic education programs. The article draws on interviews with Cree elders carried out as preliminary fieldwork for a study examining the experiences of indigenous adult basic education students. Both indigenous-sensitive adult education practice as well as indigenous-sensitive research are both seen as unique and distinct to Canadian adult education.

Next to the thematic articles this year's volume of the International Yearbook of Adult Education also comprises the section Miscellaneous which includes two articles. *Dörthe Herbrechter, Eva Hahnrath* and *Xenia Kuhn* pick up an innovative topic for adult education. In their German language article *Professionelle Lerngemeinschaften als Konzept zur berufsbegleitenden Professionalistätsentwicklung der Lehrenden in der Erwachsenen- und Weiterbildung? Ein narratives Review* they focus on professional learning communities and thus make a contribution to the debate on professionalization of teaching staff in adult education. The leading research questions addressed the characteristics of professional learning communities and asked which inventories were used to research them within the current state of the art. As regards the methodical procedure the article is based on a literature review. Starting off from an empirical basis of 10.769 articles connected to the topic, the authors selected 97 for further analyses. The article closes with conclusions which can be drawn for adult education, since the professional learning communities are mostly employed in contexts of school teachers.

In their article titled *User-generated Student Course Evaluations: (How) Can Key Competencies become Systematic Evaluation Parameters? Dennis Klinkhammer* and *Michael Schemmann* report on a project in which a questionnaire was designed. This questionnaire is supposed to address the teaching effectiveness by turning away from the usual comparison of average scores and "happy sheets" and considering key competencies as a new type of evaluation parameters. These key parameters have been designed by students who made themselves familiar with the theoretical concept of key competencies as well as the basics of evaluation research and statistics.

4 On our own Account

Finally, the editor would like to express thanks to all actors who contributed to the successful publication of this year's volume of the *International Yearbook of Adult Education*. First of all, my co-editor and distinguished colleague *Tom Sork* needs to be mentioned here. The cooperation with Tom was very rich and fruitful and thanks to his expertise and knowledge, the concept could be developed in the present way. The composition of the articles of this year's volume very much shows his handwriting.

A warm thanks is to be said to all authors of the contributions and their preparation of the manuscripts within the deadlines. It guaranteed that the Yearbook could be published in time. A thanks needs to be said to the reviewers of the articles and to the authors of the review section.

My personal thanks goes to *Lisa Breyer* who runs the editorial department of the International Yearbook of Adult Education. Without her engagement, her prudence and her constant effort to improve the quality of processes, the International Yearbook of Adult Education would not develop in the way it does.

This year's volume is also the first volume that is published with our new partner, the publishing house *WBV media* in Bielefeld. We are looking forward to the future cooperation. I would also like to say thank you to our former partner, the publishing house *Böhlau/Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht*, for the long-standing and successful cooperation.

Volume 42 of the International Yearbook of Adult Education will focus on the topic "Adult Basic Education Research". We welcome contributions to this volume as well as contributions to the sections Miscellaneous and Reviews.

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I Thematischer Schwerpunkt/Key Subject

All dressed up and nowhere to go: PIAAC in Canada

Ralf St. Clair

Abstract

The international adult literacy survey series has been conducted for over 25 years, culminating most recently in the PIAAC results released in 2013. Canada was deeply involved in the development of the series, and for PIAAC funded a sample size around seven times the average. Yet the analysis of the results has been limited, and impact on the field yet more so. This chapter discusses one explanation for the failure of the survey to have a wider impact, and identifies implications for adult education policy more broadly.

Keywords: Surveys, Adult Literacy, Infrastructure, Policy

1 Introduction

The Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), undated) is the latest in a series of household surveys intended to assess the capabilities of adults in a range of domains. Canada has invested heavily in these surveys for more than two decades, yet there is little evidence that the latest iteration has had much impact on policy or practice. For individuals working within the field of education for adults in Canada it has been striking how little impact the PIAAC survey has had on our work. The question underpinning the current analysis is why this should be the case.

In this chapter I will discuss the development of the international adult literacy series and, more specifically, the part Canada has played in its development. Then I provide a very brief overview of adult literacy programs in Canada, including the tensions inherent to a federal state. One of the key points here is that the field of practice has not been substantially informed by the PIAAC results despite Canada's commitment to the literacy surveys for over twenty years. The following section attempts to explain the gap between investment and impact, using Latour's (1996) actor network theory, and the chapter closes with implications of these insights for adult education more generally. The key insight offered here is that networks matter deeply to the development of any field, and that the loss of any component of a network can have significant consequences that are not easily predictable.

On a global level there is evidence that PIAAC has had impact on discussion around the education of adults. Desjardins (2015), for example, has written on the way that policy and delivery mechanisms affect participation in different countries around the world, with the empirical evidence derived from PIAAC. The American Institute for Research have funded annual tranches of research based on PIAAC, with some notable papers. One example uses survey data to explore the credibility of credential inflation as an explanatory factor (Fernandez & Umbricht 2016) while another combines PISA and PIAAC data to examine gender differences in youth and adult mathematics (Arora & Pawlowski 2017). In terms of concrete impact, analysis of the Dutch results led to the launch of policy initiatives in the Netherlands (Reininga 2014). While overall the body of work exploiting the data has probably been less extensive than earlier surveys, there are good indications that the survey results have demonstrated value and utility.

These examples of impact make the central question of this chapter – why the effects have been so limited in Canada – all the more important. The current analysis takes the form of a case study, though perhaps the notion of a policy account is more helpful. The author has been involved in adult literacy education for more than twenty years, and has engaged in different ways with many of the individuals and agencies referred to in the discussion. In creating this account, the author has drawn on personal knowledge as well as grey and academic literature. Inevitably this means that there is a degree of subjectivity in this discussion, but the author has endeavoured to ensure that the main points have sufficient independent support.

2 PIAAC (and the Canadian connection)

Canada has played a very significant role in the development of the series of survey instruments that culminated most recently in PIAAC. The International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), the first in the series, was implemented in the 1990s. IALS built on previous American survey design, and can be traced back to the need to test individuals entering the US armed forces. However, this genealogy was considerably enhanced and developed through the work of Statistics Canada and the support of a number of ministries within the Canadian federal government.

The aim of the survey series was to describe the extent and form of human capital within each participating country, reflecting growing appreciation for the work of Becker (1975) and others. In the 1980s and 1990s, explanations for economic differentials that relied on the skill levels of different populations were emerging, and offered interesting insights. It is important to emphasise that the explanations at this time were based on national aggregates and not the skills of individuals. The design of the literacy survey series reflected this theoretical position, using responses from a relatively small number of respondents to model the distribution of skills across the population. There are no individual measures or findings arising from the survey

analyses, and there was never any intention that there would be. Some care must be taken to avoid inadvertently drifting into this type of interpretation.

One key attribute of these surveys is the theory of literacy and numeracy measurement they adopted. There are many ways to approach measurement of literacy, ranging from vocabulary recognition through sentence de-coding to sophisticated comprehension testing. Whichever is chosen, it is critical to consider two aspects of validity; the extent to which it can be considered an accurate measure of literacy ability and the degree to which that measurement predicts a broader suite of human capital attributes. In the literacy surveys each task has consistently tested "the ability to find and extract sufficient information from among highly relevant information in the stimulus material" (Kirsch and Guthrie 1980, p. 91). These authors go on to describe four variables that make tasks easier or more challenging: the order in which information is presented, the amount of information, whether the exact words of the response are in the stimulus, and the total number of categories of information (words, graphs etc.) that need to be brought together. This fundamental philosophy has remained consistent during more than 25 years of adult literacy surveys despite concerns that it is a narrow data pool on which to base inferences about human capital (Hamilton and Barton 2000; St. Clair 2013).

Over the years of the survey series the interest in human capital – particularly with regard to individual and national productivity – has grown more explicit. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (undated) states:

> "The Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) is an international survey conducted in 40 countries that measures the key cognitive and workplace skills needed for individuals to participate in society and for economies to prosper. It measures, in particular: Literacy, Numeracy, Problem solving in technology rich environments. Educators, policy makers and labor economists will use this information to develop economic, education, and social policies that will continue to enhance the skills of adults."

Canadian involvement in the adult literacy survey series began in the 1990s, largely through the work of Scott Murray. Murray, who was the Director of the Special Surveys Division of Statistics Canada, was intrigued by the possibilities offered by the first survey in the series, the International Adult Literacy Survey, and ended up as International Study Director for IALS and its next iteration a few years later. Murray was a strong proponent of the surveys and the possibilities for more fully informed social policy. Throughout the early years of the survey Canadian statisticians were involved in the surveys at both the technical and political levels. Many aspects of the surveys were modelled on the *Literacy Skills Used in Everyday Activities* instrument, an innovative approach to assessing literacy developed by Statistics Canada in 1989 (Standing Committee on Human Resources Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities 2003).

By the time of PIAAC (Statistics Canada 2013) there was less direct involvement of Canadians in the survey design and technology, but their contributions remained important. One example of the Canadian federal government's continuing commit-

ment to the surveys is the sample size for PIAAC: 27,285 Canadians participated, by far the biggest (and most expensive) sample in the exercise and almost seven times the average. The hope was that this size of sample would allow for analysis of subsamples across the highly diverse demographics of Canada.

The stronger labour market and productivity discourse around the survey parallels a change in thinking about basic skills within the Canadian political centre. In the mid-1980s a group of progressive thinkers came together to establish the National Literacy Secretariat (NLS), which can be considered as an advocacy and support unit for literacy education across Canada. In their prime, the NLS were helping the field to obtain research grants and develop resources as a matter of educational equity, driven by a commitment to making education available to all Canadians regardless of age or other circumstance. In the early 21st century the NLS moved into the Ministry responsible for workforce development and evolved into the Office of Literacy and Essential Skills. The focus on skills required for work displaced the interest in support and development of the field, and it is striking that the social aspects of literacy learning, once key to NLS, no longer features in the Office's description of itself: "The Office of Literacy and Essential Skills aims to help adult Canadians improve their literacy and essential skills to better prepare for, get and keep a job, and adapt and succeed at work" (Office of Literacy and Essential Skills 2017).

The Canadian government has every reason to be invested in the PIAAC survey and to take it seriously. Their resources were committed initially in the development of the survey and more currently in the sampling and data collection. The drift in the survey's discourse towards more employment and productivity centred models of literacy and numeracy skills has paralleled the Canadian government's own philosophical transition. It would be a reasonable expectation that policy and practice effects from PIAAC, and the other surveys, would be easy to find.

3 Literacy programs in Canada

Literacy education for adults (and the associated activities such as adult basic education, academic upgrading, and so forth) has always been provided on a patchwork basis in Canada. Policy areas are divided between the federal government and the 13 territorial and provincial governments. Education is at the more local level while workforce development is federal. The implications of this division are extremely significant for adult literacy work, which contains elements of both education and workforce development. The working compromise for many years was that delivery of services was funded and managed at the provincial and territorial level, but that the federal government supported research and pilot programmes across the country, as well as assisting with inter-jurisdictional information flows. One initiative demonstrating this approach was the National Adult Literacy Database, which collected and

curated English-language research from all over Canada and made it available throughout the nation and beyond (Elfert, Käpplinger & Smythe 2018).

Pan-Canadian approaches to adult literacy education offer a number of advantages. The first is economy of scale. While Canada is a large country its population is only just over 30 million, so many jurisdictions have small populations. Initiatives that pull together a number of jurisdictions can help ensure a critical mass of programs and learners. The second, related, point is that specific populations and interest groups can span jurisdictions. For example, Indigenous people may have far more in common with each other than with other residents of the same province, suggesting that cross-cutting work makes sense. Finally, Canada can bring a presence and capacity to international developments that may be more challenging for the sub-jurisdictions. It can be easier to support a multi-million dollar commitment to data collection at federal level than to build support in 13 smaller jurisdictions.

The National Literacy Secretariat helped to support several pan-Canadian literacy organisations, including the National Adult Literacy Database, Centre for Literacy (in Montréal), Le Réseau pour le développement de l'alphabétisme et des compétences, Frontier College, ABC Life Literacy, and the Canadian Literacy and Learning Network. A federal government report in 2003 strongly recommended the deepening and strengthening of pan-Canadian institutions (Standing Committee on Human Resources Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities 2003) but a Conservative government chose to move in the opposite direction and withdraw funding. The National Literacy Secretariat was re-branded, and all but one pan-Canadian organisation and many provincial groups ceased activity (Hayes 2015).

At the delivery level, adult literacy education is managed by three types of organisations: school districts, colleges, and non-profit agencies. Each has a different emphasis and a different philosophy regarding the work. For example, colleges tend to focus on academic upgrading for entry to post-secondary education, school boards look at grade 12 completion, and non-profits often provide volunteer-driven one-to-one instruction for individuals with very low literacy experience. Nonetheless, the staff working within each type of organisation may know each other, and tend to share ideas and resources. There is some recognition of shared interests and concerns within provinces, often supported by a provincial literacy organisation (for example Decoda in British Columbia). In some provinces, there are conferences and workshops open to educators and learners from all the different sectors. Coordination of activities between provinces is far more limited and unusual.

The closure of pan-Canadian organisations has removed a degree of alignment, however partial and tentative, from adult literacy across Canada. There is no longer a reason for the 13 jurisdictions to co-operate in design and delivery of their provision beyond good will and common interest, and little direct advantage (such as additional resources) for doing so. The timing of this change to the structure of the field overlapped with the finalisation of the PIAAC outcomes and publication of the first set of Canadian results in 2013 (Statistics Canada & Employment and Social Development Canada 2013).

There are two notable phenomena associated with this publication. One is the lack of analysis of the PIAAC data, with the "first" results ending up being almost the only results. In other countries there has been an exhaustive effort to mine the data for all that it holds, including several annual meetings in Washington DC where the American Institute for Research hosted presentations of the results of sponsored research. In Canada, most of the information derived from PIAAC is in the original report prepared by Statistics Canada. Over the last few years there was also a decision to move analysis of PIAAC out of Statistics Canada to the Ministry of Employment and Social Development (underlining the extent to which economic productivity is centred in the analysis) and the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC).

The involvement of CMEC is intriguing. It is the forum for the 13 ministers of education from the provinces and territories (often including ministers with responsibility for colleges and universities). This group could recommend a pan-Canadian strategy to build capacity in adult literacy education, which would be welcome. However, they lack two vital ingredients. One is the ability to complete the statistical analysis of the PIAAC results, which requires time and expertise. The second is the money to invest at the pan-Canadian level. The ministers are answerable to their own jurisdictions, and, as in most federal jurisdictions, investing in large scale initiatives that benefit the entire nation is not always priority for the local electorate. Taking all of this together, it appears that the analysis of PIAAC data (already several years old) may have stalled.

Within the jurisdictions, reception of PIAAC has been inconsistent. In some places, notably Alberta and Ontario, there has been interest in using the PIAAC measurement framework in an applied way by creating skills assessment for individuals that map across to it. In other places across Canada experience suggests that there has been far less engagement with – and even knowledge of – the PIAAC survey.

The Canadian government committed, as it has for several decades, to conducting a far-reaching and highly detailed survey of the literacy competences of people living in our nation. The impact on policy and practice appears to have been more limited than in previous versions of the survey, despite the increased strength of the data. While there have always been concerns about the utility of the surveys (St. Clair 2013), there is no indication that the new dataset is anything but stronger than previous versions. The supply side seems to be in place; the challenging issue is what has happened to the demand for this information.

4 Understanding the gap

Making sense of this situation requires some reflection. It is easy to speculate that the Conservative federal government had ideological reasons for pulling literacy education towards workplace skills, or that federal ministries believed that they had gone too far into provincial and territorial jurisdiction and needed to pull back, but in or-

der to identify positive future steps it is more important to look at material structures than putative motives. The critical point is to develop understanding of how the significant and long-term investment in PIAAC ended up creating a policy orphan.

There are a number of different models of how ideas and research flow into policy and practice, with the most influential frequently emphasising the gradual and non-rational nature of the process (Weiss 1980). Many of these approaches assume a shared medium within which policy, practice, and research actors sit. The ideas and insights from research activity (as well as other forms of innovation) flow through the medium and provide a resource for change. The situation is somewhat different for adult literacy education, where the central issue is lack of such a medium.

One way to understand this situation, and to generalise to a theoretical perspective that can inform broader contexts, is through Actor Network Theory (Latour 1996). This theory was initially developed to explain human-technology interaction, but has proven to be helpful in understanding educational contexts (Gaskell and Hepburn 1998). The key idea of Actor Network Theory is that social structures do not exist on their own, but are created and enacted by the actants involved in networks. The actants include both human and non-human components of the network, with agency ascribed to organisations and computers and vehicles and tools as much as to people. Of course, this is not meant to imply that objects consciously act to achieve ends, but that their characteristics, their limits, and the opportunities they offer, shape the contours and possibilities of the network. Many of the most interesting applications of Actor Network Theory have concerned projects that have not been successful, in which case it provides an important tool for understanding the ways networks have failed. The *token* is a key concept, representing a material or semantic object that circulates within the network, being transformed and increasingly reified through this circulation.

The development of a cycle lane on a city street can illustrate Actor Network Theory. The network would include cycling advocates, planners, drivers, and everyday cyclists, but the technology would also play its part; the "needs" of the cars and bicycles, the limitations of the road materials, the weather of the city in question, would all make a difference to the final design. Membership of the network can be expanded almost indefinitely, as each of these actants represents a network in itself. The plan for the road layout would be a token in this case. It would change by each of the actants; for example the cars might require a certain lane width that would permit or prevent two lanes on the cycle path. As the actants influence the plan it becomes less of a draft and more of a reflection of the final situation on the ground.

Applying this theoretical perspective to literacy in Canada is helpful to understanding the changes in the field. It is possible to examine the impact of earlier literacy surveys such as the IALS of the mid-1990s and see the outcome and response as the token within a network. The participants in the network include the pan-Canadian organisations, the National Literacy Secretariat, Statistics Canada, the survey results, the methods for generating those results, and more local organisations. There was a relatively rich network that ensured that many people could gain access to the

results and many did; more than this, people changed their conception of literacy and literacy measurement as a result of the IALS discourse. One example of this is the claim contained in the IALS results that level 3 (out of 5 levels) was the minimum functional literacy level in a modern society. For quite a while, observation suggests, this became shorthand for the goal of adult literacy education – to lift as many people as possible to level 3.

While there were reservations about the IALS survey and its successors at the time (Hamilton and Barton 2000), especially around the claim that 44 % of the Canadian population lacked the literacy and numeracy skills needed for a modern economy (St. Clair 2013) these surveys did have policy impact. They provided a way to think about literacy and language to talk about it, albeit within a specific, vocational frame of reference. Reflecting on that time, and remembering the workshops, institutes, and briefings engendered by the survey, it is probably not going too far to argue that the IALS lent credibility to adult literacy education after decades of the field being seen as a marginalised and less credible form of education.

By the time of PIAAC, almost twenty years later than IALS, the results of the survey had continued to evolve. There were important new components, to do with civic and political participation, and a section of the survey to do with problem-solving in a technology rich environment. The overall tilt of the survey had explicitly evolved from literacy and numeracy assessment to a wider view of the competencies supporting productive and engaged citizenship (though the survey still has some potential growth in this area). The increased sample size, a deliberate decision by the Canadian government to increase validity and utility for sub-populations, also added to the value of the data. The token itself was stronger and potentially more valuable than it had been with earlier surveys.

The network that could utilise, apply, and transform that token was far weaker than it had been before, however. It was not clear who, or what organisation, was the bridge between the bodies producing the survey results and the federal government, and where the results would feed into policy-making. The pan-Canadian organisations were effectively gone, and many of the provincial organisations were much weaker than before. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada were certainly engaged, but as noted before, had limited resources or political incentive to act. In effect, the PIAAC survey was feeding good information into a vacuum.

Reporting on a conference on the utility of social science in policy-making, Dukelow and Giles (2014, p. 17) argue that "the case studies show how important it is to cultivate good relations within and between departments, foster the sharing of evidence, and maintain a constant dialogue between researchers and users". To a great extent this comment captures what is missing in Canadian adult literacy education – and adult education generally – in the second decade of the 21st century.

This analysis would be unsurprising to many involved in the adult literacy field in Canada. It makes a lot of intuitive sense that if there is no group of people or agencies able to act on the data then research will have limited impact. What this analysis helps to clarify and emphasise is the need for a response that goes beyond

the technical. It will not help to conduct a better survey or to ask different questions. A field of knowledge and practice possesses both epistemological and sociological elements, that is both knowledge and the networks to activate it (Kuhn 1962). One of these elements cannot be substituted for the other, with, for example, more robust knowledge making up for a weak social network to circulate it. Yet it appears that this is exactly what was attempted in Canada with PIAAC, with considerable resource committed to improving the data but little or no thought given to how it could be used or who would use it. There almost appears to have been a naïve scientism at play, where decisions were driven by the expectation that the value of the data would speak for itself regardless of the lack of listeners.

5 Implications for PIAAC, Canadian literacy education, and the education of adults everywhere

This brief case study offers implications that go far beyond the specifics of the PIAAC survey in Canada, but it is perhaps useful to start there. Put bluntly, it appears that there is little point in participating in the next round of surveys (around 2020 perhaps) unless there is a commitment to analysing and using the data. Without a network to activate – and be activated by – the token represented by the survey results, the generation of the data is literally pointless. While a few academic students of literacy (like the author) are happy to see the data and interested in what it displays, that is a long way from the comprehensive impact upon the literacy field that the survey designers and implementers were hoping for, or indeed that justifies the use of resources. One individual with whom I talked during the preparation of this chapter referred to the current situation – with investment of huge amounts of time and resources leading to a neglected dataset – as "shameful."

The broader point is that the sociological aspects of information utilisation are extremely important in the translation between research data and the meaning of that data for policy and practice. As implied in the discussion above, high quality data that does not have an audience will remain untransformed and unimplemented. It is possible to discern two aspects to this network that were missing in this case, and are highly suggestive for others. The first was the people, for whom the results would have symbolic value. The second was the other resources, from policy to actual material goods, which were not available to interact with the data.

This observation is not limited to Canada. In the UK there has been a disappearance of adult education from policy conversations and a dissolution of agencies designed to support the field (Hall 2018), and a similar failure to benefit from long-established resources and, perhaps worse, people with decades of specialised experience. It seems that there is a clear implication here; to attain anything like the level of evidence-based policy that governments often espouse, there needs to be a deliberate strategy to ensure that there is a structure in place. One aspect of this

structure will be the resources to ensure that the findings of the research are implemented well.

The case also underlines the need for intermediary actors to span across different levels of policy and practice. In the discussion, the pan-Canadian organisations played a significant role, as did some of the defunct British organisations such as the National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education. Their primary role was talking to government on behalf of the field and vice versa, ensuring that each area knew the concerns of the other and supporting a flow of information. When it came to large scale surveys they were the groups who could push for local analysis, for the inclusion of specific groups, or for accessible and convenient summaries of the findings. These intermediaries perform a crucial role in the connection between state and civil society, one that cannot be easily replaced, and certainly not through technological or purely instrumental channels. In the case of PIAAC, intermediary organisations could have been funded for several years on the resources spent on data collection.

However, this is not to deny the value of data from well-designed survey. The data from PIAAC, especially if there were to be compatible long-term data collection to support longitudinal analysis, holds enormous promise for understanding more about the broader field of education for adults and its contribution to competencies across the population. More than this, it could help to provide a perspective on other factors affecting lifelong and lifewide learning. For example, the peak competency scores in PIAAC were not among the cohort immediately out of school but those around their late twenties. This raises fascinating questions about the contribution of life and work experience to competencies, as well as whether schooling is improving over time in its ability to support competencies. Another intriguing finding is the reduction of competency scores in older adults, which could either be a normal part of ageing or the long-term effects of less effective schooling. Adult educators generally would have a great deal of interest in issues such as these.

The final point is a strategic one. At the beginning of the survey development process there was a decision to place the surveys further towards workforce development and less towards education. The discussions in earlier parts of this paper do, I hope, show why this was a reasonable decision at the time. What could not have been foreseen was the extent to which economic concerns came to dominate governance concerns in Canada over the last three decades. As the body politic moved towards more instrumental views of education the initial placement of the survey series was pulled along towards a productivity agenda, perhaps further than was initially intended. There is a lesson here regarding political placement for all those interested in education for adults. When one is in a changeable environment (and one is always in such an environment) it is important to be careful about compromise and the unintended consequences it may produce.

Based on these reflections it is possible to summarise some implications for future initiatives. It seems that network building is a critical aspect of bringing about change in a field. Without the involvement of a range of people and resources there

is no medium for the change. The highest quality information will not have an impact without a network to mediate and activate it. This implies that it is important to consider token and network as separate but co-implicated actants. This network can also bridge across levels of policy and practice. While building networks and mediating organisations can be demanding of time and resources, not investing in them raises the possibility of inaction and loss of all the investments made so far.

The more cautionary note arising from this discussion, and one which may contain an important lesson for adult education broadly, is that limiting the effectiveness of the field does not require measures that directly affect each program. Disrupting the network within which programs operate is sufficient to cause significant harm, and that disruption does not require deliberate ill-intention. It may well be that a move appearing to be a rational way to save money, for example closing an organisation that does not provide direct service to learners, has very significant unintended effects upon the viability of the field. The example in this case involved data, but it could just as easily apply to a range of practice innovations or materials, and have an equally significant impact. The infrastructure of a field is not a luxury or an extra; it is the skeleton that permits it to move.

6 Conclusions

The case of PIAAC in Canada is enlightening because it is so extreme. On the one hand there is such commitment of time and resource to the development of an innovation that should be of enormous value to the field. On the other, there is an effective demolition of the same field, at least at the federal level. The truly intriguing question, and one to which there is no answer, is whether these two events were deliberately designed to occur at the same time. It is possible to discern that the same political phenomenon – a turn towards economistic values – could produce both outcomes, by insisting on increased workforce data while demonstrating scepticism towards the value of education for adults. This was, perhaps not coincidentally, the period during which arguments that a dollar invested in initial education produced more return than a dollar invested in adult education began to be taken seriously (Silles 2007). Nonetheless, the final product of a highly developed and expensive dataset with no way to benefit from it does seem ironic.

The main insight arising from this discussion is that infrastructure and networks matter, and that a healthy and effective field requires both an active and engaged group of people and a means of generating the policies and information to shape that field. It is critical that adult educators find ways to prevent the erosion of the field through withdrawal of resources and support for aspects of the work that may seem detached from direct delivery but actually work as vital components in a broader network of support. As PIAAC in Canada demonstrates, when we are all dressed up, we need somewhere to go.

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Level 3, Bureaucrats, and Stigmatization: Why "Mainstreaming" Literacy Failed in Canada

Maren Elfert, Judith Walker

Abstract

The article examines why the promise of "mainstreaming" (adult) literacy in Canada was never realized, although there was a period of time, from the late 1980s until the early/mid-2000s, when interest in literacy was strong among the public, in the media, and with policy-makers. Based on recent and previous research, including interviews with key stakeholders, we argue that mainstreaming literacy has failed and explore the reasons for this failure. The chapter is structured in three sections. In the first, we recount the history of literacy in Canada over three phases: i) the period from the 1970s up until the launch of the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) in 1994; ii) the story of IALS and changes occurring up until around 2005, and, iii) the period from around 2006, which marked a clear policy shift in the approach to literacy. The second section examines the reasons for the failure of the mainstreaming of literacy in Canada. We conclude by reflecting on the present situation of adult literacy, which has been largely reduced to employability skills which are under-supported.

Keywords: Literacy, Canada, International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS)

1 Introduction

In the late 1980s, adult literacy emerged as a policy issue in several industrialized countries including Canada (Barton & Hamilton 1990). The first adult literacy surveys, such as the Southam newspaper report *Broken Words*, published in 1987, followed by the report *En toutes lettres et en français* (1989), published by the Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes (ICÉA) for the francophone population, revealed the extent of poor literacy skills among the adult population in Canada and provoked public debates and policy responses. Canada is a particularly interesting case, as, at one point, interest in literacy was strong among the public, in the media, and with policy-makers. Canada was a driving force behind the 1994 International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), conducted in collaboration with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which furthered the adult literacy agenda in the country. Between the 1970s and 1990s, considerable infrastructure was built up for literacy in the form of national and provincial organizations. However, in the past

decade, the Canadian adult literacy infrastructure has been dismantled. The promise of mainstreaming literacy in Canada was never realized.

This chapter provides new insights into the Canadian literacy story. It is based on recent and previous research, including nine interviews with key stakeholders who played a part in the story, such as government officials, experts and academics, and NGO representatives involved in literacy-related policy-making, research and advocacy work in Canada. Drawing on theories of "issue framing" (Nelson 2011) and "agenda-setting" (Béland & Howlett 2016), we argue that mainstreaming literacy has failed in Canada and explore the reasons for this failure. This chapter is structured in three sections. In the first, we recount the history of (adult) literacy in Canada over three phases: i) the period from the 1970s up until the launch of the IALS: ii) the story of IALS and changes occurring up until around 2005, and, iii) the period from around 2006, which marked a clear policy shift in the approach to literacy. The second section examines the reasons for the failure of the "mainstreaming" of literacy in Canada. We conclude by reflecting on the present situation of literacy, which has been largely reduced to employability skills which are under-supported.

2 What do we mean by "mainstreaming (adult) literacy"?

> "So, the question of literacy training at the end of the day isn't or shouldn't be independent of a whole range of essential skills. And it shouldn't be independent of teamwork skills. It shouldn't be independent of language training for immigrants...The correct policy answer... is to move it [literacy] into the mainstream." (Interview with EI[1], Former Assistant Deputy Minister in the Canadian Federal Government)

> "So it's very important that [literacy] be institutionalised, to be connected with everything. So it doesn't fall between the cracks." (Interview with AR, former high-level officer in Human Resources and Skills Development, Canadian Federal Government)

> "I would say that [mainstreaming literacy means] it needs to be not off on its own, sort of a renegade. It has to find its place within a suite of activities and look like the other programmes and act like the other programmes." (Interview with RA, former program director in the National Literacy Secretariat, Canadian Federal Government)

Throughout the industrialised world, adult education has long been lamented as the "poor cousin" (Newman 1979; Rubenson 1999) to compulsory schooling, and has clamoured to capture government attention as a policy issue. In Canada, as in other Anglo-Saxon liberal welfare states (Esping-Andersen 1996), adult education has long been associated with basic education for poor people with low literacy skills. And, accordingly, as veteran Canadian adult education researcher and practitioner Allan Quigley (1990) has long noted, it has been stigmatised and learners have largely been ignored. Literacy practitioners have been associated with volunteer do-gooder gran-

1 The interviews are anonymised.

nies in cardigans, rather than professional teachers, and adult literacy has, by and large, existed outside the mainstream of education.

As the quotes above suggest, "mainstreaming" (adult) literacy is about bringing literacy in from the periphery to the centre of both education and social policy. It refers to embedding literacy into existing vocational, language, and skills curricula in a contextualised manner (Conway, Lopez & Casey 2007); and, it involves institutionalizing adult literacy policy so it links with other policies and government bodies to which it connects (for example, housing, homelessness, correctional services, employment etc.). The hope is that adult literacy, and adult education more broadly, will no longer be thought of as existing for a small and marginalized subset of society, that literacy itself will finally be conceived of as present in everything we do, and that its connection to all other social policy questions will be recognized.

In principle, it can be a good thing to mainstream; for example, human rights were mainstreamed throughout the world after World War II. Mainstreaming is part of the strategy of the United Nations to support the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. They define mainstreaming as helping governments "to land and contextualize the agenda at national and local levels; ultimately reflecting the agenda in national plans, strategies and budgets" (United Nations Development Programme 2017). Furthermore, embracing a contextualized, situated approach to literacy could be compatible with the research emanating from the new literacy studies movement, pioneered by Brian Street (1984, 2003) and others (Barton, Hamilton & Ivanic 2000; Gee 2004). As one of our interviewees notes in the quote above, literacy is and could be part of language teaching, employability skills, citizenship education, taught in a situated, contextualized manner, connected to people's lives and needs. Further, developing a policy structure in which literacy is understood as central to many other social policy issues is not only laudable but good public policy. At the same time, moving literacy away from the community or regional bodies can result in a narrowing of literacy in content and purpose, with attendant deleterious effects. For example, previous research on New Zealand's success in developing a national literacy strategy showed how mainstreaming literacy resulted in the creation of a workplace, employment agenda, while undervalorising community literacy organizations. Furthermore, such mainstreaming was accompanied by an intensification of administrative work and bureaucracy, increasing competition for funds, and a disregarding of difficult-to-quantify literacy outcomes (Walker 2011). One of our interviewees used the term "institutionalize" in terms of establishing greater bureaucratic control over literacy. In our view, mainstreaming can be a double-edged sword.

Unlike New Zealand, however, Canada has never really succeeded at mainstreaming, professionalizing, or institutionalizing adult literacy. This is particularly curious given Canada's chief role in the creation of the OECD's major international adult literacy surveys – specifically, the IALS and Adult Literacy and Lifeskills (ALL) surveys, on which the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) builds – and its leadership in the research and practice of adult education. As we explore below, there was a period of time, from the late 1980s up until the

early/mid-2000s, in which adult literacy had the ear of the government, national bodies existed, and there was an optimism that a pan-Canadian literacy initiative was possible. Since this time, most of the literacy organizations and research institutes have become defunct, core funding for programming has diminished, and the literacy community remains disillusioned (Smythe 2018). Canadian adult literacy practitioners, researchers, and literacy advocates likely had reservations at what mainstreaming literacy could entail; there is, as Addey (2018) explained, a danger of a single story in monolithic and hegemonic interpretations of literacy emanating from the OECD, and in a culture of measuring literacy and comparatively ranking countries in their achievements. Nonetheless, bringing literacy out from the cold has been a continuing desire expressed by many practitioners and supportive government officials alike. After presenting a brief chronology of adult literacy in the country from the 1970s until today, we put forward theories for why the promise of mainstreaming literacy in Canada has not been realized.

3 The history of adult literacy in Canada: From the 1970s to today

Canada is well known by adult education scholars throughout the world for its pioneering adult literacy achievements: the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia remains an inspirational model for the development of cooperatives and an approach to community development that can come through teaching reading, writing, and financial literacy to workers (Selman & Dampier 1991). Similarly, Frontier College, originated in the 1800s in university extension by sending students to remote communities to help teach literacy to lumber workers, continues to offer numerous literacy and language programs to Canadians, new immigrants, and refugees (ibid., p. 56). As adult education scholars, we acknowledge the rich history of literacy movements and organizations in this country. For the purposes of this paper, however, we start by examining the national state of adult literacy from the 1970s up until this day. This is because there was arguably no Canadian "literacy movement" or much discussion of problems with adult literacy prior to the 1970s (Atkinson, forthcoming; Hautecoeur 2001).

From the 1970s to pre-IALS

In the mid to late 1970s, an infrastructure around adult literacy began to be built and the question of adult literacy started to gain federal government attention. An incipient network was formed between practitioners and the few researchers publishing on adult literacy, which ultimately became the Movement for Canadian Literacy (MCL), established in 1977 (Draper & Carere 1998, p. 69). MCL subsequently developed a coalition of ten literacy organizations across the country called the Canadian Alliance for Literacy, that later released the high-profile publication, *A Call to Action on Literacy*, which was disseminated throughout national media (Shohet 2001). As

Hautecoeur (2001, p. 413) writes, "the Movement for Canadian Literacy acquired an almost monopolistic legitimacy in the provinces and with the Federal Government". In addition, the national government started to commission research on adult basic education for the labour force, and the Canadian UNESCO Commission convened, for the first time, a working group to examine literacy in Canada. Québec was arguably key in growing an adult literacy sector and interest. In particular, the ICÉA, formed in 1946 to bring together civil society French language adult education organizations in Canada, started to examine questions of adult literacy from a Freirean perspective; and the ALPHA publication series on literacy and basic education research, committed to supporting "literacy awareness" in French and Creole across the world, was launched in 1978.

Up until the mid-1980s, formal schooling tended to be used as a proxy for adult literacy (Atkinson, forthcoming), and adult basic education was almost entirely provided by night schools, or community organizations rooted in popular education and influenced by the work of Paulo Freire. However, by the 1980s, many policymakers, researchers, and literacy organizations were no longer satisfied in equating years of schooling with skills and literacy (Jones 1990). In 1986 (results released in 1987), Canada conducted its first national survey of literacy skills. The Southam Survey, commissioned by the eponymous newspaper chain, examined Canadians' ability to complete "everyday literacy tasks", defining literacy in a way that was adopted almost verbatim in IALS: "using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential" (Darville 1992, p. 13). The survey found that 38 % of Canadians were below the literacy level deemed adequate for succeeding in society (Calamai 1987). Surprised by the results of the Southam survey, in 1989, Statistics Canada commissioned the LSUDA survey (Literacy Used in Daily Activities). The precursor to IALS, LSUDA measured Canadians' reading, writing, numeracy and information processing skills across five levels.

During the mid-late 1980s, the federal government started to pay serious attention to literacy. Thanks to lobbying by MCL and other literacy advocates, and to the worrying results of the Southam survey (see Hautecoeur 2001; Rubenson & Walker 2011), a funding commitment to literacy was made in 1987 by the Conservative Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, to create the National Literacy Secretariat (NLS) which then formed part of his re-election platform. As Darville (1992, p. 7) noted, "in 1988 [...] for the first time, the platforms of the political parties included substantial plans to mobilize governmental programs to respond to the literacy issue". At this time, the link between the economy and literacy was being made strongly in media and by politicians (Walker & Rubenson 2014), which coincided with the time around which the OECD began publishing reports on the topic (Atkinson, forthcoming). Following the establishment of the NLS, federal monies were put towards the creation of three additional national bodies of adult literacy: The National Adult Literacy Database (NALD) (1989), ABC Literacy Canada (1989), and Fédération canadienne pour l'alphabétisation en français (FCAF) (1989). Furthermore, "UNESCO's International Literacy Year of 1990 gave literacy a new visibility in Canada and, in part, prompted the

government to lend greater financial and moral support to [literacy]" (Rubenson & Walker 2011, p. 3). By the beginning of the 1990s, there were six national adult literacy organizations, all but one created between 1977–1989.[2] From all appearances, and for the first time ever, literacy advocates, researchers, and practitioners were no longer outside the mainstream.

IALS and ALL in Canada

The story of IALS goes back to 1976 when the OECD sent a delegation to Canada to conduct a country report on education which sparked many headlines and educational initiatives in Canada (Interview with AO, former director of a leading Canadian adult education NGO). At the time, the push for more data about adult education came, to a large extent, from Canadian NGOs, in particular the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) and their francophone counterpart, ICÉA. These two organizations, with funding from the federal government through, the Department of the Secretary of State, had commissioned studies on adults' participation in education in the 1980s, such as the Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS) and One in Every Five, a survey of participation in adult education in Canada, published in 1984 by Statistics Canada and the federal Department of the Secretary of State (Draper & Carere 1998). Based on the results of those earlier studies, the 1987 Southam newspaper survey, and the LSUDA study of 1989, these and other Canadian NGOs, as well as other public advocates such as the Canadian journalist and broadcaster Peter Gzowski, were lobbying the federal Department of the Secretary of State to invest in a broader study. The department was interested, and sought to involve the OECD which "could provide substantive analytical oversight and international credibility" (Interview with DI, senior official in the Department of the Secretary of State). Another reason to involve the OECD was to avoid working with the provinces, which hold jurisdiction for education in Canada: at the time, the provinces resisted publicising any findings on literacy problems in Canada (Interviews with AO, former director of a leading Canadian adult education NGO; and with CU, a methodological expert involved in IALS). The IALS study was then conducted cooperatively between Statistics Canada and the OECD. The expertise for the study came from Canada and the American Educational Testing Service (ETS), building on the same team of statisticians that had already worked on the LSUDA study. The OECD was in charge of the overall coordination, recruiting countries, and planning and framing the reports and products that came out of IALS. The first IALS study, published in 1994, was conducted in Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The funding for the study was shared by these countries, with the United States being the most important financial contributor to the development of the methodology (Interview with CU). IALS examined literacy (broken into sub-com-

2 Frontier College had been formed in 1899; in 1981, another national literacy organization was formed, Laubach Canada, a community-based literacy program which has its roots in the US and is a global literacy initiative. All national literacy organizations, except Frontier College, are now defunct.

ponents of prose and document) and numeracy. Later versions of the study also looked at additional areas, such as life skills and problem-solving using technology.

According to IALS, 42.2% of Canadians were estimated to be in the two lowest levels of the prose scale (out of 5 levels) (OECD & Statistics Canada 1995). Level 3 was considered the minimum for a person to be able to function adequately in society (we will come back to Level 3 below). The results were widely debated in the media and policy circles, contrary to other countries such as Germany, where the IALS results were equally alarming, but never discussed, or France, which rejected the results and withdrew from the study (Thorn 2009). IALS, as also the precursor studies, could be considered a "focusing event" that opened and sustained a "window of opportunity" (Kingdon 1984) for literacy as a policy issue. For the next decade, IALS greatly contributed to advancing the literacy agenda in Canada. The funding available through the NLS (that had also funded the Canadian contribution to IALS) helped to build up a literacy infrastructure, with provincial organizations being created across the country (Interview with RA). In the years after the publication of the IALS study, the budget of the NLS was increased (Shohet 2001). According to a former staff member, the NLS was "really golden" at that time: "We had all our International Literacy activity, we had all the start up stuff, things were starting to snow ball and then it rolled into IALS and then that added momentum" (Interview with RA, former program director in the National Literacy Secretariat, Canadian Federal Government). Prominent literacy advocates, who acted as "policy entrepreneurs", defined by Kingdon (1984) as "people who are willing to invest their resources in pushing their pet proposals or problems [...] prompting important people to pay attention" (quoted in Béland & Howlett 2016, p. 223), added to that momentum, particularly Senator Joyce Fairbairn. When IALS was published, she was leader of the government in the Senate and Minister with Special Responsibility for Literacy. She had been one of the driving forces behind the creation of the NLS and used her extensive political influence to lobby for literacy. Her influence cannot be underestimated: "What triggered the strong government [response to IALS] was Senator Fairbairn; she was a force of nature" (Interview with former federal government official EO). In 2003, a follow-up study to IALS was conducted, the ALL. The goal of the survey, in which 12 countries participated – seven in the first round 2002–2003, five in the second in 2006 (Thorn 2009) – was to measure progress since IALS. The ALL results showed very little difference compared to IALS (Rubenson & Walker 2011). The Canadian data that were published in 2005 were known as the International Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (IALSS). The IALSS data underpinned the launch of the Literacy and Essential Skills Agenda that was part of the Canadian government's Workplace Skills Strategy announced in December 2004 (Jackson 2005). The shift to "essential skills" signaled a move away from the citizenship and collective dimensions of literacy and reduced literacy to individual skills required for the job market.

In 2005, Claudette Bradshaw, who was Minister of State (Human Resources Development) and, similar to Joyce Fairbairn, an advocate for literacy, set up the federal Advisory Committee on Literacy and Essential Skills (the Bradshaw Committee),

which put forth a broad vision for a national literacy strategy, that was backed up by a commitment on the part of key actors in the federal government to increase its dedicated $28 million in annual spending on literacy by $30 million over three years (Hayes 2013). But nothing came of the momentum and the activities set in motion by the literacy advocates in the NLS and the federal government. In the years from around 2005 onwards, we can see a clear shift in the policy approach to literacy.

2006 to present

Months after their election in 2006, the newly elected Conservative Harper government announced it would cut $17.7 million in funding to adult literacy, effectively dismantling the NLS. In spite of a budget surplus, Conservative MP John Baird lent support to his government's decision, announcing

> "I think if we're spending $20 million and we have one out of seven folks in the country that arefunctionally illiterate, we've got to fix the ground floor problem and not be trying to do repair work after the fact" (quoted in Delacourt 2006).

The shift in adult literacy policy can only partially be attributed to the newly elected Conservative government, however (Hayes 2013). Indeed, it had already started in the 1990s with institutional changes in the federal government (Smythe 2018).

In 1993 the NLS, originally housed in the department of the Secretary of State, which had responsibility for citizenship, was transferred to Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), tying literacy to the labour market (Hayes 2013). In 2007, what was now called Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) abolished the NLS to create the Office of Literacy and Essential Skills (OLES) (Hayes 2009). While the literacy strategy pursued by the NLS was community-based and inspired by a view of literacy as a driver of social and personal development, the HR(S)DC's interest in literacy focused exclusively on employment (St. Clair 2016). Even before a Conservative government was elected in 2006, there was a group of civil servants in the HRDC that actively worked against greater investments in literacy. As EO, former federal government official said in our interview, "the late 90s I would say is when there might have been this shift from the bureaucratic side [...] to institutionalise literacy." There was tension between the people working at the NLS and the "bureaucrats" in the HRDC: "Because of their [people working in the NLS] style of doing business within the government, HRDC people [...] were pulling their hair out" (Interview with EO). When it came to implementing the recommendations of the Bradshaw Committee, "the bureaucrats stalled and they stalled and they stalled until there was an election that brought in the conservatives" (Interview with EO). According to a former NLS staff member, the NLS had been distributing funding to all kinds of non-governmental organizations, provincial organizations, and community groups, in a rather un-bureaucratic and collaborative manner. As former NLS program director RA said in our interview, "at the time the NLS was all about partnerships." That changed in 1999 with the scandal that ensued after an HRDC audit that condemned the management of grants and contribution funds (Sutherland 2001).

Several of the NLS files were deemed as problematic by the auditors, who criticized poor documentation and claimed missing funds (Hayes 2009). The audit led to New Public Management reforms, introducing greater accountability measures, and tightened bureaucratic processes. Before the audit scandal, the NLS had entertained collaborative relationships with literacy organizations across the country: "Mostly we collaborated, so there wasn't a call for proposals back then at the national level" (Interview with RA). This way of working became much more difficult after the audit. According to RA,

> "we [the NLS] had to have calls for proposals and we weren't allowed to talk to anybody if the proposals came through and…the whole atmosphere changed…the leadership at the NLS at that point shifted to just really managing grants and contributions".

As discussed by Elfert and Rubenson (2013, p. 225), these new bureaucratic arrangements "resulted in a transformation of the relationship between the federal government and the provinces, in which the provinces [were] no longer partners but clients".

It is fair to say that literacy programs have since been decimated across the country. The dismantling of the NLS in 2007 and whittling away at support for literacy reached a culmination in 2014 and 2015 when all national literacy organizations were defunded. Jason Kenney, Minister of Employment and Skills Development (as the HRSDC was renamed), declared in 2014:

> "Our government is committed to ensuring that federal funding for literacy is no longer spent on administration and countless research papers, but instead is invested in projects that result in Canadians receiving the literacy skills they need to obtain jobs" (quoted in Smythe 2015, p. 16).

This reduction of literacy to skills for the job market is represented by the shift from literacy to essential skills. The HRSDC's nine essential skill areas, subdivided in five levels of complexity that can be tested through a workplace skills test called TOWES, derive from the IALS and ALL methodology (Jackson 2005; Pinsent-Johnson 2011; Smythe 2015). OLES made applying for grants more competitive and bureaucratically cumbersome, which has had a devastating effect on community organizations in Canada. Furthermore, OLES has failed to apportion the little funding it has (Hayes 2018); as noted by one of our interviewees, only 50 % of OLES allocated funding was spent in 2017.

4 Why the mainstreaming of (adult) literacy failed in Canada

As shown above, there was a moment when a "window of opportunity" or "policy window" existed for mainstreaming literacy in Canada. According to Kingdon (1984),

these policy windows open when the "separate streams of problems, policies, and politics come together at certain critical times" (quoted by Béland & Howlett 2016, p. 222). The "problem stream" relates to the public perception of a problem that demands a policy response. The "policy stream" is related to experts examining problems and proposing policy solutions. The "political stream" "comprises factors that influence the body politic, such as swings in national mood, executive or legislative turnover, and interest group advocacy campaigns" (ibid., p. 222). All of these streams crossed to some extent in Canada between the mid-late 1980s and approximately 2005. The various literacy studies that had been conducted in Canada since the 1980s and the way the issue of literacy was taken up by advocacy groups and the media framed literacy as a public "problem". The IALS survey was greatly analyzed and followed up upon in Canada through investments and the creation of institutions promoting literacy as a policy issue and delivering literacy programs. "Policy entrepreneurs", including high-level politicians, had created a favorable political climate for literacy.

However, the policy interest was short-lived. In our view, the policy window was only ever partially open and with a moderate breeze, easily blew shut. Indeed, the notion of mainstreaming adult literacy in Canada has always been fragile and subject to the vicissitudes of government. Despite a strong adult education tradition in the country, there has never been adequate long-standing infrastructure. As Smythe (2015, p. 7) noted, "the Canadian context makes for an interesting case of how the adult literacy field in Canada is coordinated by a small cluster of powerful texts, in the absence of a coherent policy framework". Bégin, Eggleston and MacDonald (2009), quoted in Smythe (2018, p. 141), describe Canada as "a country of perpetual pilot projects." Adult literacy lies under the shadow of international surveys and measurements – which presents a contradiction to the sociocultural (new literacy studies) understanding of literacy as a plural and dynamic social and cultural practice "with different literacies according to the different domains of life and defined by the individual and wider community goals and cultural practices" (Addey 2018, p. 317, drawing on Barton et al. 2000). Starting with the Southam newspaper survey, then continuing with LSUDA, leading eventually to IALS, literacy has been – also through the influence of the media – constructed as a measurable and standardized skill that a person either has or doesn't have. Level 3 was constructed as the threshold to determine those who are literate and those who are not. Level 3 was used to frame literacy in a way that it "was no longer about citizenship, empowerment, motivated training and being learner-centered. It was about moving people to 'level 3'" (Hayes 2009, p. 22). From a framing and agenda-setting perspective, level 3 represented "second-order agenda-setting", which means that a complex and multi-faceted policy issue is simplified by emphasising one particular aspect of the problem (Nelson 2011, drawing on McCombs 2004).

IALS and ALL were a double-edged swords: They helped bring literacy to the attention of media and policy makers but at a cost. The IALS survey has been widely criticised as contributing to the construction of literacy as the "single story" (Addey

2018), a "project of social ordering" (Hamilton 2001), serving literacy as a "competitiveness project" (Darville 1999) and making illiteracy "a national sickness" (Hautecoeur 2001, p. 411). For some of the experts who worked on the IALS, "level 3" constituted "a line in the data that's absolutely clear" (Interview with CU). At the same time, others criticised level 3 as it negated the very notion of literacy existing as a social practice and on a continuum. According to another statistician involved in IALS, the construction of "level 3" as the "watershed" of functional literacy put "a label on [people], as inadequate" (Interview with TO). Ultimately, the "single story" damaged literacy in Canada as it contributed to stigmatising people, such as French Canadians and the Indigenous population who were more likely to have literacy scores below level 3. Literacy learners were "framed" by placing them in categories and referred to as "'level ones', 'level twos'" (Smythe 2015, p. 9). Funding was invested towards raising people to level 3, neglecting those with lower literacy levels. A report by the Conference Board of Canada (2013), a Canadian think tank, argued:

> "Moving this group [those currently at level 2] up to a solid level 3 – considered to be the minimum 'job standard' level that enables employees to cope with the demands of work – would be less expensive and involve fewer resources, per capita, than moving the group of employees with extremely rudimentary level 1 literacy skills up to level 3." (quoted in Smythe 2015, p. 11)

As the follow-up studies to IALS did not yield significant measurable improvements, policy commitments to literacy turned out to be unattractive in the shifting political climate characterised by an accountability and outcome-oriented approach to policy-making. Rather than "situating literacy within the context of full citizenship" (Hayes 2009, p. 19), literacy efforts were increasingly measured against "tangible delivery outcomes such as the number of jobs created and the number of people employed" (ibid., p. 20). Another effect of the focus on measurable results was that many of the interesting findings of the IALS and ALL surveys were hardly discussed, such as the enormous difference in literacy skills found in Québec between the generation prior and after the quiet revolution of the 1960s. The studies also revealed new information about how adults learn that was largely ignored because it was not deemed politically interesting. In the words of a person very familiar with the data:

> "There's a lot more information in the results that anybody ever really made use of because most of the rhetoric and policy that came out of it focused on how many people are in a particular level. Which meant a lot of [...] educationally significant information never really got into the public policy" (Interview with TO).

The focus on the economic argument for literacy led to its downfall as a political issue, as evidence for economic benefits of adult literacy are difficult to quantify within the timeframe of an election cycle. There are outcomes of adult literacy education that cannot be accounted for in narrow assessments, such as people developing the ability to make phone calls, to show up for work on time, etc., which are not considered relevant. In other words, IALS could have been used to mainstream literacy in a

way which allows for multiple narratives, but Canada has chosen a single story. The NGOs and community organizations did not resist the "single story" enough as they used the IALS numbers to lobby for more funding. At the same time, the literacy community became disillusioned with the effects of the big data from IALS. As former NLS program director RA said:

> "What started as [...] an awareness, a population level glimpse at what people could do became [...] all pervasive [...] by the time PIAAC came along things had really gone sideways in terms of how people in Canada viewed IALS."

The increasing disconnects between "bureaucrats" and adult literacy learners and practitioners that some of our interviewees referred to were exacerbated by institutional reforms in public management. While the period of the "high time" of the NLS was characterized by partnership-oriented and collaborative relationships between the federal government and literacy organizations and stakeholders, the bureaucratic reorganization of government structures furthered the separation between the policy level and on-the-ground literacy learners and practitioners. There has been a trend of increasingly professionalized career bureaucrats who move from one unit to another without any expertise and no background in education. As we have shown above, it was mainly the middle-level civil servants – and not the elected politicians – who resisted particular policy attention to literacy.

The federated nature of Canada constitutes another challenge to integrating literacy into the mainstream of education. Policy processes in the field of adult education differ from those in relation to schooling. While the provinces have a clear mandate for schools, the responsibility for adult education is spread across sectors, more complex in its delivery and linked to labour market policies. Québec is the only province that has mainstreamed literacy to some extent. Since 2001, Québec has a Government Policy on Adult Education and Continuing Education and Training (Gouvernement du Québec 2002), which differs from those in other provinces in that it emphasizes a rights-based approach to adult education and the responsibility of the state in providing adult education opportunities. Although this policy has long been neglected due to changes of government, Québec has set a system in place in which the school board offers adult education provision. This integration of literacy in the formal education structure is unique in Canada, as in the other provinces literacy and basic education provision are more ad hoc and diffuse.

Another reason why adult literacy has failed to be mainstreamed in Canada is that literacy is associated with poverty, stigmatized groups, and with adults who "made poor choices" (Quigley 1990). Unlike children, adults have no appeal to innocence and so are blamed for their educational "failures", particularly in Western liberal societies dominated by current neoliberal frameworks. As one of our interviewees said, discussing a (successful) pilot project with single mothers that was never expanded, "single moms on welfare are lazy, undeserving citizens. That's the rhetorical structure" (Interview with CU). Unlike children, adults are seen as responsible

for their own failures and therefore responsible for their own education. As some of our interviewees pointed out, "literacy" as a concept is always stigmatized.

5 Further exploring the present situation

Adult literacy policies and programs have fallen out of favor in Canada as elsewhere. It is important to note that the most recent study of adults' literacy skills, the 2013 PIAAC, which built on the IALS and ALL surveys, has abandoned the concept of "literacy" – as have most public policies – in favor of "skills" and "competencies". However, within a bifurcated high skills/low skills society like Canada (see Brown, Green & Lauder 2001) the focus is more on supporting the skills of the already literate and "productive" segment of society than investing in those with lower literacy skills. Most institutional structures of adult literacy in Canada have now been destroyed – so, even with a slightly more sympathetic government as the current Liberal government may very well be, the effort it would take to mainstream literacy would be more than they care to invest. Smythe (2018), in a chapter about the closure of the National Adult Literacy Database, writes about the infrastructure that cannot be easily replaced once it is gone. As one of her interviewees, Sue Emson, said, "I don't know if the knowledge from the field is still out there. This is the problem of the infrastructure that has been lost" (ibid., p. 188).

Against this background, it is not surprising that PIAAC, according to St. Clair (2016) and our interviewees, has had no policy impact in Canada so far: "PIAAC died in Canada four days after it was released" (Interview with RA). The reasons, according to one of our interviewees, are "political" – news about low adult literacy skills is not favourable to "getting re-elected" (Interview with CU). Another interviewee pointed to the lack of federal leadership: "There was nobody out there promoting it [PIAAC] [...] nobody was the flag bearer on the file" (Interview with RA). Priorities have also shifted towards K-12 schooling and education for the Indigenous population:

> "Canada spent a lot of money and didn't see any results [...] governments change, different governments have different emphases, the federal government in Canada is under a lot more pressure to put its educational interest into Indigenous education [...] for children, which is just a disaster in this country" (Interview with TO).

This is not to say that PIAAC might not have a more indirect policy influence along the line, as some of our interviewees suggested:

> "In many countries, it is seen as one of the major data sources that you can use when you want to justify certain directions that you go, it will kind of play out differently in different countries, depending on the policy context" (Interview with JU, an academic who was involved in IALS).

IALS fell on fertile ground because it capitalized on a "window of opportunity". "There was money" and "a number of people from civil society, a few public servants and a few people in leadership roles felt that this was something to do" (Interview with DI). "Policy entrepreneurs", such as politicians, the media, and the public alike were interested at the time to get to the bottom of the literacy problem and there was hope that the data could be used to implement reforms that would benefit employers and workers. As Steiner-Khamsi (2004, p. 208) argued:

> "The potential of influencing educational reform depends on whether a controversy over educational reforms already exists – attractive if at that particular time policymakers are in need of additional external support for an already existent agenda".

There was also a certain favourable policy window, involving initiatives such as UNESCO's International Literacy Year in 1990, a general drive for data, and a more unbureaucratic way of governing. Actors among the Canadian NGOs, and in the federal government, Statistics Canada, the OECD, and academia, formed a policy network that pushed for IALS, albeit with different motivations. It is interesting to note that the initial push for more data about literacy came from the Canadian NGOs with "the educationally disadvantaged adult" (Interview with AO, former director of a leading Canadian adult education NGO) in mind. They lobbied for IALS, but then the file moved to the federal government and the OECD. PIAAC has now been taken over solely by the OECD as part of the "PISA engine" (Interview with CU, methodological expert involved in IALS). Ultimately, IALS was used by the federal government to underpin the employment-oriented Essential Skills agenda, which is "arguably not in relation to instruction and learning at all, but rather in relation to assessment and screening" (Elfert & Rubenson 2013, p. 227).

By now disillusionment and fatigue have set in, resulting in a lack of response

> "The most frequent response to OECD-type studies is indifference. In fact, in most countries, comparative and international studies pass unnoticed by politicians or the general public and cause little excitement – positive or negative" (Steiner-Khamsi 2004, p. 208).

After the "golden years", when the data showed no quick improvements and the political economy changed towards bureaucratisation of governance and less NGO and civil society influence, the lack of a robust literacy infrastructure enabled the dismantling of literacy in Canada in a relatively short time. As one of our interviewees said: "We went from the real high of being totally engaged down to like nobody even knew it happened" (Interview with RA).

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Out of the Shadows: Women's Adult Education Leadership in Canada

Shauna Butterwick

Abstract

In Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past: A Short History of Adult Education Michael Welton (2013 p. x) argues that "Canada has one of the most illustrious, experimental and innovative traditions of adult education in the world" and further notes that Canadians remain relatively unaware of this history." (p. xv). Women's contributions remain even more invisible compared with what can be called the 'single story' of Canadian adult education in which particular men figure prominently. Women have, throughout the history of Canadian adult education, been involved with creating new organizations and institutions, providing formal and formal spaces for adult learning, and taking the lead within social movements fighting for social justice, particularly for women's rights. This article aims to highlight some of their efforts. The first part focuses on women's work within social movements. The second part of the chapter focuses on women's leadership in the creation of feminist organizations and spaces within formal institutions, particularly their role in the creation of equality seeking organizations, organizations that were (and are) key sites of adult education, particularly the development of women's critical consciousness about their rights and ways of organizing and demanding social justice.

Keywords: Women's Leadership, Feminist Activism, Community-Based and Institutional Initiatives

1 Introduction

In *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past: A Short History of Adult Education* Michael Welton (2013, p. x) argues that "Canada has one of the most illustrious, experimental and innovative traditions of adult education in the world" and further notes that Canadians remain relatively unaware of this history (ibid., p. xv). Women's contributions re-

main even more invisible compared with what can be called the 'single story' of Canadian adult education in which particular men figure prominently[1].

Expanding and challenging the single story of leadership in our field has been a longstanding concern of mine. More than 20 years ago, I similarly wrote about women's leadership and contributions and suggested we always ask, when making claims about "leadership" or "foundations" of adult education, "who's here and who's not here". I would also add another queston: "what processes of knowledge construction are operating to create our partial views?". Similar questions were identified by Anne Firor Scott (1984, p.7) decades ago when she noted that "selective and partial vision will doubtless always be part of the historical enterprise" and she further asks "what are the characteristics of the things we are able to perceive? What makes other things invisible to scholars?"

A powerful approach to answer these questions is proposed by Canadian feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith's (1987) who has theorized that it is ruling relations that makes some phenomenon visible and others invisible. To create a richer and more complete account of the leadership of adult education in Canada requires that we continually interrogate what lens or frameworks are used and how our approaches will include some people and activities and will ignore others.

This chapter has been informed by a social justice vision of our field, one that is not only an approach to be brought to the creation of learning spaces, but to efforts to map and document the depth and breadth of those people and organizations who have contributed. Women have, throughout the history of Canadian adult education, been involved with creating new organizations and institutions, providing formal and informal spaces for adult learning, and taking the lead within social movements fighting for social justice, particularly for women's rights. Particular orientation is given to women's leadership which advanced "gender, social and ecological justice and transformation in Canada today" (Clover & McGregor 2016, p. 18), an approach, as Darlene Clover and Catherine McGregor noted, that counters masculinist notions of individualized power involving directing, dominating, and being the hero and the reductionist and essentializing traits-based approaches to leadership (ibid.).

This chapter aims to highlight some of their efforts, however, it is not possible in one chapter to do justice to the breadth of women's contributions – that would take many books. A fuller account of women's leadership in our field in Canada is also an ongoing project, one that was the impetus for *Women, adult education and leadership in Canada* (Clover, Butterwick & Collins 2016). It was the first book of its kind and included many examples of women and feminist educators, learners, leaders, activists and change-makers. This chapter draws extensively on authors' contributions to that book. Other texts, noteworthy for mapping women's contributions to

1 Often positioned as the "founding fathers" of adult education in Canada are men like Roby Kidd and Ned Corbett, leaders in the Canadian Association for Adult Education; Fathers Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins who played key roles in the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia during the Great Depression when workers, impoverished as a result their exploitation by fishing and mining companies, began to establish worker-led cooperatives; and Alfred Fitzpatrick who established Frontier College which provided evening adult education classes to workers, mostly immigrant men in mining or forestry.

our field, include Taber (2015), Imel and Bersch (2015) as well as English and Irving (2015) and *Women's Social Activists of Atlantic Canada*[2].

This chapter discusses a selection of examples of women's commitment, passion, resourcefulness, creativity, wisdom, and sheer cheek, as leaders within social movements and organizations. The first part focuses on women's work within social movements. Canadian adult education began as a social movement long before any formal programs or organizations were created. The second part turns attention to women's leadership in the creation of feminist organizations and spaces within formal institutions.

2 Women's Leadership in Social Movements

When considering the important role of adult learning that is central to social movements, Grey and Sawer (2008, p. 4) remind us that a power of social movements is their ability to "introduce new ways of looking at the world [...] challeng[ing] the rationale and operation of existing systems". Feminist approaches to popular education are central to many social movements, creating what Manicom and Walters (2012, p. 3 f.) describe as "pedagogies of possibility". This section begins with a discussion of women's leadership in Atlantic Canada, including the role played by Extension departments of universities in supporting impoverished communities in Antigonish and Newfoundland and women who worked at senior levels of government to provide adult education for rural communities. The leadership of Black women fighting against racial discrimination and in building community is also discussed. More contemporary movements are then explored including the creative initiatives of feminist activists. The first part concludes with attention given to the central role Indigenous women play (and have played) in fighting for Aboriginal rights in Canada.

2.1 Women's Leadership in Atlantic Canada

The Atlantic provinces of Canada were the birthplace of many adult education projects where women's leadership figured prominently. The Antigonish movement, perhaps one of the most well-known, began in the 1920s in the province of Nova Scotia. Its success can be attributed to support and leadership provided by the women and men of the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University, which began in 1928. Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins, two radical Catholic priests[3] were working in impoverished mining, fishing and agricultural communities and sought to deploy adult education in the form of study clubs to examine these communities' challenges and ways to break through oppressive economic structures. A key outcome of these activities was the establishment of worker-led cooperatives[4]. While Father Mo-

2 https://womenactivists.lib.unb.ca/ is a web-based report of a project directed by retired Professor Liz Burge from University of New Brunswick.
3 The activities of both of these men were regarded by the Vatican as problematic.
4 The Antigonish movement is considered to have initiated the cooperative movement.

ses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins played key roles[5], they relied heavily on the leadership, tenacity and creativity of many women who worked in the Extension department. Catherine Irving (2016) documents their contributions as fieldworkers, writers, organizers, secretaries and editors. To create booklets for the study clubs, they gathered information, and, if it was not available, they created it. These women wrote and distributed hundreds of pamphlets on many different topics[6], coordinated the annual conferences where residents shared their ideas and innovations, and created a bulletin which has been through many iterations and is now a major magazine (*The Canadian Co-operator*[7]).

Irving identifies some of the key women involved with the Antigonish movement. Kay Thompson (1907–1997) served as secretary of the extension department, creator of education material, provider of labour news and editor of *The Extension Bulletin*. Several women from the Sisters of St. Martha of Antigonish became involved: Sr. Marie Michael managed the growing library and wrote for *The Extension Bulletin* and Sr. Irene Doyle (1913–2008) coordinated the women's handicrafts program and created booklet illustrations. Other women were also central including Zita O'Hearn Cameron (1910–1999), an accomplished journalist and poet, who was Dr. Coady's secretary, contributing substantially to *Masters of Their Own Destiny* (Coady, 1939). Ida Gallant Delaney (1907–1997) who joined the Extension Department as a field worker promoting consumer education; and Mary Arnold and Mabel Reed, experienced co-operators, who moved from the United States to Cape Breton in 1937 to join the Extension department focusing on women's contributions to the development of co-operative housing. Ellen McNeill Arsenault (1908–2005), secretary to Dr. Coady (until his death in 1959), took charge of the massive amount of correspondence from around the world, including efforts to secure funding. Other women whose contributions survived the archival record included Catherine 'Tat' Sears (fieldworker and contributor to the *Extension Bulletin),* and Margie (MacKinnon) MacDougall, (fieldworker with women in fishing communities), and Mary (McIntyre) (writer for the *Maritime Co-operator)*.[8]

Turning attention to Newfoundland, Florence Mary O'Neill's contributions are noteworthy. She was one of the first women in a high-level government position. Katherine McManus' (2016)[9] has done extensive study of O'Neill's life. She describes how O'Neill, after completing her Doctorate from Columbia University in 1944, immediately began to work in the province's Department of Adult Education. From 1944 to 1958 she began as the Assistant Director and then moved on to be Director. O'Neill had a clear vision of creating an adult education system in Newfoundland and through her efforts regional offices were established throughout that province. Her plan, which she articulated in her doctoral dissertation, for an island-wide cohe-

5 For a fuller story of Coady's leadership read Welton (2001).
6 As is often the case with women's work, they did not identify themselves as authors of these materials.
7 https://www.facebook.com/canadiancooperator/
8 At a 1982 reunion of the women from the Extension Department, it was decided that their stories needed to be told. Delaney (1985) describes their achievements as well as barriers to women assuming leadership positions in co-op boards.
9 Also see McManus (2015).

sive adult education program was never fully realized; it was met with resistance from senior male leader who were distressed with O'Neill's portrayal of the level of poverty in Newfoundland's rural communities.

Later on, however, O'Neill's ideas became central to field workers approach at Memorial University Extension Service, a unit which Helen Woodrow and Linda Cullum (2016) explore illustrating how it operated as a vehicle of transformation for women in Newfoundland in the second half of the twentieth century – both as workers in the organisation and as citizens in communities. In 1959, Memorial University initiated a bold campaign to "produce social, economic, and cultural development in rural Newfoundland" (ibi.d, p. 287); it was led by several key women including Edna Baird, Julia Morgan and Vera Moore, and Neala Griffin. Literacy programs were central to these Extension programs aimed at training of rural women for the "betterment" of home, family and women.

2.2 African Canadian Women's Leadership

Women's contributions to another significant social movement is explored by Susan Brigham and Sylvia Parris (2016) who examine the leadership of Black Canadian women in Nova Scotia, home to one the oldest established Black communities[10] founded by Black Loyalists, descendants of former slaves who were refugees from the University States who came to Canada in the 1700 and 1800s[11]. Racial discrimination meant these communities did not receive many mainstream services; the women, through much tenacity, creativity and leadership created their own social and economic supports. They were particularly active in Black churches which addressed the spiritual needs of the Black community. The leadership and courage of one particular African Canadian woman – Viola Desmond – is notable. She stood up to racial discrimination throughout her life including confronting municipal politicians about deplorable housing conditions for Black families. In 1946 she was arrested for sitting in the whites-only section of a movie theatre. Jailed and without a lawyer she was fined, not for sitting in the whites-only section, but for not paying taxes of one penny. Her case went to the Supreme Court of Canada and was dismissed. Some 64 years later, an apology was issued by the Lieutnant Governor of Nova Scotia, Maryann Francis, to her family and all African Nova Scotians regarding the racism experienced by Viola. Viola Desmond is a symbol for racial justice in Canada, like Rosa Sparks who is a symbol of American civil rights.

The leadership of African-Canadian women was also the focus of Thashika Pillay's (2016) vignette of Jeannette Austin-Odina, who came to Edmonton Alberta from Trinidad-Tobago where she had been a teacher. Her educational credentials were not recognized and Jeannette found work as a dishwasher. Undeterred, Jeannette encouraged others to pursue education[12]. Her own home became the central space for the small Black Edmonton community. Jeannette's commitment to educating her com-

10 For more background on African Nova Scotians see Colaiacovo (2008).
11 For more background on Black women's contributions to the abolishment of slavery and their role in the survival of Black people, see Davis (1972).
12 She eventually obtained her Bachelor of Education from the University of Alberta.

munity about the peoples of African and Caribbean heritage led to her creation of the Afro-Quiz, which is now an annual event. She also organized a youth homework and tutoring service. Her passion for education and community building is central to her leadership and legacy continues. Identifying African-Canadian women's contributions, is also the concern of Jennifer Kelly and Thashika Pillay (2016, p. 165) who seek to disrupt the single story of white women's social movement activities and the erasure of Black women's contributions in historical accounts. They bring attention to the racism operating in concerns about racial purity that was central to mainstream chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and highlight the work of the Phyllis Wheatley WCTU chapter which "provided women of the African-Canadian community with a spiritual and intellectual place for consciousness raising" (p. 171). They point to the leadership of African Canadian women as evident in the writings of Reverend George W. Slater who created a newspaper column entitled *Our Negro Citizens (ONC)*[13] and to the public education role of newspapers in creating, through word and image, new social and discursive realities and constructs of Black women.

2.3 Creativity and Feminist Activism

As has been noted, there is much creativity in women's leadership as noted by Canadian feminist sociologist, Dorothy Smith (1987, p. 22): "as we learn more about our women's history we discover that powerful intellectual and artistic current moves like an underground stream". A more contemporary example of such creativity is found in the work of activism of Philippine Women's Centres (PWC) in Canada, a Vancouver-based group which began in 1989. It is "a non-profit community based organization that advances Filipino Canadian women's equality, human rights and development towards genuine women's liberation"."[14]. Working in partnership with Filipina activists in Vancouver, Shauna Butterwick and Kim Villagante (2016) explored their creative organizing and pedagogical approach. The position of Filipino domestic migrant workers arriving in Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) was a central concern of many PWCs. Through their organizing and community-based participatory action research (PAR), richly informed by Marxist feminist analysis, they examined LCP workers' struggles. As Khan (2009, p. 23) has noted, these domestic migrant workers encounter "social exclusion, abysmal working conditions, sub-standard living accommodations, sexual and racial discrimination, and exploitation on the part of employers, labour brokers, and employment agencies".

In sharing the results of their PAR activities, the Vancouver and other PWCs engaged with highly creative formats to organize and educate[15]. In 2003, 2004 and 2008,

13 Written by Reverend George W. Slater, Jr. and published in the Edmonton Bulletin and Edmonton Journal between 1921 and 1924.

14 https://pwcofbc.wordpress.com/

15 In addition to the political fashion shows, the PWCBC and other PWC across Canada used other creative formats such as painting suitcases with figures of Filipino workers and their children depicting the lived realities of many Filipino families spending years of their lives working overseas. Geraldine Pratt, a feminist geography scholar partnered with the PWCBC conducting research of LCP workers and on family separation. The findings of the latter studies have been presented in the form of plays in Canada, the Philippines and in Germany. (see Pratt & Johnston 2017).

the Vancouver group put on three Political Fashion Shows. Fashion shows are very popular in the Philippines and are not usually associated with women's emancipation. The national feminist coalition in the Philippines[16] was the first group to subvert this format to raise political awareness amongst the masses prior to an election. Preparation for the Vancouver shows involved work study groups examining pre-colonial times as well as Spanish and American colonization and writing committees. Many artists, as well as community people, board members, and their friends and family members were involved. For most participants, creating a fashion show was a new experience.

The first PWCBC fashion show *Product of the Philippines: Made in Canada* was held in Vancouver in March 2004. It explored pre-colonial times and Spanish colonization. Depicting the radical and often violent changes that occurred through colonization, one of the opening scenes showed a woman wearing indigenous garb entering the stage. She is seized by two soldiers who hold her while two other women remove her indigenous garments and dress her in a Spanish Maria Clara dress[17], handing her a bible and a rosary. This, among many other scenes, was a powerful and embodied portrayal of the political, social, and economic colonization by Spain and the Catholic Church. The second fashion show in 2005: *Philippine Independence Re-veiled: A Political Fashion Show* continued exploring colonization, focusing on current struggles in the Philippines as a result of globalization, capitalism, imperialism and commercialism. One of the dresses, the Rice Terrace dress, illustrated the abundance of natural resources in the Philippines and told the story of the exploitation of this land by foreign corporations, including Canadian mining companies.

In 2008, the third fashion show *Scrap: A Political Fashion Show to Stop Violence Against Filipino Women* focused on the experiences of mail order brides and migrant domestic workers. One of the dresses created was the Phone Card dress; made with hundreds of phone cards linked together. During the planning of this third show, PWCBC members had brought these cards to meetings. These cards had been collected over their many years as LCP workers and were used to call home and stay connected to their families. The cards and the dress created from them were symbolic of women's exploitation, isolation and family separation[18] and told the story of the terrible sacrifice these women make – in order to support their families, must leave them to work overseas.[19]

The Raging Grannies are another group of women whose activism and leadership involves creative reimagining of what might be considered traditional feminine activities and attire. Carole Roy (2016) has extensively studied their development and impact. In 1987 in Victoria, British Columbia (B. C.), a group of aged 50 + women formed a street theatre group. One of their first political interventions was to dress in

16 GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, and Action).
17 The Maria Clara dress is associated with the impact of colonization of the Philippines by Spain and the domination of the Catholic Church.
18 LCP regulations do not allow these women to bring their children or husbands; many women, because of limited economic opportunities in the Philippines, are separated from their families for years.
19 Filipino overseas workers' remittance payments to their families is a key part of the Philippine's economy.

clothes mocking the stereotype of older women and to paddle canoes and confront a US nuclear-powered war ship that had entered Canadian waters. They, not surprisingly, received much media and public attention and subsequent groups were formed in many cities in Canada (and in other parts of the world). Central to their activism are their songs and lyrics which bring public attention to many social justice concerns including peace and environmental issues, affordable housing and other causes. As Roy notes, these warriors purposefully deploy their matronly credibility, gaining entrance to many events including government official meetings and gatherings. For example, at the BC Commission looking into lifting the moratorium into uranium mining in BC, the Raging Grannies offered a clothesline of their "briefs".

Some of the founding BC members of the Raging Grannies include Ran Thoburn whose activism focused on her passions for the environment and women's health, Freda Knot who was part of a disarmament group and an activist in promoting a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, Alison Acker who was a journalist reporting on war zones in Latin America who retired to Victoria and became the Grannies chief songwriter, and Daphne Taylor from Wales who studied German and worked in Germany after WWII in order to understand why England and Germany were at war. As Roy concludes, through their humour and creativity, the Raging Grannies "found empowerment, which led to the creation of an attractive form of protest, a robust identity and an effective network, and an example of flexible leadership" (p. 241).

2.4 Indigenous women's Leadership

Indigenous women are in leadership roles in the global struggle for Indigenous rights and self-determination. In Canada, a key organization supporting Indigenous women's leadership is the Native Women's Association of Canada (2018)[20] an aggregate of 13 Native women's organizations, which was founded in 1974. Its mission is "to help empower women by being involved in developing and changing legislation which affects them, and by involving them in the development and delivery of programs promoting equal opportunity for indigenous women" (ibid.). In its Strategic Plan of 2011-2016 several key areas of action are outlined including the promotion of Aboriginal cultures and languages, the end of violence and discrimination against Aboriginal women, taking leadership in policy analysis and development on issues affecting aboriginal women and developing women Aboriginal leaders for the future (Native Women's Association of Canada 2011, p. 4).

Indigenous women are also the key leaders in revitalizing and maintaining communities and cultural understandings. This area of their leadership is explored by Marlene Atleo (2016) who points to the leadership of young Indigenous women in the Idle No More Movement (INM), a movement which began in response to a Canadian government bill which undermined Indigenous treaty and land rights and was passed without rigorous consultation with Indigenous peoples. Atleo points to young

20 For more information see https://www.nwac.ca/home/about-nwac/about-us/

Indigenous women deployed their "savvy use of social media" (p. 38) to great effect, generating extension social networks. Atleo also documents how culturally informed artistic activities, such as round dances and flash mobs, were a strong theme in the INM. The contributions of the Kino-nda-niimi Collective which used dance in their demonstrations, and Jaime Black, a Winnipeg Métis artist, who created the Red Dress installation which drew attention to violence inflicted on murdered and missing women, are highlighted. Atleo points to another Métis artist, Christi Belcourt, who created a stained-glass window commemorating the Resident School Survivors.

Continuing with the documentation of the leadership of Indigenous women, Mary Kostandy (2016a) has written a vignette about Verna Kirkness, who was born on the Fish River reserve in Manitoba. Verna began her leadership activities as a teacher and high school counsellor and later supervisor of schools. She played a key role in writing the *Indian Control of Indian Education*[21] report and *Our Tomorrows – the Indigenous education manifesto for Manitoba*. She continued to pave the way for Indigenous education as a faculty member at the University of British Columbia (UBC) where she created the Native Teacher Education Program (NITEP) and the Ts'kel[22] graduate program which provides courses in Indigenous knowledge and methodology. She was also the first Director of the UBC First Nations House of Learning which she helped raise funds to build.

Indigenous women's leadership is also central to revitalizing Indigenous approaches to health and wellbeing. Their leadership was explored by Alannah Young Leon (2016) who examined the central role of Indigenous women in the creation of a Tribal Indigenous land-based health education program called the Medicine Camp in rural Manitoba. Through this program, Tribal Midewiwin matriarchs' knowledge is based on protocols and practices of Indigenous laws and legal traditions. Protocols is understood to mean "any one of a number of culturally ordained actions or statements, established by ancient tradition that an individual completes in order to establish a relationship" (Lightning as cited in Archibald, 2008, p. 37–38). As Leon points out, these protocols stand "in sharp contrast to the normative education models introduced by the settler state [...] [which] were devastating [and] destroyed Aboriginal cultures, languages, knowledges, and even physical bodies causing irreparable damage to many generations" (p. 113). She argues that many of these protocols "can inform a trans-disciplinary education practice" (p. 113) but also cautions that the protocols and practices must be site and case specific.

3 Creating Space within Organizations

The focus of this second part of the chapter is women's leadership in the creation of equality seeking organizations, organizations that were (and are) key sites of adult

21 This report, adopted by the federal government and outlines how Indian education must be within the power and governance of Indian peoples. For more information see http://www.sicc.sk.ca/archive/saskindian/a88sep18.htm

22 Ts'kel means Golden Eagle in the Halq'eleylem language.

education, particularly the development of women's critical consciousness about their rights and ways of organizing and demanding social justice. With space limitations, a comprehensive account of these activities and organizations cannot be offered. What is highlighted are some well (and lesser) known organizations including Women's Institutes, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women Canada. Also explored are women's leadership in the Canadian Associate for Adult Education (CAAE) and their efforts to create the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (originally a subcommittee of the CAAE) and their leadership in university extension services, literacy movements, as well as libraries and unions.

3.1 Women's Institutes

The Federated Women's Institute of Canada (WI) is perhaps the best known, non-formal site of adult education in Canada. Katie Stella (2016) takes us into the world of this rural organisation committed to initiating national programs for women highlighting celebrated stories of unity, and inclusion. Like the WI in England, the WI in Canada began with the goal of creating space for farm women to socialize and access education. The first WI was formed by Adelaide Hoodless in 1897, at a gathering in Stoney Creek Ontario when she spoke to a group of farm women about 'domestic science' also known as 'home economics'. Her passions about these issues emerged after the death of her infant son from contaminated milk. Her initial goal was to raise the level of knowledge about safe food practices.

As more and more WIs were created across the country, these organizations expanded their foci to include public administration, government lobbying and women's rights; their lobbying led to the creation of the Marital Property Act which gave women equal rights to property after divorce[23]. Stella (2016) goes on to note the democratic structure of WI but also their strict adherence to procedures and regulations. She explores the continued relevance of WI activities and their expansion: "the WI has elevated their organization since 1897 from the rural to the international stage" (ibid., p. 102). She also points to their strategy of maintaining close relations with government decision makers and how they developed "partnerships and alliances with powerful women and feminist organizations" (p. 103). For example, Emily Murphy was the first President of the Federated WI of Canada; she is well known for her involvement with the Famous Five[24], a group of women who pushed for legislative change such that women would become persons who hold a seat on the Senate of Canada.

23 For more information see https://nslegislature.ca/sites/default/files/legc/statutes/matrimon.htm.

24 Nelly McClung, Irene Parlby, Louse McKinney and Henrietta Muir Edwards. For more information go to https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/famous-5/

3.2 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WLPF) and Voice of Women

The WLPF, which began in The Hague in 1915, came to Canada in the early 1920s. It was created by women involved with women's suffrage in Europe and North America and who were actively opposed to war[25] and were centrally involved in disarmament campaigns. Many women assumed active leadership of the WLPF including Francis Beynon, Violet McNaughton, Agnes McPhail, Gertrude Richardson, Dorothy Steeves, Laura Jamieson and Lucy Woodsworth. Branches were formed in Vancouver, Toronto, Edmonton and Winnipeg. A central philosophy of the WLPF in Canada was that women, as mothers, had specific and unique obligations to create a peaceful and moral world. Laura Hughes, also active in the WLPF, is the focus of Laurel Collins' (2016) vignette. Collins takes note of Hughes more radical stance and her efforts to bring attention to the role of capitalist structures and how government and churches were profiting from war. Hughes also engaged in labour reform in light of factory women's working conditions. While the role of the WLFP declined during the Cold War, it has since been revitalized with chapters in Ottawa and Vancouver. More recent actions include creating, a comparison of expenditures on social programs with the national defense budget.

The Voice of Women (VOW), which began in the 1960s with members in every province, is also focused on peace and disarmament; VOW has a representative on the federal government's Consultative Group on Disarmament and Arms Control. A central figure in VOW and other women's initiatives is Thérese Casgrain; she is the focus of Mary Kostandy's (2016b) vignette. Casgrain began her political career as president of the League for Women's Rights and later became the first woman in Canada to head a political party in Quebec. Cheryl Gosselin continues to explore Francophone women's activism in the 1950s and 1960s and the creation of L'Association des femmes diplômées des universités de Montréal (AFDUM) (Gosselin 2016). This organization, which began in the 1960s, fights for gender equality in the work force by lobbying, advocating the principle of equal pay for equal work, and inspiring women to enter post-secondary education and to move outside the home and take up leadership roles in politics and other public arenas.

3.3 National Action Committee on the Status of Women

Another central Canadian feminist organization was the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, known as NAC. For several decades, NAC was a vocal and central advocate for women's rights. It began in May of 1966 when the Canadian Federation of University Women, under the leadership of its President Laura Sabia, along with a coalition of 30 other women's organizations, lobbied the then Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson to examine issues affecting women. Receiving no response, a march on Parliament Hill of 2 million women was planned. Fearing the image created by such a public event, Pearson moved to create the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW). Its 1971 report outlined multiple structural

25 https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/womens-international-league-for-peace-and-freedom/

barriers preventing women's equality (many continue to operate) and actions to address these barriers. NAC was formed with a mandate to pressure the Canadian federal government to take action on the RCSW's recommendations. NAC included over 700 women's groups and the Presidents of NAC were women from those groups who brought different foci to their activist leadership including women's constitutional rights[26], their right to abortions, their roles in unions, feminist backlash, the racism and immigration struggles of women of colour, and the rights of Indigenous women. Laura Sabia was the first president followed by Grace Hartman, Kay McPherson, Doris Anderson, Chiviva Hošek, Louise Dulude, Lynn Kaye, Judy Rebick, Sunera Thobani, Joan Grant Cummings, Teri Brown and Dolly Williams. As neoconservative agendas began to take hold of government agendas, funding for many women's organizations ceased, including NAC, which had to close operations in the late 2000s.

3.4 CAAE and CCLOW

The Canadian Associate for Adult Education (CAAE) is one of the most known of adult education organizations in Canada, but the role of women within that organization has received much less attention. It was created in 1935 with Ned Corbett as the first executive director (ED). CAAE for many years worked in close association with the federal government and played a prominent role in farming and citizenship education. It initiated several adult education projects such as Farm Radio Forum (FRF). Working in partnership with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio, FRF ran from 1941 to 1965. It involved half-hour radio broadcasts which were listened to by rural farming groups throughout Canada. These groups were sent background materials and questions about social economic issues. The ideas emerging from these discussions were part of a unique report-back process where the results of group discussions were sent back, sometimes even forwarded to government.

In 1943, the CAAE began another project using a similar adult education approach. Citizens Forum (CF) which ran for 20 years, focused on creating a more unified post WWII Canada. Isabel Wilson was hired in 1944 to be the National Secretary of this project (Butterwick 2016a)[27]. To this role she brought previous experience in radio broadcasting and oversaw the research and editing of over 300 pamphlets used by listening groups across Canada. An exciting point of Isabel's leadership was the 1950 CF campaign on Equal Pay; Isabel crafted the materials for this initiative which became one of the most popular pamphlets ever distributed. In 1955, the production of a television broadcast of CF began[28]. However, changes in scheduling and continual disputes over funding and control of programming meant that *CF* had its final broadcast season in 1964-65.

26 The lobbying that emerged from a NAC conference led to the addition to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on equal rights for females and males.
27 See also Butterwick & Fisher (2015).
28 For more information about educational broadcasting in Canada see Faris (1975).

Isabel's work was central to the success of the CF and its initiative on Equal Pay for women. Some years later, women's concerns about gender equality led to the Canadian Committee for the Continuing Education of Women (CCCEW) being formed in 1973. The women in that group drew attention to that fact that, at that time, no Canadian organisation existed that was concerned with women's education and training needs. In 1976, the committee sought and secured funding from the Canadian Secretary of State Women's Program (that had developed as a result of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women) to support the hiring of staff to look for creative models and conduct research on the status of women's learning opportunities. Out of those activities, the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) was born. Janet Willis, the first Executive Director, wrote a series of essays about successful programs for women and also prepared longer policy briefs based on research with adult educators in advance of the October 16–18, 1976 workshop in Winnipeg. Another proposal to the Secretary of State Women's Program was submitted in 1977 which led to the opening of a national office in Toronto. Throughout its life, CCLOW undertook many advocacy initiatives including briefs submitted to government. Many women took leadership roles including Dorothy MacKeracher, a now retired adult education faculty member from University of New Brunswick, who wrote *Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy*. In the 1980s many regional networks were established (e.g. British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland) from which emerged several successful models for women's program (e.g. The Bridging Program, Women Interested in Successful Employment (WISE)). The BC network[29], published two issues of the *Back to School Survival Guide for Women*. In 1982 the first issue of the CCLOW magazine *Women's Education des Femmes* was released. Between 1978 and 2000, CCLOW produced many other reports including studies on systemic and institutional barriers to women's learning, child care, pay equity, paid educational leave, women's learning styles, violence against women, the impact of violence on women's learning, and women's literacy programs[30]. Conferences were frequently held which often included skills training workshops. After struggling to survive in the era of budget cuts to women's programs, CCLOW finally ceased operating as an organization in 2001.

3.5 Women's Leadership in Unions, Literacy Campaigns and Libraries

As Simon, Dippo and Schenke (1991) observe, Canadian unions are "a way in which workers have responded and can respond to the desire for a better life" (ibid., p. 128). While women make up about 44% of union membership (Kaminski & Yakura, 2008), they are not well represented in union leadership. One woman who has assumed a major role in the union movement is Winnie Ng[31] . She was an active leader who raised the profile of racialized women and gender and racial discrimination in

29 I served as BC Director of CCLOW for two terms during which time I secured funding for this booklet and oversaw, along with other members of BC-CCLOW, its distribution.

30 For a full list of these documents go to the National Adult Literacy Data Base (NALB) http://www.nald.ca/litweb/other/cclow/doc/dateft.htm#1978.

31 See https://www.ryerson.ca/socialjustice/about/past-chairs/winnie-ng/-

unions. Winnie was an active leader of the Labour Education Centre, the regional director of Canadian Labour Congress' Ontario for eight years, co-chair of Good the Jobs for All Coalition, executive member of the Asian Canadian Labour Alliance, and a board member of Labour Community Services. Her leadership in the Canadian labour movement has been recognized through numerous awards. Ng was well placed to explore the contributions and struggles of racialized women and other equity seeking members (Ng 2016). In her exploration, she draws on the voices of women of colour activists and educators to give us a reimaging of labour education in Canada aimed at solidarity and labour renewal. Two other women who have assumed significant leadership in addressing racism in organizations are Lina Lopes and Barb Thomas (2008, p. 1) who wrote a book based on their many years of training and education. That book examines how "racism, White power and privilege work in the ordinary, daily moments of organization life" and provides some powerful lessons on creating more equitable organizations.

Another woman who has given significant leadership to disrupting the male dominating of labour movements and unions is Kate Braid (2016) who was the first woman to graduate from BCIT with a red seal ticket (in carpentry), to teach full time at British Columbia Institute for Technology (BCIT), and to be voted to the executive of the Vancouver Carpenters' union. Woven throughout Kate's personal narrative is a larger discussion of women's persistent underrepresentation in the trades and the educational programmes that enable more women to choose the trades and survive and thrive in this area of work. Women in Trades (WIT), a group Kate helped to form in Vancouver in 1979, were key advocacy organisations for women in trades. Another strong WIT leader is Marcia Braundy[32] who created several alternative schools in the Kootenay area of BC before starting her pre-apprenticeship training in 1977 and receiving her Red Seal qualification in 1981. She founded the newsletter of the Nelson Women's Centre and has since gone on to publish many reports on WIT and designing WIT curriculum. She received her PhD from UBC and her dissertation has been published as book about men's resistance to women in the trades was crafted in the form of a play[33].

Like unions and trades organizations, libraries are also significant sites of adult education in Canada blessed with strong women's leadership. The role of libraries in the Antigonish Movement has already been noted. Catherine Irving (2016) explores how libraries grew "alongside evening schools and Workers' Education Institutes to support learning for the working classes" (ibid., p. 219). In a profession lead by women. Irving draws our attention to Helen Gordon Stewart who in the early 1900s was "a force charged with a pioneering spirit" (ibid., p. 219). She was instrumental in the BC library legislation of 1919. She focused her doctoral research at Columbia University on rural library systems.

As funding disappears for other community organizations, public libraries are even more important. In many situations, they are the only accessible places for

32 For more information go to http://www.men-women-tools.ca/
33 For more information go to https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/men-women-and-tools

adults to engage with further learning. Suzanne Smythe (2016) highlights the complexity of practices and skills required by women to support adult literacy learning in a landscape of inequalities. She draws upon literacy education reports, research projects, policy visions and curricular documents to elaborate a feminist analysis of adult literacy as "women's work". She provides a feminist analysis of literacy education and elucidates why these issues matter to the quality of literacy instruction, to hidden pedagogies and practices in the field and to the salience of political resistance.

3.6 Creating Women-Centred Spaces with Post-Secondary Institutions

While universities can be the sties of colonial, sexist and racist ideas and practices, through women's leadership, spaces for developing critical consciousness have also been created. This is a topic worthy of much more discussion, but it is important to mention in this chapter women's adult education leadership within these formal educational institutions. Women's studies courses began to be offered in the 1970s; some were outside of the formal credit system[34]. For example, a collective of UBC faculty and community organizations got together to offer a non-credit course entitled *The Canadian Woman: Our Story*. Subsequent to that, credit courses began to be offered at many colleges and universities across Canada. Alongside these credit courses, women's resource centres were also created within colleges and universities in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s. One woman who was passionate about supporting women's learning was Anne Ironside (Butterwick 2016b). She directed the First Women's Resources Centre in British Columbia which opened at UBC in 1972; she convinced the BC government to fund similar centres for all B.C. colleges. She was also the first woman to be president of the CAAE and she founded the Canadian New Work Institutes to support young people in a changing economy. She was awarded outstanding Adult Educator Award in 1989.

Earlier in this chapter, the leadership of women in Extension departments of universities such as St. Francis Xavier and Memorial were noted. Unfortunately, many universities have subsequently closed their Extension departments and community outreach initiatives replacing them with cost-recovery professional training programs[35].

4 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to provide a map, within the limits of these pages, of some of the leadership contributions of women within Canadian adult education. Particular attention was given to women's leadership in well-known (and lesser known) social movements and their persistence, creativity and courage deployed in the creation of equality-seeking organizations and institutions. As has been noted,

34 For a chronology of women's studies courses and programs see https://www2.unb.ca/parl/chronology1.htm
35 For further information go to https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/nflds/article/view/22416/26072

this is a partial view but it is hoped that it moves us forward with a more complete picture of the Canadian adult education leadership and of the powerful role women have played in that movement and its institutions.

The lack of recognition of women's contributions to our field is reflective of, I would argue, the work of ruling relations that devalue and render invisible much of women's labour. The misrecognition is also related to a narrow vision of what counts as leadership, and what might be considered adult education. Attending to women's contributions and bringing in a wider lens is more than a case of adding in their stories and giving them recognition, it is also about developing a richer and deeper understanding of our field of adult education. It is an effort to not only to provide a fuller historical account but to attend to present successes and future challenges in providing opportunities for adult learning and education for all those who seek it and would benefit from it.

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Indigenous Approaches to Adult Basic Education Research: Lessons from the Elders

Francine Emmonds

Abstract

Adult basic education (ABE) programs provide secondary school courses that enable adult learners to complete high school, often as a next step to higher education and improved employment opportunities. In Canada, several ABE programs across the country offer culturally relevant curricula that emphasize the teaching and learning of Indigenous ways of knowing, including the values of language, family, Elders, and community. Elders are the cornerstones of education within Indigenous communities and schools: they are the knowledge keepers who connect the past to the future, carrying traditional teachings from the previous generations so that the cycle of knowledge sharing is sustained. The voices of Indigenous Elders and ABE students are seldom heard in academic literature. In a recent case study of an urban Indigenous college in western Canada, ABE students spoke about returning to school as adult learners, and noted how Elder support has enriched their experiences. Elders' traditional teachings informed the overall approach to this work in adult education research, by emphasizing how protocols are embedded within language and culture, and illustrating how Cree language terms provide structure and substance to a conceptual framework. In sharing their wisdom, the Elders gave foundation to the study and support to the researcher. More research is needed to examine the roles and contributions of Elders in adult and higher education, both within Canada and internationally.

Keywords: Adult Basic Education, Canadian Indigenous Adult Education, Indigenous Methodologies

1 Introduction

Not everyone completes high school the first time around. Learning difficulties, discordant family situations, and financial challenges are some explanations for why youth drop out of school before completing their secondary education, while for Indigenous secondary school students, a lack of culturally relevant curricula and school supports may also be contributing factors (Cherubini 2014). Many adult education centres within the provinces and territories of Canada offer adult basic education (ABE) secondary school programming. ABE provides a bridge for adult learners to

complete high school coursework (in person or by distance via online programs), in order to receive a grade 12 diploma. This is different from the General Education Diploma or General Education Development (GED), which offers tests for high school equivalency certification without requiring student participation in specific secondary school coursework. Some adult education centres offer culturally relevant ABE programming, where Indigenous ways of knowing and learning are recognized, and where Indigenous Elders play important roles in the interpretation and communication of oral teachings that centre on life and lifelong learning. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it offers a brief review of some examples of adult education centres in Canada where culturally relevant ABE programming is offered for Indigenous students. It is an overview, and is not meant as an exhaustive list of all such schools. Second, it examines the contributing roles of Indigenous Elders within a case study of one such school in Vancouver, British Columbia (BC). Specifically, it inquires into how the traditional teachings of Elders supported an Indigenous approach to the overall research process, and contributed to understanding the language within the theoretical framework that described the journey of the adult learner.

To fully introduce this topic, it is important to clarify how the term "Indigenous" is used, and to describe the perspective from which these observations are stated. In this writing, "Indigenous" is used to refer to and respectfully acknowledge the different ways in which Canadians of Indigenous descent self-identify, as for example, with terms such as "Indigenous", "Inuit", "Aboriginal", "Native", "First Nations", and "Métis", or with others such as "Anishinaabe", which further describe specific cultural groups. In referring to literature where a specific term has been employed to describe Indigeneity, the same term has been retained to show respect for the author(s). As an Indigenous scholar of Cree and Ukrainian descent, I am a member of the Ochekwi Sipi Cree Nation in Canada. I do not in any way speak for other Indigenous peoples in Canada, or elsewhere. My words, unless referenced otherwise, come from my own experiences with Indigenous adult education, where I have been both a student and a teacher, and with Indigenous traditional teachings, where I am very much a student. Further, I respectfully acknowledge that different Indigenous cultures and communities within Canada and elsewhere have their own teachings and their own understandings of how traditional teachings are carried and shared by Elders. Positioning myself is an essential part of acknowledging Indigenous protocols that also extend to how academic writing and research are carried out.

2 Culturally Relevant Adult Basic Education

What does culturally relevant Indigenous adult basic education look like? While Indigenous cultural content in ABE is not a popular subject within academic literature, Emmonds (2018), Little (2013), and Mackinnon and Silver (2015) note that it is important to student wellbeing and to positive educational outcomes for Indigenous

learners. It matters to students that they can see and relate to images, voices, language, and stories that are reflective of Indigenous worldviews and the values within those perspectives, such as family, community, Elders, relationality, and reciprocity. Meaningful cultural content acknowledges, respects, models, and works to establish and sustain Indigenous ways of knowing, language and culture within the curriculum, classroom, and school environments, as well as within the governance and administrative policies and practices of educational institutions. Places of culturally relevant adult education are spaces where learners can feel a sense of belonging within an Indigenous community. This is brought about in part, for example, from Indigenous authored content within course materials and school activities, and from kind and considerate guidance given by school staff, including Elders. For students, it is often an intangible sense of being and belonging in a supportive, inclusive community of family, where importantly, they don't have to explain themselves or their situations: others understand what it is like to be an Indigenous adult learner returning to school to finish grade 12.

There are several examples of adult education institutes within Canada where culturally relevant Indigenous programming and curricula are emphasized, and where high school upgrading in the form of online or classroom ABE or GED is either offered directly or access is provided via another institute. A number of these schools are mainstream non-Indigenous education institutes that have over time brought in or increased existing academic space for Indigenous content and focus. For instance, in eastern Canada, Cape Breton University (CBU) in Nova Scotia is located within traditional Mi'kmaw lands. As part of CBU, Unama'ki College provides culturally relevant post-secondary curricula, including Mi'kmaw language courses and Indigenous adult learner support services, such as an Elder-in-residence program (Cape Breton University 2018). In western Canada, The Iniikokaan Centre at Bow Valley College (BVC), Alberta, is another example of an Indigenous program located within a larger institution that is dedicated to supporting culturally relevant Indigenous adult education. Both of these Indigenous education centres offer connections to Elders as part of student supports. Bow Valley College is located within the "traditional territories of the Blackfoot and the people of Treaty 7 region" as well as the "Métis Nation of Alberta, Region III" (Bow Valley College 2018).

It is important to acknowledge the Indigenous Peoples of a particular area. This is protocol that shows respect for our connections to the land, and to our respective cultures and places of home upon the land. If praxis can be seen to represent theory described by visible motion, then this is praxis flowing from an epistemological foundation of Indigenous theories, beliefs, and principles. This is a demonstrative example of the *being* and *doing* within Indigenous ways of knowing.

The mission statement of Bow Valley College (Bow Valley College 2018) describes an educational perspective that "integrates Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and values," and which is further seen in its programming goals that consider student success as part of "a learning environment that supports a sense of place and belonging, and that reflects Indigenous cultural values and perspectives." In addition

to a regular ABE program, the college also offers an Aboriginal upgrading program for Indigenous students who wish to pursue post-secondary coursework after completing their grade 12. This culturally specific program aims "to help students strengthen their self-esteem" and "to strengthen students' cultural identities through various activities [...] as well as building relationships with and learning from Elders and Knowledge Keepers throughout the community" (ibid.). The Iniikokaan Centre provides support services including counselling and cultural teachings from Elders for Aboriginal upgrading students. In order to fulfill the provincial government's prerequisites for high school diploma certification, ABE programs include specific academic content for each grade level. Within its Aboriginal adult upgrading program, and in addition to provincial education courses, BVC also offers secondary school studies that present coursework on Aboriginal history, culture, and topics such as land claims and Indigenous worldview (ibid.).

Certain other schools, such as Native Education College (NEC) and Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT) in British Columbia (BC), Six Nations Polytechnic (SNP) in Ontario, and Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies in Saskatchewan (SIIT), are some examples of private or public Indigenous post secondary schools governed by Indigenous education offices. For instance, NEC is an urban, private Indigenous post secondary institute in BC, located within traditional Coast Salish territories, that offers Aboriginal ABE coursework as one part of its adult education programming. In northern Canada, the Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP) offers courses within the three northern territories of Nunavut (Nunavut Arctic College), Northwest Territory (Aurora College), and Yukon Territory (Yukon College) (Nunavut Arctic College 2018). These schools offer culturally relevant places of adult education that either provide ABE, or as in the case of SNP, link to other sources of ABE. In addition, all of these adult education centres have Elders on campus as part of regular or periodic programming and/or student support services. In this way, Elders are acknowledged as an integral part of delivering Indigenous education and culturally relevant student supports.

Culturally relevant ABE programs are also found within smaller urban and rural adult learning centres that are independent of larger post secondary institutes. Some individual Aboriginal communities that are largely rural have smaller adult education centres that may operate continuously by semester, or periodically when enough student interest is generated. In urban areas, smaller Aboriginal learning centres are often part of individual organizations or community service centres. For example, the Kjipuktuk Aboriginal College is an adult upgrading program administered by the Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Society in Nova Scotia, on the traditional lands of the Mi'kmaw peoples. It is a smaller program that serves urban and rural Indigenous adult learners who wish to complete high school coursework or attend other courses, such as life skills training (Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Society 2018).

There is a broad spectrum of culturally relevant adult learning centres that offer ABE programs in every province and territory of Canada, and these are but a few examples. How does this kind of cultural content matter to Indigenous adult learners

in terms of retention and quality of education? What are the roles of Elders in establishing and sustaining communities of cultural learning within these schools? An area of interest for future adult education research is to address the relative sparseness of Indigenous ABE student and Indigenous Elder voices from across Canada and elsewhere, and examine how these groups might view and critically assess the manner in which culturally relevant curricula and learning supports are delivered and received.

3 The Roles and Contributions of the Elders to a Case Study of Indigenous Adult Basic Education

In 2017/2018, I carried out a case study at Native Education College (NEC), an urban Indigenous private college in BC. The purpose of the research was to examine the experiences of Indigenous adult basic education students who had returned to school to pursue grade 12 diplomas. Not much is heard from these Indigenous ABE voices about what it is like to return to secondary school studies as adult learners, and this is reflected in the limited amount of literature on this subject (Emmonds 2018). As part of the preliminary fieldwork for this study, Cree Elders were contacted within the author's home area of Ochekwi Sipi, and were respectfully asked if they would share whatever teachings they might find pertinent to research, education, and protocols. As an Indigenous scholar, it was important to me that this research was planned and carried out in a way that valued Indigenous ways of knowing, and demonstrated respect for cultural protocols. In order to seek guidance on these matters of theory and praxis, it was necessary and right to consult the knowledge keepers of my community.

By their very nature, Indigenous ways of knowing and learning incorporate theoretical principles and cultural protocols that demonstrate a particular holistic, spirit-centred, relational world view (Absolon 2011; Battiste 2013; Kovach 2015; Smith 2013). Elders are highly respected, usually older members of a community who both hold and share this knowledge. They are often the language keepers and the story keepers, and in their teachings these elements are woven together in a way that honours the past and brings the lessons forward into the present. *How* we know about traditional teachings from the past is a function of our oral epistemologies (Wilson 2008). Gregory Younging speaks of the role of Elders as the knowledge keepers of the past and the guides of the present who carry the cultural teachings, noting

> "the internal cultural imperatives of Indigenous Peoples, and the ultimate responsibility of the current generation to be the link between the ancestors and future generations. Elders, especially, assume this ultimate responsibility, which requires knowledge, vision, observation, synthesis, and communication" (Younging 2018, p. 36).

The teachings of Elders contributed in three ways to the research process of this adult education study. First, their teachings informed how the research was planned

and carried out in a respectful way that honoured and acknowledged Indigenous protocols. Second, the teachings illuminated how Cree language terms gave structure and substance to the conceptual framework and methodology. Third, by sharing their wisdom the Elders gave support and encouragement to the overall research process, as well as to the researcher.

4 An Indigenous Approach to Research – Honouring Cultural Protocols, Language, and Ways of Knowing

Elders were invaluable for their guidance and teachings about protocol, and how this mattered within Indigenous ways of doing academic research. My own requests to Elders for their guidance and words involved cultural protocols of offering tobacco with small gifts, to recognize the knowledge that they carry and the act of sharing that I was requesting. Tobacco is one of the four sacred medicines from my Cree culture, and it is used in prayer and ceremony. Jacob (2010, p. 25) describes the protocol of the offering of tobacco to Elders:

> "Elders who walk with dignity are appreciated as leaders in Indigenous communities. They carry the oral traditions of history, law, languages, and knowledge of relationships. In meeting with an elder for counsel, the offering of tobacco is the sign of respect for the elder and his or her stature. However, not all Indigenous cultures share the same cultural approaches. Elders in the far north, for instance, do not offer tobacco in their protocol; instead it is a handshake accompanied with an appropriate gift. If the elder accepts the offering, then the elder is protocol-bound to answer questions truthfully and honorably, share knowledge, and spend time with the one requesting information."

I have heard the Elders speak of protocol, sometimes using words from their own languages to more finely describe what this term means. From them I heard how protocols are rooted in traditional teachings and in the language that expresses a good way to go in this life. One example of this is *mino pimatisiwin,* a Cree word that describes "a good life" and alludes to how we choose to fill our lives with good and respectful teachings according to Creator, as we go along in our intent to live this good life. Meanings within the language are shaped by an Indigenous paradigm that gives rise to lived teachings. What we know and how we know comes from our oral teachings, our beliefs and our ways of demonstrably acknowledging these in our daily practices. This also relates to learning and following cultural protocols of a good life, so that the relations we have with ourselves and with others are grounded in a way that respects our ontologies and epistemologies (Wilson 2008). I recognize protocol to be an understanding of expectation of behaviour. We are expected to respectfully communicate and interact with others; it is a way to practice *mino pimatisiwin*. The Elders acknowledged how protocols may shift with cultural differences, although the intent for respect and reciprocity remains. They reminded me that even if I were going far away from my Cree community, I would carry with me the teachings

that they shared, and the teachings that Creator had instilled in all people, about walking with intent for *mino pimatisiwin*. By asking the Elders for teachings to help guide this academic work, I was observing an important action of grounding the research within my own cultural systems of Indigenous knowing. This showed respect for the way I was entering in to the research process, and entering into the relationships I would have with the research participants and co-researchers in this study. By bringing my cultural teachings of the *being* and *doing* of right and purposeful action that are demonstrated in the traditional teachings of *mino pimatisiwin*, I was bringing intent for meaningful practice of Indigenous epistemologies.

Kovach (2010, p. 40) discusses how "Indigenous methodologies are a paradigmatic approach based upon an Indigenous philosophical positioning or epistemology". She further notes that within Indigenous knowledge systems "our doing is intricately related with our knowing" (ibid.), citing the acknowledgement and understanding of protocols as an illustrative example of *how* we walk our teachings. Protocols that derive from Indigenous epistemologies are carried within the teachings of the Cree Elders, and are also contained within the language that has informed the conceptual framework and methodology of the adult education study. Elder contributions were essential to understanding how the knowledge theories of the Cree language were demonstrated within the theoretical framework. As Michell (2013, p. 13) states, "Indigenous knowledge is inseparable from Indigenous languages. You cannot have one without the other". The Elders frequently reminded me of this.

The Elders with whom I conversed and listened to one by one, for long hours over many cups of tea, were patient with me, as I am a beginning learner of my Cree language. To really know the structure of my theoretical framework and the overall approach to this research, I needed to understand more about the Cree terms that described the *maskikimiskanow,* and *mino pimatisiwin*. It was not enough that I knew "generally" what they meant, and that they seemed to fit nicely into my study. In order to demonstrate respect for protocols around knowledge, language and education, before I wrote about these terms, I needed to learn about how they described Cree worldviews and epistemologies. I needed to sit with the Elders, and to listen to how they shared their traditional teachings of education that are embedded within the language. This was part of my learning. The Elders I sought guidance from noted that it was important for me to hear these teachings, so that I might then present them within my research in such a way that others might gain insight of Indigenous understandings of education. Their message was that it is important for others to know about these understandings. The conceptual framework of this study was based upon the Cree understanding of the *maskikimiskanow*, which is a medicine journey through life. My Elders shared with me some of the teachings of the *maskikimiskanow,* as had been shared with them by their Elders some time ago. We all travel on a sacred journey around the circle of life. This is our *maskikimiskanow,* where we are on a *miskanow,* a journey to look for teachings and guidance to make a good life. It is a non-linear path that describes our lifelong learning as we experience the teach-

ings that Creator has set out for us along the way. Each teaching that we are offered is *maskiki* (medicine) for our life education, where the intent is to practice *mino pimatisiwin* – a good life.

The Elders say it begins in the East, which is the place of new beginnings. We come into this life in the East, holding inherent knowledge within us. These are Creator's teachings that we bring with us into this world when we are newly born. As we travel along the circle of life to the South and beyond, there are other teachings of *mino pimatisiwin* offered to guide us as we grow. In the South we find teachings of family – of respecting and honouring the roles and contributions of our parents and grandparents, our children and other family members. We see our responsibilities within our families, communities and nations. Moving to the West we find a place of introspection and reflection. This is where we look back at the journey we have made so far. It is here that through critical self-examination that we may decide to retrace our steps to previous teachings, from the East all along to the West, sometimes going back and forth like a pendulum to visit and revisit old teachings, or to pick up new teachings that we passed by on our previous walk. Our intent is to go to the North, and the place of wisdom that sits there with its own teachings. What the Elders have emphasized and what I have learned most of this *maskikimiskanow,* is that when we stop to pick up the teachings along the way, whether on our first, or second, or tenth time walking this path, we are gathering *maskiki* – we are gathering medicine for our journey through life's sacred circle, and this is what matters most. When or how we travel and stop for the teachings is different for each of us – this is what makes our individual stories of lifelong education.

5 The Journey of the Adult Learner

As the Elders spoke of the medicine journey we make in our lives, they reminded me that as a graduate scholar seeking understanding of Indigenous ABE, I too was walking the *maskikimiskanow* of a student, which was not much different from the paths my ABE student co-researcher participants were walking. I was encouraged to be mindful and respectful of where the students were on their path. Not every adult goes back to school in the same way, to revisit opportunities for secondary education. The Elders described that "it's time when it's time", and that the "when" and the "how" of returning to school looks different for everyone (Emmonds 2018, p. 217).

The Elders' lessons reminded me of the non-linear direction of the *maskikimiskanow* we follow in life as students. Each part of our academic journey has teachings for us, as set out by Creator. Even though we hold intent to go towards the North, and the place of wisdom there, it is anything but a straightforward path from East to North. The Elders stressed that it is not the final destination that matters most; it is really what we learn along the way that brings us to a deeper, more critical understanding of the *being* and *doing* of Indigenous ways of knowing, and of our own learning. For the students and for myself, the teachings we choose to pick up provide

knowledge and medicine for us, so that we can go on with greater intent and awareness of *mino pimatisiwin*.

Through other teachings, sitting with cups of tea across many different kitchen tables, I was also encouraged to practice *mino pimatisiwin* by respecting the *tapwewin*, or truth that was evident in the stories shared by the adult learners. Part of this respect was demonstrated by honouring the stories as belonging to the students, as part of their *tapwewin* in telling a bit of their personal life stories of returning to school as adult learners. The Elders explained protocols around story sharing, emphasizing that this was something that varied with different cultures and peoples. The words of the students were their own, and it was my responsibility to communicate an intent of how they were to be respected and acknowledged as such, both within my writing and within citations and paraphrasing by others who might refer to my written thesis. This was something of great importance that was discussed with student participant co-researchers. I was grateful for all the teachings I received from the Elders about language and culture, and the ways they not only informed and gave substance to the case study of adult education, but also supported and encouraged me in this research journey.

6 Conclusion

Adult basic education is an important link for adult learners who want to return to school and complete their grade 12 diploma certification. Within Canada, there are several examples of adult education centres which include Indigenous cultural content in curricula, and within student support services for adult basic education learners. Elders play an important role in places of adult learning, where they share the cultural teachings they carry for the next generation. They are a vital student support within ABE. Elders contributed in several ways to a case study of adult learning in an urban Indigenous private college in British Columbia. The teachings of the Elders emphasized how protocols are embedded within language and culture, and illustrated how Cree language terms provided structure and substance to the conceptual framework. In sharing their wisdom, the Elders gave foundation to the study and support to the researcher. There is a limited amount of academic literature that features the voices of Indigenous ABE students and Indigenous Elders. There is room for more academic inquiry into how culturally relevant ABE programming is carried out and how it is received by Indigenous students. More research is also needed to examine the roles and contributions of Indigenous Elders in adult and higher education, both within Canada and internationally.

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II Vermischtes/Miscellanous

Professionelle Lerngemeinschaften als Konzept zur berufsbegleitenden Professionalitätsentwicklung der Lehrenden in der Erwachsenen- und Weiterbildung? Ein narratives Review

Dörthe Herbrechter, Eva Hahnrath, Xenia Kuhn

Abstract

Aktuelle Studien zum Personal der Erwachsenen- und Weiterbildung belegen ein breites Spektrum unterschiedlicher fachlicher Hintergründe der Lehrenden. Für die kollegiale Zusammenarbeit, professionelle Gestaltung von Lehr-Lernsituationen und nicht zuletzt für die pädagogische Professionalität der Lehrenden bringt diese fachliche Heterogenität besondere Herausforderungen mit sich, die Fragen nach Formen der berufsbegleitenden Professionalisierung virulent werden lässt. Eine im Kontext der (Lehrer-)Bildungsforschung viel beachtete Form der Professionalitätsentwicklung sind so genannte professionelle Lerngemeinschaften (PLG), die auf der Basis von Kooperation und reflexivem Dialog über alltägliche Anforderungen eine kontinuierliche (Weiter-)Entwicklung der Lehrenden und damit auch der Qualität der Bildungsangebote intendieren. Auf der Grundlage eines narrativen Reviews erkundet der Beitrag das Anregungspotenzial des PLG-Konzepts für das Feld der Weiterbildung und diskutiert Adaptionsnotwendigkeiten sowie Anknüpfungspunkte für weitere Forschung.

Current studies on the staff of adult and continuing education show a wide range of different professional backgrounds of the teachers. For collegial cooperation, the professional design of teaching-learning situations and, last but not least, for the pedagogical professionalism of teachers, this professional heterogeneity implies specific challenges that relate to the need of continuous professional learning. A form of professional development that has received much attention in the context of (school-based) education research is the so-called professional learning community (PLC), which, on the basis of cooperation and reflexive dialogue on everyday requirements, contributes teachers‘ development and thus the quality of education offers. On the basis of a narrative review, the article explores the the PLC-concepts‘ pontential for the field of adult education and discusses adaptation needs and starting points for further research.

Keywords: Professionalitätsentwicklung, Professionelle Lerngemeinschaften, Lehrende in der Erwachsenen- und Weiterbildung, Pedagogical Professionalism, Professional Learning Communities, Teachers in Adult and Continuing Education

1 Ausgangslage und Entwicklung der Fragestellungen

Die bisherigen Erkenntnisse der (Lehrer-)Bildungsforschung zeigen, dass der Lernerfolg der Lernenden in hohem Maße durch die Qualifikationen, professionellen Kompetenzen und das individuelle Engagement der Lehrenden beeinflusst wird (vgl. z. B. Hattie 2009). Auch wenn vergleichbare Untersuchungen für die Erwachsenen- und Weiterbildung (EB/WB) noch ausstehen, dürfte auch den Kursleitenden der EB/WB eine vergleichbare Bedeutung für die Qualität von Bildungsangeboten zukommen. Anders als im Kontext Schule sind die beruflichen Anforderungen und Zugangswege im Feld der EB/WB allerdings kaum institutionell reglementiert (vgl. z. B. auch Nittel 2000; Peters 2005), so dass generell berufliche Positionen durch ganz unterschiedliche Qualifikationen erreichbar sind. Dies spiegelt sich insbesondere für die Gruppe der Lehrenden in aktuellen Studien zum Personal der EB/WB wider: So zeigen etwa die Befunde des wb-personalmonitors, dass sie überwiegend über einen akademischen Abschluss verfügen, den sie größtenteils in einer Fachrichtung ohne erziehungswissenschaftliche oder pädagogische Ausrichtung absolviert haben. Dabei reicht das Fächerspektrum von Wirtschaftswissenschaften oder Jura über Sprachen bis hin zu Landwirtschaft oder Fachrichtungen aus dem Bereich Fertigungs- bzw. Produktionstechnik, Maschinenbau etc. (vgl. Autorengruppe wb-personalmonitor 2016, S. 114, 119). Zudem variieren die Qualifikationsprofile der Lehrenden auch über die Kontexte der EB/WB: Während Lehrende mit zertifizierter pädagogischer Qualifikation vor allem in öffentlichen, staatlich reglementierten Kontexten tätig sind, agieren Lehrende ohne formale pädagogische Qualifikation vorwiegend in privaten Einrichtungen (vgl. Koscheck 2018). Das große Spektrum an Qualifikations- und Kompetenzprofilen des lehrenden Personals weist darauf hin, dass sich Lehrende der EB/WB in ihrem beruflichen Selbstverständnis nicht zwangsläufig als Erwachsenpädagogin oder Erwachsenenpädagoge wahrnehmen, sondern sich in ihrer beruflichen Identität auch mit anderen Berufsfeldern identifizieren (vgl. auch Kollmannsberger & Fuchs 2009).

Diese fachliche Heterogenität bringt besondere Herausforderungen für die organisationsinterne Zusammenarbeit, professionelle Gestaltung von Lehr-Lernsituationen und nicht zuletzt für die pädagogische Professionalität der Lehrenden im Feld der EB/WB mit sich (vgl. Tippelt & Lindemann 2018). Denn angesichts der hervorgehobenen Bedeutung der Lehrenden für die Qualität des Bildungsangebots macht die skizzierte geringe Reglementierung des Berufsstandes Fragen nach Formen der berufsbegleitenden Professionalisierung nicht nur mit Blick auf die Aktualisierung des Fachwissens, sondern auch mit Blick auf die Entwicklung und Förderung der professionellen Sicht- und Handlungsweisen virulent. Dies einmal mehr, wenn man im Anschluss an das generische Strukturmodell professioneller Kompetenz der COACTIV-Studie (vgl. Baumert, Kunter, Blum u. a. 2011) annimmt, dass die pädagogische Kompetenz Lehrender nicht allein auf ihrem Wissen basiert, sondern sich durch das Zusammenwirken von 1. Professionswissen, 2. Überzeugungen und Werthaltungen, 3. motivationalen Orientierungen und 4. selbstregulativen Fähigkei-

ten realisiert. Im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags folgen wir diesem integrativen Kompetenzverständnis. In Orientierung an Baumert und Kunter gehen wir davon aus, dass professionelles Lehrer*innenhandeln wesentlich auf diesen mentalen *und* emotional-affektiven Kompetenzaspekten basiert und dass „die einzelnen Kompetenzen prinzipiell lern- und vermittelbar und Veränderungsprozessen unterworfen sind" (Baumert & Kunter 2011, S. 46). Während inzwischen eine Reihe an *Kompetenzstruktur*modellen vorliegen, stellt die Modellierung von Veränderungsprozessen in Form von *Kompetenzentwicklung*smodellen nach wie vor ein Desiderat der empirischen Bildungsforschung dar (vgl. Frey 2014). Theoretisch wird dabei oftmals auf Annahmen der Expertiseforschung Bezug genommen: In diesem Sinne reicht für die Entwicklung professioneller Kompetenz ein „einfaches Mehr" an Berufserfahrung allein nicht aus; vielmehr sind strukturierte Lerngelegenheiten und Anlässe zur Reflexion beruflicher Erfahrungen wichtige Voraussetzungen für die individuelle Kompetenzentwicklung (vgl. Bromme 1992; Kunter, Klusmann & Baumert 2009; Schön 1983).

Fortbildungen, die Veränderung als gezielte Entwicklung und Förderung professioneller Kompetenz intendieren, werden für das Personal der EB/WB von verschiedenen Organisationen (z. B. Landes- und Bundesverbände von Anbietern und Beschäftigten, Kammern, private Trainingsinstitute) in vielfältiger Form angeboten und offenbar auch gut nachgefragt (vgl. Kollmannsberger, Fuchs, Hippel u. a. 2009). Jedenfalls verweisen die Befunde des wb-personalmonitors insgesamt auf eine positive Fortbildungsbereitschaft: Im Schnitt investieren Lehrende der EB/WB etwa 55 Stunden pro Jahr in ihre eigene Weiterbildung; das Stundenvolumen pro Veranstaltung beträgt durchschnittlich etwa 19 Stunden (vgl. Autorengruppe wb-personalmonitor 2016, S. 129). Hierbei bleibt jedoch unklar, ob sich diese Fortbildungen stets auf die Lehrtätigkeit beziehen und ob es sich ausnahmslos um Lehrende in einem engeren Sinne handelt, die wenn nicht einen Großteil, so doch zumindest regelmäßig einen nennenswerten Anteil ihrer beruflichen Tätigkeit der mikrodidaktischen Kursplanung, -durchführung und -evaluation widmen. Neben diesen im wb-personalmonitor erfassten seminarförmigen Fortbildungsangeboten finden in der Lehrerfortbildung in den vergangenen Jahren auch solche Fortbildungsformen Anwendung, die auf Basis von Lehrerkooperationen einen diskursiven, primär an den komplexen, alltäglichen Anforderungen der Lehrkräfte orientierten Ansatz wählen. Zu diesen neueren Ansätzen zählt auch das Konzept der professionellen Lerngemeinschaften (PLG). Ganz allgemein beschreibt es einen längerfristigen Zusammenschluss unterschiedlicher Akteure, die gemeinsam pädagogische Fragen und Probleme diskutieren, nach Lösungen suchen, Feedback geben, Wissen und didaktische Konzepte austauschen sowie Impulse für die Personal- und Organisationsentwicklung setzen (vgl. Buhren 2015). Derzeit ist die Forschungslage zum Konzept, zu den Prozessen und Effekten von PLGs allerdings insgesamt noch sehr unübersichtlich und uneinheitlich. So konstatiert DuFour: „In fact, the term [PLG] has been used so ubiquitously that it is in danger of losing all meaning" (DuFour 2004, S. 1) – eine Sorge, die Rolff auch gut zehn Jahre später noch teilt (vgl. Rolff 2015, S. 564; vgl. auch Ahn 2017). Un-

geachtet dieser bislang nur schwer überschaubaren Forschungslage dürften PLG aber nicht zuletzt angesichts des skizzierten, institutionell wenig reglementierten Berufsstandes in der EB/WB über ein großes Potential für die berufsbegleitende Professionalitätsentwicklung verfügen. Dies zum einen, weil sie die Tradition des „working in isolations" im Lehrerberuf aufzuweichen versuchen (vgl. Kafyulilo 2013, S. 677) und zum anderen weil sie „near the job" durch gemeinsame Reflexion in Form eines kollegialen Feedbacks und Dialogs dazu anregen (wollen), Grundlagen der professionellen Handlungspraxis zu hinterfragen, zu eichen und (weiter) zu entwickeln (vgl. Helmke 2015).

An diese Überlegungen anknüpfend setzen wir mit dem vorliegenden Beitrag zur Erkundung des Anregungspotentials professioneller Lerngemeinschaften für die EB/WB an der Aufarbeitung des Konzepts und seiner Operationalisierung in Form eines narrativen Reviews an. Im Einzelnen wenden wir uns folgenden Fragestellungen zu:

1. Was sind theoretisch-konzeptuelle Charakteristiken von PLG, die sich als Minimalkonsens spezifizieren lassen?
2. Welche Messinventare liegen zur Untersuchung des PLG-Konzepts in der inter-/nationalen Bildungsforschung bereits vor?

Mit Hilfe dieses narrativen Literaturüberblicks (Kapitel 2) sollen also grundlegende theoretisch-konzeptuelle Essentials identifiziert (Kapitel 3.1) und bereits vorliegende Instrumente für ihre Erhebung zusammengestellt werden (Kapitel 3.2), um auf dieser Basis Anknüpfungspunkte für die Forschung und Praxis der EB/WB begründet diskutieren zu können (Kapitel 4).

2 Anmerkungen zu den Rechercheparametern des narrativen Reviews

(Systematische) Überblicksdarstellungen zu vorliegenden wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen fanden und finden seit längerem insbesondere in der medizinischen Forschung Verwendung. Im Zuge der Debatte um Formen einer stärker evidenzbasierten Steuerung des Bildungssystems gewinnen solche Literaturüberblicke inzwischen auch in der Erziehungswissenschaft mehr und mehr an Bedeutung. So weist etwa das Deutsche Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung (DIPF) die Erstellung von systematischen Reviews als einen von vier strategischen Schwerpunkten aus, der sich derzeit auf die Erstellung eines systematischen Reviews zu vorliegenden Ansätzen für eine wirksame frühkindliche Sprachbildung und -förderung konzentriert (vgl. DIPF 2018). Für den schulischen Kontext hat beispielsweise Schulze eine Überblicksarbeit zum Lernen mit geographischen Informationssystemen erstellt (vgl. Schulze 2015) und auch für die EB/WB liegt bereits ein Review zum Spracherwerb von Zugewanderten und funktionalen Analphabeten vor (vgl. Sahlender & Schrader 2017). Neben (technologischen) Handlungsprogrammen stel-

len solche (systematischen) Reviews einen weiteren Ansatzpunkt für den Transfer des (gesicherten) wissenschaftlichen Wissens in Bildungspraxis, -politik und in die interessierte Öffentlichkeit dar, um evidenzbasierte Entscheidungen wahrscheinlicher zu machen (vgl. Schrader 2014). Grundsätzlich lassen sich unterschiedliche Arten des Reviews nach ihrer Zielsetzung, dem gewählten Vorgehen oder auch nach der Reichweite ihrer Ergebnisse unterscheiden. Die Bandbreite verschiedener Reviewarten lässt sich allerdings nur schwerlich überblicken: bisweilen wird Ähnliches mit unterschiedlichen Begriffen beschrieben oder der Differenzierungsgrad variiert so sehr, dass mal zwei (vgl. z. B. Cipriani & Geddes 2003), mal acht oder mehr verschiedene Arten von Reviews (vgl. z. B. Whittemore et al. 2014) voneinander unterschieden werden. Nach einer Sichtung der Literatur zu (systematischen) Literaturreviews erscheint uns die Unterteilung in narrative, integrative und systematische Reviews als grundlegend, da mit ihnen zumindest das verfügbare Spektrum an unterschiedlichen Reviewarten sowie den jeweils zugrunde liegenden Zielsetzungen und Prinzipien relativ gut abgebildet wird (vgl. Tabelle 1).

Tabelle 1: Unterschiedliche Reviewarten (Quelle: Vgl. Pae 2015; Whittemore & Knafl 2005; Whittemore, Chao, Jang u. a. 2014).

	Narratives Review	**Integratives Review**	**Systematisches Review**
Ziele	Zusammenfassung oder breiter Überblick über den Forschungsstand zu einem Themen-/Gegenstandsbereich	Zusammenfassung oder breiter Überblick über den Forschungsstand zu einem Themen-/Gegenstandsbereich	Beantwortung einer eindeutig formulierten anwendungs- und/oder grundlagenbezogenen Fragestellung; überprüfbare Reviewergebnisse durch Minimierung des Autor*innenbias
Suchstrategien	nicht-protokollbasierte Suchtstrategien; subjektiver Selektionsbias ist möglich	iterative Suchstrategien, protokollbasiert	ex ante definierte Suchstrategien, protokollbasiert
Literaturgrundlage	grundsätzlich offen für alle Veröffentlichungsarten (auch graue Literatur)	Experimente, deskriptiv-korrelative Studien, (kontrastive) Fallstudien, theoretisch-konzeptionelle Beiträge	insbesondere experimentelle Studien
Evaluation der Literaturgrundlage	nein	ja (keine verbindlichen Richtlinien aufgrund der heterogenen Literaturgrundlage)	ja

(Fortsetzung Tabelle 1)

	Narratives Review	**Integratives Review**	**Systematisches Review**
Literaturanalyse	keine definierten Analysekriterien, nicht-protokollbasiert; Beschreibung der erfassten Forschungsbefunde	iterativ definierte Analysekategorien, protokollbasiert	ex ante definierte Analysekriterien, protokollbasiert
Synthese der Ergebnisse	zusammenfassende Darstellung der erfassten Befunde	über eine rein beschreibende Darstellung hinausgehende, zusammenführende Integration der Reviewergebnisse; Anknüpfungspunkte für Forschung, Empfehlungen für Praxis und/oder Politik; Diskussion von Limitationen	gemäß definierter Richtlinien (z. B. PRISMA); Anknüpfungspunkte für Forschung, Empfehlungen für Praxis und/oder Politik; Diskussion von Limitationen

Das vorliegende Review orientiert sich primär an den Prinzipien eines narrativen Reviews. Es ist im Rahmen einer größer angelegten Literaturrecherche zu den konzeptuellen Essentials, Prozessen und Effekten von PLGs entstanden, da alle drei in der aktuellen Literatur nach wie vor als Desiderate der bisherigen Forschung ausgewiesen werden (vgl. z. B. Hairon, Goh, Chua u. a. 2017). Dabei stellt das hier vorliegende Review eine Vorarbeit für die Erstellung eines breiter angelegten Reviews dar, das sich auch auf die für PLGs konstitutiven Prozesse sowie auf beobachtete Effekte bezieht und den Grundprinzipien integrativer Reviews folgt. Da sich die leitenden Forschungsfragen unseres narrativen Reviews auf die theoretische Konzeptualisierung und Operationalisierung von PLGs in der *Bildungsforschung* bezieht, wurden für die nationale erziehungswissenschaftliche Diskussion die Literaturdatenbank FIS Bildung und für die internationale Diskussion die Fachdatenbanken ERIC sowie Academic Research Premier ausgewählt. Zugunsten eines standardisierten, intersubjektiv nachvollziehbaren Vorgehens wurden vor Beginn der Recherchephase orientiert an den leitenden Forschungsfragen Selektionskriterien, Suchbegriffe und zulässige Kombinationen von Suchbegriffen schriftlich fixiert. Um der uneinheitlichen Verwendung des PLG-Begriffs Rechnung zu tragen, wurden für die Abfrage in den Literaturdatenbanken mehrere Suchbegriffe definiert – so zum Beispiel: professionelle Lerngemeinschaften UND Community of Practice, teacher networks oder teacher cooperation. Es wurden keine komplexen UND/ODER-Kombinationen, sondern nur UND-Verknüpfungen verwendet (vgl. Kugley, Wade, Thomas u. a. 2016, S. 9ff.), um gezielt den „konzeptuellen Kern" des PLG-Konzepts erfassen und auswerten zu können. Für die Identifikation relevanter Veröffentlichungen in den drei genannten Fachdatenbanken wurden zudem folgende Selektionskriterien (1. Reduktion) vereinbart: Anhand des Titels, des Abstracts und/oder anhand des Inhaltsverzeichnisses sowie der Einleitung (falls kein Abstract vorhanden) wurden Veröffentlichungen ausgeschlossen, die sich nicht auf Lehrkräfte und/oder Lehrkräfte in der Lehrerausbildung und/oder Bildungsorganisationen beziehen. Auch so genannte

„graue“ Literatur sowie Beiträge, die PLGs nur marginal berücksichtigen, blieben unberücksichtigt. Für Überblicksarbeiten, Reviews und konzeptionelle Beiträge wurden nur Treffer ausgewählt, die PLGs als Hauptgegenstand oder vergleichend mit einem verwandten Konzept (z. B. PLGs im Vergleich zu Communities of Practice) thematisieren. Um der institutionellen Heterogenität der EB/WB Rechnung zu tragen, wurden bei diesem ersten Literaturscreening innerhalb der Fachdatenbanken zugunsten eines breit angelegten Literaturüberblicks alle Bildungsbereiche (EB/WB, Schule, berufliche Bildung, Hochschule etc.), alle Länder, alle Forschungsdesigns (qualitativ, quantitativ, Mixed-Methods, Reviews) und alle Veröffentlichungsjahre sowie alle Umsetzungsformen von PLGs (organisationsinterne, kleine Gruppe von Lehrkräften; Organisation als PLG; organisationsübergreifende PLG etc.) erfasst.
Im Zuge dieser auf das Konzept PLG, ihre Prozesse und Effekte Bezug nehmenden Gesamtliteraturrecherche wurden insgesamt 10.769 Veröffentlichungen in den drei Literaturdatenbanken gemäß der definierten Ein- und Ausschlusskriterien gescreent. Die als relevant identifizierten Veröffentlichungen wurden anschließend anhand der Kategorien *Konzept*, *Prozesse* und *Effekte* gruppiert, wobei Mehrfachzuweisungen zulässig waren. Für das vorliegende narrative Review wurden in einem nächsten Schritt die in der Gruppe *Konzept* gesammelten Veröffentlichungen auf Einschlägigkeit des Publikationsortes (Zeitschrift mit (double-blind) Peer-/Review-Verfahren; Handbuch, Sammelband, Monografie oder Zeitschrift für ein wissen-

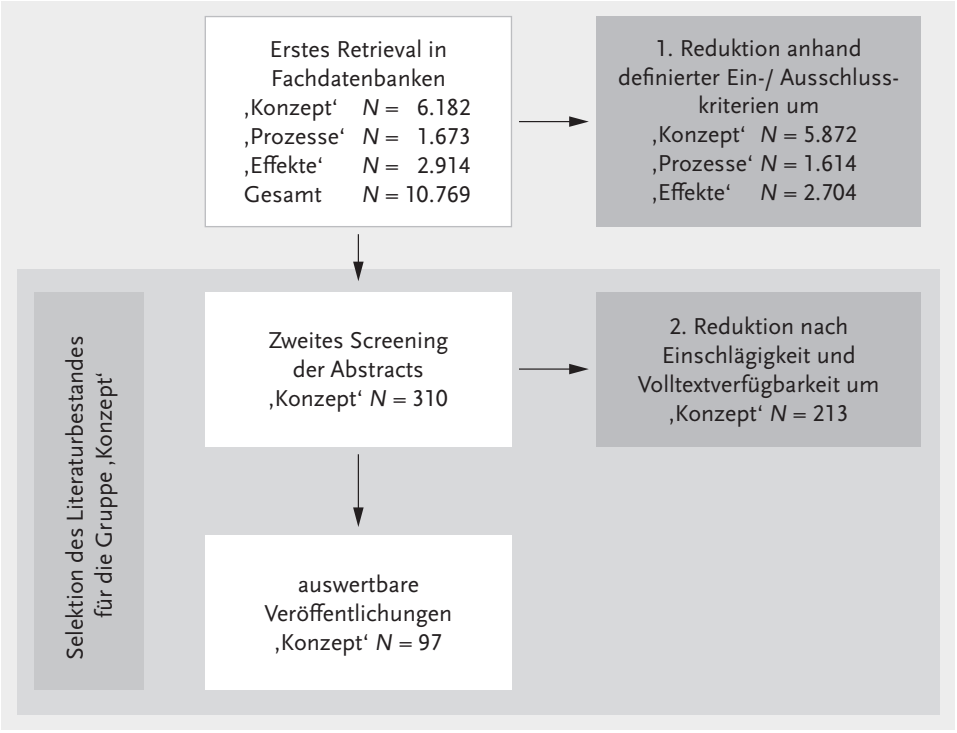

Abbildung 1: Flow Chart.

schaftliches Fachpublikum) sowie auf Verfügbarkeit des Volltextes geprüft (2. Reduktion). Nicht open access verfügbare, einschlägige Veröffentlichungen wurden per Fernleihe, Subito oder direkter Anfrage bei den Autor*innen zu beschaffen versucht. Im Zuge dieses zweistufigen Reduktionsverfahrens sind für das vorliegende narrative Review in der Gruppe *Konzept* 6.082 Titel gescreent und davon 97 Veröffentlichungen als Volltext zugrunde gelegt worden (vgl. Abb. 1).

3 Theoretische Konzeptualisierung und Operationalisierung professioneller Lerngemeinschaften

3.1 Theoretisch-konzeptuelle Charakteristika professioneller Lerngemeinschaften

Im ersten Kapitel haben wir bereits auf die inflationäre, oftmals uneinheitliche Verwendung des PLG-Begriffs verwiesen (vgl. auch Schratz 2015), die bisweilen auf länderspezifische „Schattierungen von Interpretationen" zurückgeführt wird (vgl. Stoll, Bolam, McMahon u. a. 2006, S. 222). Auf Basis der für das narrative Review selektierten Veröffentlichungen möchten wir diesen Schattierungen und Uneinheitlichkeiten im Folgenden weiter auf die Spur kommen, indem wir grundlegende und neuere Beiträge mit Blick auf zentrale Charakteristika von PLGs vergleichend gegenüberstellen, um so einende „Essentials" zu spezifizieren, die sich als Minimalkonsens der bisherigen PLG-Forschung interpretieren lassen. Zuvor nehmen wir aber eine erste allgemeine Begriffsklärung vor.

Allgemeine Begriffsklärung

Im Rahmen eines langjährigen, viel beachteten Forschungsprojekts Creating Communities of Continuous Inquiry and Improvement (CCCII) entwickelt Hord (1997) folgende Definition von PLGs, die auch für nachfolgende Beiträge grundlegend ist. Unter Bezugnahme auf Astuto et al. (1993) handelt es sich bei einer „professional community of learners" um eine Gemeinschaft,

> „in which the teachers in a school and its administrators continuously seek and share learning, and act on their learning. The goal of their actions is to enhance their effectiveness as professionals for the students' benefit; thus, this arrangement may also be termed communities of continuous inquiry and improvement" (Hord 1997, S. 1).

Weitere begriffliche Klärungsversuche werden oftmals entlang der Einzelbegriffe vorgenommen. Dabei beschreibt der Begriff *professionell* bzw. *Professionalität* eine „qualifizierte Ausbildung und Orientierung an hohen Standards der Berufsausübung [...] sowie an Reflexion der eigenen Arbeit" (Rolff 2015, S. 565). Kontinuierliches *Lernen* wird als Grundlage für die individuelle berufliche Entwicklung verstanden (vgl. Bonsen & Hübner 2012, S. 60). Durch diese Bezugnahme werden auch Abgrenzungen zu anderen Formen von professionellen Gemeinschaften vorgenommen, die nicht unmittelbar an Veränderung oder Verbesserung orientiert sind (vgl.

McLaughlin & Talbert 2001, zit. n. Stoll, Bolam, McMahon u. a. 2006, S. 224). *Gemeinschaft* bildet den Kern des Konzeptes. Es handelt sich um „eine Gruppe von Menschen (Lehrpersonen) mit gemeinsam geteilten Werten und Interessen. In ihrem Kontext ist die Gemeinschaft eine wesentliche Grundlage für Kooperation und gegenseitige Unterstützung, auch emotionale Unterstützung" (DuFour & Eaker 1998, zit. n. Rolff 2015, S. 564). Im Kontext der Gemeinschaft ist der Fokus sowohl auf kollektives Lernen als auch auf individuelles Lernen gerichtet. Neben der Herausbildung gemeinsam geteilter Normen und Werte wird auch die (Weiter-)Entwicklung des professionellen Wissens, der Fähigkeiten, Überzeugungen und instruktionalen Praxis angestrebt (vgl. Stoll, Bolam, McMahon u. a. 2006; Hairon, Goh, Chua u. a. 2017).

Welche und wie viele Akteure für eine PLG konstitutiv sind, wird in der inter-/nationalen Literatur unterschiedlich bestimmt. So werden PLGs verstanden als:

1. *ganze* Schule (vgl. z. B. Schechter 2007; Alberta Education 2006);
2. *schulinterne (Klein-)Gruppe*, die sich auf das ganze Kollegium bezieht (vgl. z. B. Rolff 2015; Roy & Hord 2006) und die auch Schulleitungen mit einbeziehen kann (vgl. z. B. Schechter 2007; DuFour 2002) oder als eine kleinere Gruppe von Lehrkräften (vgl. z. B. Bonsen & Hübner 2012; McLaughlin & Talbert 2001);
3. *schul- bzw. organisationsübergreifende Zusammenschlüsse* (vgl. z. B. Mullen & Schunk 2010; Alberta Eduation 2006; Rolff 2015), die sich z. B. als Zusammenschluss von Schule(n) und Universitäten (vgl. z. B. Ndunda, van Sickle, Perry u. a. 2017; Borrero 2010) oder kommunalen Behörden realisieren.

Ferner können PLGs auch domänenspezifisch angelegt sein. In diesem Fall richtet sich ihr Fokus für gewöhnlich auf einzelne Fächer mit dem Ziel, besondere fächerbezogene Problemstellungen zu bearbeiten oder einen Beitrag zur Curriculumentwicklung zu leisten (vgl. z. B. Lücken 2012; Hamos, Bergin, Maki u. a. 2009). Für PLGs als schulinterne (Klein-)Gruppe variiert die als charakteristisch identifizierte Größe von 30 bis 40 über vier bis sechs bis hin zu drei bis zehn PLG-Mitgliedern (vgl. Blankenship & Ruona 2007, S. 2 f.; Rolff 2015, S. 565).

Charakteristika professioneller Lerngemeinschaften

In der bisherigen Literatur rund um PLGs fand und findet die Bestimmung zentraler Charakteristika seit jeher große Aufmerksamkeit. Einen ersten Überblick, in dem maßgebende Beiträge der damaligen Zeit vergleichend ausgewertet werden, legen Roy und Hord 2006 vor. Auf der Basis des Vergleichs identifizieren sie „supportive and shared leadership", „focus on student learning" und „peers helping peers" als diejenigen Charakteristika, die in allen fünf zugrunde gelegten Veröffentlichungen[1] übereinstimmend ausgewiesen werden. Zusammenfassend konstatieren sie, dass die Gemeinsamkeiten gegenüber den Unterschieden deutlich überwiegen und Di-

1 Im Einzelnen beziehen sich Roy und Hord auf folgende Veröffentlichungen: (1.) Hord (2004); (2.) DuFour, Eaker & DuFour (2005); (3.) Louis & Kruse (1995); (4.) National Association of Elementary School Principals (2004); (5.) Rosenholtz (1989). Spezifische Kriterien und Begründungen zur Auswahl dieser Quellen werden allerdings nicht expliziert.

vergenzen eher Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Entstehungszeitpunkte und Schwerpunktsetzungen sind – grundsätzlich unvereinbare Positionen sind jedoch nicht erkennbar. Vor diesem Hintergrund weisen sie sechs übergeordnete Charakteristika von PLGs als kennzeichnend aus: 1. „organizational scope", 2. „supportive and shared leadership", 3. „collective learning and application", 4. „shared values and vision", 5. „supportive conditions" und 6. „shared practice" (vgl. Roy & Hord 2006, S. 492).

Ist damit die Suche nach den essentiellen Charakteristiken von PLGs abgeschlossen? Die Auswertung des hier zugrunde gelegten Literaturbestands legt die indifferente Antwort „ja und nein" nahe. Denn zeitlich parallel und nachfolgend zu dem von Roy und Hord vorgelegten Überblick sind weitere Arbeiten entstanden, die sich der konzeptuellen Konturierung bzw. der empirischen Exploration zentraler PLG-Charakteristika widmen. Inspiriert durch den inzwischen vor mehr als zehn Jahren entstandenen Vergleich von Roy und Hord fasst Tabelle 2 diese neueren inter-/nationalen Beiträge (USA, UK, NL, BRD) mit Blick auf die jeweils ausgewiesenen Kerncharakteristika zusammen. Bedeutungsähnliche Kennzeichnungen sind in einer Zeile zusammengefasst; begriffliche Unterschiedlichkeiten sind dabei aber zugunsten der intersubjektiven Nachvollziehbarkeit erhalten geblieben. Die Ziffern in den Zellen informieren über die Reihenfolge und damit über die in den Beiträgen je vorgenommene Priorisierung der einzelnen Charakteristika. Leere Zellen markieren, dass dieses Merkmal in dem jeweiligen Beitrag nicht als Charakteristikum expliziert ist.

Tabelle 2: Weiterentwicklungen der PLG-Charakteristika im Vergleich (eigene Darstellung).

Charakteristika	**A** (USA)	**B** (UK)	**C** (BRD)	**D** (NL)	**E** (BRD)	**F** (BRD)
geteilte Werte und Visionen (von Lernen und der Rolle des Lehrenden)/gemeinsame Normen und Werte/gemeinsame handlungsleitende Ziele	2*	1	5	3	1	1
De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts/ geteilte persönliche Praxis/ Observation und Feedback	4		2		4	3
(gemeinsamer) Fokus auf Schüler*innenlernen/kollektive Verantwortung (für Schüler*innenlernen)		2	3		3	2
kollektives (und individuelles) Lernen/ kollektive Kreativität/kollektive Anwendung/kollektive Praxis	3	5		4		
unterstützende Bedingungen (strukturell)/unterstützende Faktoren (Ressourcen, Strukturen, Systeme)/Architektur der Zusammenarbeit	6			5	2	

(Fortsetzung Tabelle 2)

Charakteristika	**A** (USA)	**B** (UK)	**C** (BRD)	**D** (NL)	**E** (BRD)	**F** (BRD)
Zusammenarbeit/Kollaboration		4	4			4
reflektierender/reflexiver Dialog			1		5	5
unterstützende und geteilte Führung	1			7		
unterstützende Konditionen (menschlich)/gegenseitiges Vertrauen, Respekt und Unterstützung unter Mitarbeitenden/kollegiale Beziehungen	5	6				
‚Inquiry' (reflexiv, professionell)		3				
inklusive Mitgliedschaft (Lehrende, Schulleitende)		7				
Offenheit, Netzwerke und Partnerschaften		8				
aktives, reflektierendes und kritisches Rekonstruieren von Wissen (personale Kapazität)				1		
‚Currency' (personale Kapazität)				2		
unterstützende Faktoren: Kultur (organisationale Kapazität)				6		

A = Hipp & Huffman (2003); **B** = Bolam, MacMahon, Stoll u. a. (2005); **C** = Bonsen & Rolff (2006); **D** = Verbiest (2011); **E** = Bonsen & Hübner (2012); **F** = Buhren (2015)

* Die Ziffern in den Zellen informieren über die Reihenfolge der Nennung.

Der Vergleich neuerer Beiträge zur Bestimmung von PLG-Charakteristika bestätigt zunächst den Befund von Roy und Hord, dass der Eindruck der begrifflichen Uneinheitlichkeit weniger in konkurrierenden, miteinander inhaltlich unversöhnlichen Kennzeichnungen als vielmehr in ihrer unterschiedlichen Priorisierung begründet liegt. Alle sechs zugrunde gelegten Beiträge nennen (z. T. mit leicht abweichenden Formulierungen und in anderer Reihenfolge) *geteilte Werte und Visionen (von Lernen und der Rolle des Lehrenden)* als ein grundlegendes Charakteristikum von PLGs. Danach folgen mit vier Übereinstimmungen *De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts, (gemeinsamer) Fokus auf Schüler*innenlernen* und mit immerhin noch drei von sechs möglichen Übereinstimmungen *kollektives (und individuelles) Lernen, strukturell unterstützende Bedingungen, Zusammenarbeit/ Kollaboration* und schließlich *reflexiver Dialog*. Vergleicht man diese Charakteristika mit denjenigen, die Roy und Hord 2006 identifiziert haben, so fallen auch hier die Gemeinsamkeiten gegenüber den Unterschieden deutlicher ins Gewicht: wie die PLG organisational verankert ist (die gesamte Mitarbeiterschaft oder Teams), spielt in den neueren Beiträgen als Charakteristikum keine Rolle, und die *unterstützende und geteilte Führung* wird nur in zwei

von sechs Beiträgen als Merkmal angeführt. Dafür werden in zwei der sechs neueren Beiträge weitere Charakteristika ergänzt, die in den grundlegenden, von Roy und Hord ausgewerteten Arbeiten noch nicht expliziert worden sind (z. B. *Inquiry, inklusive Mitgliedschaft* oder *Offenheit, Netzwerke und Partnerschaften*). Sie geben Hinweise auf Weiterentwicklungen der Forschung: PLGs werden nun auch mit einer suchenden Haltung „Richtung state of the art" in Verbindung gebracht (vgl. Helmke 2015) und in ihrem Geltungsbereich ausgedehnt, indem nun auch Netzwerke und organisationsübergreifende Partnerschaften als PLGs gefasst werden (vgl. z. B. Prenger, Poortman & Habelzalts 2017).

3.2 Operationalisierung des theoretischen Konzepts ‚professionelle Lerngemeinschaft'

Mit der zuvor skizzierten Bandbreite an konzeptuellen Vorschlägen zentraler PLG-Charakteristika korrespondiert unweigerlich eine Heterogenität ihrer Messung. So konstatieren auch McClendon et al. auf der Basis einer Meta-Analyse zu PLGs und ihren Effekten auf das Lernen von Lehrkräften und Schüler*innen eine große Uneinheitlichkeit in den zugrunde gelegten Messmodellen und -instrumenten (vgl. McClendon, Arredondo Rucinski & Tomek 2017, S. 158, 167). Einen ersten Überblick darüber, welche Inventare für welche Bildungsbereiche vorliegen, vermittelt die folgende Zusammenstellung.

Erste Ansätze zur standardisierten Erhebung von PLGs stammen aus den USA. Zu den viel beachteten Inventaren der US-amerikanischen Bildungsforschung zählen u. a. AQTS (Alabama Quality Teaching Standards), das ITAL (Inventory of Teaching and Learning), LCOP (Learning Community Observation Protocol), SPSLCQ (School Professional Staff as Learning Community Questionnaire), NCOSP (Professional Learning Community Observation Protocol) sowie PLCA-R (Professional Learning Community Assessment Revised) – ein Inventar, das sich auf die in Tabelle 2 berichteten PLG-Charakteristika von Hipp und Huffman (2003) stützt und eine Weiterentwicklung ihres Inventars darstellt (vgl. Dogan, Tartik & Yurtseven 2017; Hoaglund, Birkenfeld & Box 2014; Hamos, Bergin, Maki u. a. 2009; Olivier, Hipp & Huffman 2010; Wilson 2016). Angeregt durch die US-amerikanischen Beiträge, die PLG vorwiegend im Kontext Schule untersuchen, haben sich inzwischen auch in Europa und Asien Forschungsaktivitäten entwickelt, die sich der Messung von PLG widmen. Dabei werden sowohl US-amerikanische Inventare übersetzt und für den jeweiligen nationalen Kontext adaptiert (vgl. z. B. Bonsen & Rolff 2006; Dogan, Tatik, & Yurtseven 2017; Lücken 2012) als auch neue Messinstrumente entwickelt (vgl. z. B. Bolam, MacMahon, Stoll u. a. 2005; Intanam, Wongwanich & Lawthong 2012; Verbiest 2011; Warwas & Helm 2018). Auch hier überwiegen Untersuchungen im Bereich der Schuleffektivitäts- und -entwicklungsforschung, die sich oftmals auf den Grundschulbereich, z. T. aber auch auf den Elementarbereich und auf verschiedene Schulformen des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens beziehen (vgl. Bonsen und Rolff 2006; Dogan, Tartik & Yurtseven 2017; Intanam, Wongwanich & Lawthong 2012; Kalkan 2016; Sleegers, den Brok, Verbiest u. a. 2013; Vanblaer & Devos 2016), so etwa der

von Bolam et al. auf der Basis eines Literaturreviews entwickelte EPLC (Effective Professional Learning Communities Questionnaire), der sowohl in englischen Kindergärten als auch in Grundschulen, weiterführenden und Sonderschulen eingesetzt worden ist. Dabei erfasst der EPLC in einem ersten Teil Einschätzungen zum professionellen Lernen im organisationalen Kontext, in Teil 2 Einschätzungen zur Definition von PLG sowie zu förderlichen und hinderlichen Faktoren für die Entwicklung einer organisationsweiten PLG und schließlich in Teil 3 Informationen zu Reichweite und Umfang der organisationsinternen Professionalitätsentwicklung und Selbstevaluationsaktivitäten (vgl. Bolam, MacMahon, Stoll u. a. 2005).

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass sich ein Großteil der Forschungsaktivitäten zur Operationalisierung und empirischen Erfassung von PLG auf den Bereich des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens konzentrieren; andere Bildungsbereiche werden demgegenüber bislang noch relativ selten in den Blick genommen (für die berufliche Bildung vgl. Warwas & Helm 2018; für die universitäre Bildung vgl. Fossoy & Haara 2016). Grundlegende Studien zur Entwicklung von Inventaren und Erfassung von PLG wurden ausgehend von den USA zudem in England und den Niederlanden durchgeführt, weshalb Thomas et al. bilanzierend konstatieren: „it is in 'the west' where the PLC [PLG] concept has been most embedded" (Thomas, Peng & Triggs 2018, S. 190).

4 Diskussion

Zur Erkundung des Anregungspotentials professioneller Lerngemeinschaften für die EB/WB widmete sich der vorliegende Beitrag der Aufarbeitung des Konzepts und seiner Operationalisierung in Form eines narrativen Reviews. Die Ergebnisse des Literaturüberblicks lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen:

In der Literatur zu PLGs spielte und spielt die Bestimmung zentraler Charakteristika eine entscheidende Rolle. Inzwischen liegen mehrere Beiträge zur Konzeptualisierung vor, die zum Teil unterschiedliche Begrifflichkeiten verwenden und so das nach wie vor konstatierte Monitum einer „begrifflichen Diffundierung" nähren (vgl. z. B. Rolff 2015; Schratz 2015). Die vergleichende Betrachtung grundlegender und neuerer Beiträge zeigt jedoch, dass Unterschiede weniger grundlegender Natur als vielmehr Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Schwerpunktsetzungen sind. Auch wenn neuere Beiträge weitere Charakteristika hinzufügen, indem sie das PLG-Konzept u. a. für organisationsübergreifende Kollaborationen in Gestalt von Netzwerken öffnen und auf der individuellen Ebene eine suchende Haltung mit Blick auf professionelle Standards ergänzen, lassen sich dennoch im Sinne eines Minimalkonsenses der aktuellen Forschung folgende weithin geteilte Charakteristika spezifizieren:

- *geteilte Werte und Visionen (von Lernen und der Rolle des Lehrenden)*
- *De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts*
- *(gemeinsamer) Fokus auf Schüler*innenlernen*
- *kollektives (und individuelles) Lernen*

- *strukturell unterstützende Bedingungen*
- *Zusammenarbeit/Kollaboration*
- *reflexiver Dialog*

Bei genauerer Betrachtung wird deutlich, dass sich in diesen identifizierten Charakteristika (Gelingens-)Bedingungen, Prozesse und Effekte von PLGs miteinander vermischen. Bei den für gewöhnlich durch die Leitung eröffneten unterstützenden Bedingungen (z. B. Zeit oder Räumlichkeiten) handelt es sich wohl eher um strukturelle Voraussetzungen als um konstitutive Charakteristika von PLGs. Prozesse werden u. a. durch die De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts, die mit der Tradition des isolierten Lehrens hinter verschlossener Tür bricht, oder einen reflexiven Dialog beschrieben, und geteilte Werte und Visionen lassen sich ebenso sehr als Gelingensbedingung wie als Effekt einer PLG interpretieren. Möglicherweise liegt die in aktuellen Beiträgen wiederkehrende Einschätzung der Unübersichtlichkeit und Uneinheitlichkeit auch in dieser Unschärfe begründet. Sie spiegelt sich jedenfalls auch in der Messung von PLGs wider: Derzeit stehen die Forschungsaktivitäten zur Implementierung und Erfassung von PLGs relativ unverbunden nebeneinander, so dass mehrere Messinstrumente entstanden sind. Ein einheitliches Forschungsprogramm mit normierten, in unterschiedlichen Ländern replizierten Inventaren liegt derzeit jedenfalls (noch) nicht vor. Dies ist sicherlich auch darin begründet, dass es sich bei PLG zwar um ein gerade in den vergangenen Jahren viel beachtetes, insgesamt aber vergleichsweise „junges" Konstrukt handelt, das erst Anfang Ende der 1980er/Anfang der 1990er Jahre aus Befunden der englischsprachigen Schuleffektivitäts- und Schulentwicklungsforschung hervorgegangen ist (vgl. Köker 2012).

Obgleich sich die bisherigen Überlegungen und Befunde primär auf den Kontext Schule beziehen, scheinen die identifizierten PLG-Charakteristika grundsätzlich für das Feld der EB/WB anschlussfähig zu sein, da sie sich auf grundlegende Strukturmerkmale eines kollegialen Zusammenschlusses von Lehrenden beziehen. Vor allem die Charakteristika des reflexiven Dialogs, der De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts sowie der Zusammenarbeit/Kollaboration dürften für Lehrende der EB/WB in besonderer Weise anschlussfähig sein, da sie für gewöhnlich nicht in ein Kollegium eingebettet, sondern überwiegend als nebenberuflich Beschäftigte nur lose an eine Weiterbildungsorganisation gekoppelt sind (vgl. Autorengruppe wb-personalmonitor 2016, S. 114), weshalb sie noch viel stärker von „working in isolations" (Kafyulilo 2013, S. 677) betroffen sein dürften. PLGs erscheinen nicht zuletzt auch deshalb für das heterogen verfasste Feld der EB/WB aussichtsreich, weil die für sie konstitutiven Charakteristika domänenunspezifisch angelegt sind und auf die berufliche Kerntätigkeit des Lehrens abzielen – ein einheitliches Qualifikationsprofil bzw. vergleichbare Formen der berufsqualifizierenden Ausbildung setzen sie jedoch nicht zwingend voraus.

Für die konkrete Implementierung von PLGs im Bereich der EB/WB bedürfen einzelne Charakteristika aber sicherlich der Adaptation. So müsste vor allem der gemeinsame Fokus auf Schüler*innenlernen stärker für das didaktische Leitprinzip

der Teilnehmerorientierung (vgl. Tietgens 1983; Siebert 2009) geöffnet werden. Mit Blick auf die unterstützenden Bedingungen ebenso wie auf die grundlegenden Prozessmerkmale der De-Privatisierung des Unterrichts und des reflexiven Dialogs müssen Bedarfe, Akzeptanz und Partizipationsbereitschaft sowohl auf Seiten der Leitung als auch auf Seiten der Lehrenden im Feld der EB/WB empirisch erkundet werden. Angesichts der vielfältigen fachlichen Hintergründe und des gering reglementierten Berufsstandes müsste zudem untersucht werden, ob Bedarfe, Akzeptanz und Interesse am PLG-Konzept über die verschiedenen Kontexte der EB/WB variieren. Dies hätte auch Folgen für die Entwicklung von Messinstrumenten. So wäre zu klären, wie die primär für den Kontext Schule verfassten PLG-Charakteristika und -begrifflichkeiten so operationalisiert werden können, dass sie für alle Kontexte des heterogen strukturierten Bereichs der EB/WB gleichermaßen anschlussfähig sind. Schließlich bedarf es insbesondere zur Wirksamkeit von PLGs für die Professionalitätsentwicklung der Lehrenden weiterer Forschung. In einem Interventionsstudiendesign ließe sich etwa untersuchen, ob unter den spezifischen Bedingungen der EB/WB die längerfristige Einbettung in eine PLG im Vergleich zu für gewöhnlich kurzfristiger angelegten seminarförmigen oder autodidaktischen Fortbildungsformen einen positiven Effekt auf die professionellen Kompetenzen der Lehrenden erzielt.

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User-generated Student Course Evaluations: (How) Can Key Competencies become Systematic Evaluation Parameters?

Dennis Klinkhammer, Michael Schemmann

Student course evaluations are well known to most students, but their expertise is rarely taken into consideration when it comes to designing them. Since student course evaluations are supposed to provide insights into the quality of heterogeneous courses, which has to be considered challenging from a statistical point of view, students theorized the quality of common student course evaluations within an advanced seminar in educational research. They reflected on different designs, statistical issues as well as imprecise questions and questionnaires before focusing on key competencies as new type of evaluation parameters. Key competencies shall provide a focus on teaching effectiveness and can operate without the need for comparing average scores of heterogeneous courses. By addressing the professional, the methodological, the social as well as the self-competence of each student, the different levels of key competencies within each course can separately be dealt with. Furthermore, a student course evaluation focusing key competencies provides a perfect data basis to be thoroughly tested by factor and reliability analysis in order to highlight the quality of the students' approach and their understanding of evaluation research.

Keywords: User-generated student course evaluation; Key competencies; Factor analysis; Reliability analysis

1 Introduction – students rethinking student course evaluations

Student course evaluations are an ubiquitous phenomenon and most commonly used to evaluate the quality of academic courses (Seldin 1999; Clayson 2009; Davis 2009). They are used within the process of accreditation and institutional evaluation while providing insights for lecturers, research assistants, professors and faculties into the quality and teaching effectiveness of the courses. Most student course evaluations are realized with standardized paper-based questionnaires and take place on a regular basis, commonly at the end of each term. Although student course evaluations are subjective surveys they are supposed to be an objective basis for quality development and are to support the dialogue between lecturers, research assistants, professors and students as well. To most users they appear to be objective because

they are numerical, but from a statistical point of view that is no conclusive argument (Pounder 2007). Considering student course evaluations as an instrument to measure the teaching effectiveness, this article will sum up some of the most common statistical issues during the evaluation process and unfold the complexity of implementing them.

The article will focus on the process of designing user-generated student course evaluations in order to cope with the complexity as well as the statistical issues. The underlying question is: (How) Can Key Competencies become Systematic Evaluation Parameters?

This user-generated questionnaire is supposed to address the teaching effectiveness by turning away from the usual comparison of average scores and "happy sheets" (Kirkpatrick 1998) and considering key competencies as new type of evaluation parameters. These key parameters have been designed by students who made themselves familiar with the theoretical concept of key competencies as well as the basics of evaluation research and statistics. They have been asked to reflect on their study experience and to apply the general idea of key competencies for designing a new student course evaluation.

Since there are four dimensions of key competencies known in psychological and pedagogical discourse, known as professional, methodological, social and self-competence, the main research questions of this article deal with the quality of the students' approach:

1. How do students operationalize the theoretical framework of key competencies?
2. Can this approach cover the four dimensions of key competencies in practice?

Both research questions provide insights into the students' understanding of statistical methods used in evaluation research and their operationalization skills when it comes to designing a questionnaire. Factor and reliability analysis shall confirm the students' underlying theoretical framework and their techniques in designing the subsequent questions while further insights into the application of the user-generated student course evaluation highlight the potential of the new design.

Therefore, this article provides a synopsis of the complexity of student course evaluations, as taught to the students, focusing the intention of the student course evaluation, common statistical issues as well as the role of the evaluation teams designing them (chapter 2). Subsequently, the theoretical framework of the four dimensions of key competencies and the students' questionnaire shall be highlighted (chapter 3), before a multistage-testing procedure, the application context as well as the used data sets are introduced (chapter 4). The findings focus especially on factor and reliability analysis (chapter 5) before the conclusion provides insights into the application of this user-generated student course evaluation and closes with some recommendations and notes on teaching effectiveness of this approach (chapter 6).

2 Considering the complexity

In the following we will discuss the complexity of student course evaluation. As simple as the usually generated means and standard deviations of student course evaluations seem to be, as complex is the way to an adequate questionnaire for student course evaluations. Authors like Marsh and Roche (1997), Perry and Smart (1997) and Diehl (2001), for example, highlight the complexity of student course evaluations according to their variety of approaches and intentions. Therefore, Rindermann (2001; 2003) uses a multidimensional model in order to structure this variety among measurable outcomes (chapter 2.1). Furthermore, Marsh (2007), as well as Cashin and Clegg (1987) and McKeachie (1997), focus on the statistical issues in performing student course evaluations (chapter 2.2.), which may lead to difficulties in terms of clarity and interpretation. In order to counteract these issues, they need to be addressed by the evaluating teams with reasonable care (chapter 2.3).

2.1 Approach and intention

Depending on approach and intention, student course evaluations may differ in terms of their content as well as in quality. A variety of variables is at hand and leads to different evaluation designs between universities and even between different faculties within one university. As a result, it is challenging to identify design standards when talking about student course evaluations in general. However, in terms of approach and intention Rindermann (2003, p. 235 f.) differentiates four main dimensions of measurable outcomes for student course evaluations:

1. First of all, they may address the behaviour, knowledge, working materials and engagement of the lecturer, research assistant or professor.
2. Secondly, they may focus on determinants concerning mainly the students, e. g. their background knowledge and diligence.
3. Contextual factors like requirement level and type of course may also be dealt with in student course evaluations.
4. Finally, they may capture the educational success of the students.

Given that kind of differentiation, Rindermann (2001) develops a *Multidimensional Condition Model for Educational Success*, which summarizes different aspects within educational contexts. Similar references to the complexity of educational contexts and a variety of aspects can be found in the scientific debate since 1997 (Marsh & Roche 1997; Perry & Smart 1997; Diehl 2001; Greimel 2002, Clayson 2009). Evaluation teams can try to cover all four dimensions, but most of them are likely to make a selection according to their intentions.

A focus on key competencies, as presented in chapter 3, might address the intersection of these main dimensions. Hereby, measuring key competencies might take the individual background of the students into account, by accepting different outcomes of educational success as perceived by the students themselves, as well as ac-

knowledging a broad spectrum of influencing factors and possibilities of interpretation.

2.2 Common statistical issues

Discussing student course evaluations there is much that can be criticized: First of all, most higher education courses tend to get a distinctly good evaluation result with a statistical bias in terms of interpretation (Daniel 1996; Marsh 2007). Of course, there is a variety of explanations for that kind of behaviour at hand:

1. A quite obvious one is, that some students might want to give their lecturers good credits despite his or her teaching effectiveness.
2. Following that clue, some of the variance seems only to be related to the personal influence or charisma of the lecturer or the subject of the course, instead of its relevance and general significance. This issue is especially addressed by the work of Marsh (2007).
3. Furthermore, students from different academic fields tend to rate higher education courses differently, as Cashin and Clegg (1987) point out.
4. McKeachie (1997) reminds evaluators to recall the fact that some of the courses are mandatory while others are freely chosen and that this might have an impact on the outcome of student course evaluations as well.

It should also be noted that not all students participate in the student course evaluation. Some of them are missing, because of their absence on evaluation day or their general drop out. These kinds of nonresponses produce uncertainties, because it is unlikely that the nonresponders would have acted the same way than the responders did; whether they liked the course or left it because they didn't like it at all. Remaining students might be influenced by the size of the course. Smaller courses tend to decrease the level of anonymity and that might reduce the willingness to respond truthfully.

In summary, a lot of issues can influence the response behaviour, starting at the micro-level of the students, covering various aspects at the level of the educational context and going up to the level of the evaluated course itself. That said, none of these levels can be considered as static. In summary, students are not alike: Some of them have a better comprehension of things, a different social behaviour towards their lecturers or even a different background knowledge. Furthermore, courses and their contexts are also not alike (Beleche, Fairris & Marks 2012), which requires a more flexible and yet comparable evaluation instrument. Again, a focus on measuring key competencies might address these issues, by accepting different outcomes at an individual level, according to the differences of each students' context. The flexible evaluation goals of measuring key competencies and their counteracting potential in terms of these statistical issues will be highlighted in chapter 3.

2.3 Comprehension of the evaluation teams

It should also be noted that the statistical and methodological comprehension of the evaluation team is vital to the whole process of designing and implementing a student course evaluation. Otherwise, a lack of statistical and methodological knowledge may lead to more or less sophisticated evaluation designs (Marsh 2007; McCollough & Radson 2011). Therefore, Marsh, as well as McCollough and Radson, define four necessary key aspects of statistical and methodological knowledge:

1. The evaluation teams need to be familiar with applicable standards in terms of evaluation designs.
2. They need to know how to formulate precise questions in terms of reliability and validity.
3. Furthermore, they need to anticipate the possible response behaviour of the students in order to prevent biases.
4. And they should use objective methods of interpretation.

Without these four key aspects of statistical and methodological knowledge imprecise questions and misleading evaluation designs could differ from the genuine intention of the student course evaluation or falsify the results, as the chapter on common statistical issues pointed out (chapter 2.2). Therefore, the students involved in setting up a user-generated student course evaluation (chapter 3.2), have previously discussed all of these issues and familiarized themselves with necessary knowledge before constructing, testing and implementing a new student course evaluation. The theoretical framework for constructing a student course evaluation that will cover up the complexity is presented in the next chapter.

3 Designing the questionnaire: Key competencies as theoretical framework

The European Commission (2018) considers specific knowledge, skills and attitudes as key competencies for personal fulfilment, participation on the labour market and social participation. All of them can be considered content of academic seminars. The European Commission is quite concrete in describing some of these key competencies in detail, e. g. communication in one's mother language and foreign languages as well, scientific community takes a more general approach. Our approach refers to four acknowledged key competencies: Roth (1971), one of the central actors in the field of key competencies, stated that professional competence, social competence and self-competence are the basic competencies that would have to be learned for educational and work-related success. This approach refers mainly to White's (1959) psychological concept of competencies that seem to be necessary to interact effectively with the environment. Since then, all three key competencies have served as reference for further adaptions of the original concept. Nowadays experts differ in four dimensions of key competencies and their subdivision by professional, meth-

odological, social and self-competence, as summarized, for example, by Maurer (2006) in his article on competencies and educational standards as well as the items of the International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER) Kassel (2014).

3.1 Synopsis of the four dimensions of key competencies

One advantage of measuring key competencies is the clear intention (chapter 2.1.) of the theoretical framework taking into account that each student is unique and might have different evaluation outcomes. The students also assumed that academic courses differ in respect of their content and so should the key competencies of the students within. Hence, academic courses are rarely comparable figure by figure, but could be categorized according to their content and in respect to the key competencies achieved by the students. As a result, lecturers, research assistants and professors shall have a better insight into their teaching effectiveness without the need for statistically invalid comparisons with all too different courses, but in accordance with the accreditation and evaluation goals of their universities.

Following the psychological and pedagogical discourse on key competencies, the students designed a set of questions (chapter 3.2) in respect to the known statistical issues (chapter 2.2) and in accordance with the four dimensions of key competencies as follows:

1. The professional competence addresses a broad range of knowledge, theories, attitudes and skills required in order to work in a specialized area or profession (Klippert 1994; Maurer 2006).
2. Within the scientific discourse methods and methodological competence are referred to as tools for almost every educational and work-related success (Klippert 1994; Trautwein 2011). A correct and situation-specific application of these methods can be critical in most processes.
3. The concept of social competence refers to the ability to act appropriately within social interactions and to get along with others (Roth 1971; Maurer 2006). Thus, social competence is related to interpersonal communication, the perception of others and the self-perception in respect to others.
4. Self-competence can be described as someone's attitudes and abilities to reflect upon himself and his own strengths and weaknesses. It is sometimes referred to be the basis for developing other competencies (Maurer 2006).

In summary, a reference to Klipperts (1994) model of extended learning concept can be observed within the four dimensions of key competencies. First research projects operate explicitly on basis of this fourfold division (e. g. Trautwein 2011) by turning away from measuring items that reflect solely on the lecturer, his materials or the external situation. Since meanwhile universities use these four dimensions of key competencies, which can be referred to as classification of learning outcomes, in order to design the contents of their courses (Zentrum für Qualitätssicherung und -entwicklung der Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz 2014), a focus in terms of evaluation seems appropriate.

Nevertheless, this fourfold division is rarely tested. Therefore, the following questions designed by students themselves not only provide first insights on how students perceive their courses and study experience in respect to the key competencies, but are also a basis for multistage-testing of the theoretical framework. The user-generated questions and items will be presented in the next chapter.

3.2 User-generated item structure

This section introduces the user-generated items. As for the designing procedure, students in the field of adult education who have been familiar with the complexity of student course evaluations, statistics and the theoretical framework of four dimensions of key competencies have been asked to work in groups, in order to work out relevant questions for each competence. One group addressed professional competence, another methodological competence, while the two other groups were dealing with social competence and self-competence. Since all groups have been familiar with all four competencies, they could discuss their set of questions with other students and with the accompanying research team. A selection of the most precise and purposeful questions during pretest (chapter 4.2) served as basis for the new questionnaire. In total, the students developed 16 different questions on basis of a five-level scale and in accordance with the four dimensions of key competencies (chapter 3.1):

(1)	I have acquired and expanded professional knowledge.	(pc_knowledge)
(2)	The course was a useful addition to my field of studies.	(pc_study)
(3)	The course provided relevant concepts and theories.	(pc_theory)
(4)	I know methods that refer to my professional competence.	(pc_methods)
(5)	I can practically apply the theoretical knowledge.	(mc_use)
(6)	I could try out techniques and methods.	(mc_test)
(7)	I can objectively reflect techniques and methods.	(mc_reflect)
(8)	I can purposefully work towards a result.	(mc_results)
(9)	I know how to deal with conflict situations.	(soc_conflict)
(10)	I was able to take responsibilities.	(soc_responsibility)
(11)	I was able to reach out and ask questions.	(soc_questions)
(12)	I'm sure to gain acceptance.	(soc_enforce)
(13)	I can deal with complex subjects.	(sec_facts)
(14)	The course encourages my organizational skills.	(sec_organize)
(15)	I can work in a structured way.	(sec_structure)
(16)	I was able to set my own priorities within the course.	(sec_own)

Associated items are expelled in addition to the questions, indicating one of the four key competencies by prefix. Labelled items make it easier to identify each question in the continuing analysis (chapter 5). The methodological approach and application context are summarized within the next chapter.

4 Multistage-testing procedure and application context

This chapter refers to the methodological approach for testing the students' concept of a student course evaluation focusing key competencies as evaluation parameters. Up to four steps of analysis will be introduced, before the application of the new student course evaluation at the University of Cologne and the generated data sets are presented in detail.

4.1 Multistage-testing of the user-generated student course evaluation

To confirm the consistency of the four dimensions of key competencies within the questionnaire, a thorough check of all user-generated items was performed by using exploratory factor analysis within the pretest and confirmatory factor analysis, reliability analysis and correlations with larger data sets.

Exploratory factor analysis was used during pretest to identify the structure of the user-generated items according to each of the four dimensions of key competencies as presented in chapter 3.2. It is a statistical approach to uncover the underlying structure of a large set of items. When student course evaluation data is normally distributed one can focus the statistical significance of each factor loading by using maximum likelihood as extraction method. Later on, after pretesting and with a larger data set from other terms, a confirmatory factor analysis can verify the identified structure of all student course evaluation items (chapter 5.1.). The internal consistency of user-generated items can be verified via reliability analysis, when each item is grouped according to the previously identified structure (chapter 5.2.). Correlations are to identify the connectedness of each key competence to its counterparts. A relation between professional and methodological competence seems more likely than a relation between professional and social competence, since professional and methodological competence work often consecutive in real life (chapter 5.3.).

In summary, this multistage-testing procedure identifies and counts the dimensions of key competencies within the student course evaluation, so that each item can be reconciled with the theoretical framework on dimensions of four key competencies. The underlying data sets will be highlighted within the next chapter.

4.2 Application context at the University of Cologne and datasets

The application context for the user-generated student course evaluation is the Professional Center at the University of Cologne. It offers interdisciplinary courses to students from all faculties. Up to 60 courses can be realised each term, in which up to 700 students can participate. The evaluation is voluntary for all the students. As a

result, a consistent student course evaluation, applicable to most students from different faculties and with strong focus on teaching effectiveness is required for evaluation and accreditation.

As stated before, all 16 questions are items that have been pretested on basis of five different courses with a total of 71 students in winterterm 2014/2015. Despite this first exploratory factor analysis, all students of the pretest have been asked to give a feedback in terms of comprehensibility and general design. There was no critical feedback that marked the initial concept of the questionnaire as incomprehensible. The students participating in the pretest had no affiliation to the students designing the student course evaluation.

Subsequent to this first alignment and in order to increase the number of participants, the questionnaire has been used to evaluate Professional Center courses at the University of Cologne. A total of 481 students from 40 different courses participated within summer term 2015 – called Round 1. Six months later, in winter term 2015/2016 a total of 521 students from 43 different courses participated – called Round 2. Both, Round 1 and Round 2, have been used for thorough multistage-testing, as introduced in chapter 3. Since there are no significant differences between the findings of Round 1 and Round 2, the latest data set will be referred to in the upcoming analysis.

5 Findings

This chapter presents the confirmatory factor analysis, reliability analysis and interrelatedness of all four dimensions of key competencies within the largest data set, Round 2. If the students design matches the theoretical concept of four dimensions of key competencies, all items should be differentiable accordingly and there should be sufficient reliability scores.

5.1 Factor analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis underlines the expected fourfold division of key competencies (table 1), covered up by the 16 user-generated items. There is only a slight overlap with one item of professional competence (0,396), that also seems to load on methodological competence (0,694). Thus, *pc_methods* is the weakest item of professional competence and this had to be expected, since its original question refers to the link between professional competence and necessary tools in order to apply this competence.

Table 1: Factor analysis with four key competencies (Round 2) (Source: Own calculation (2016); N = 521; Varimax, 6 Iterations.).

	1	2	3	4
pc_knowledge	,774			
pc_study	,675			
pc_theory	,768			
pc_methods	,396	,694		
mc_use		,826		
mc_test		,836		
mc_reflect		,757		
mc_results		,766		
soc_conflict			,774	
soc_responsibility			,799	
soc_questions			,805	
soc_enforce			,791	
sec_facts				,677
sec_organize				,520
sec_structure				,782
sec_own				,822

According to similar findings in Round 1 and Round 2, it can be assumed, that the four key competencies can be clearly identified within this type of student course evaluation. Nevertheless, the strong link between professional competence and methodological competence deserves a more detailed consideration, such as a check for internal consistency.

5.2 Reliability analysis

The reliability analysis confirms the internal consistency of the four key competencies (table 2), which supports the previous factor analysis findings. There is only a small difference between non-standardized and standardized Cronbachs Alpha values and all of them meet the criteria that values should be above ,700. These values indicate that each of the four items, that propose to measure the same general construct of competence, produce similar scores within their key competence.

Table 2: Reliability analysis (Round 2) (Source: Own calculation (2016); N = 521.).

	Cronbachs Alpha (not standardized)	**Cronbachs Alpha** (standardized)
professional	,744	,756
methodological	,860	,871
social	,834	,836
self	,750	,767

However, professional competence generates the lowest Cronbachs Alpha values, probably because of the mentioned connection between professional competence and methodological competence. This connection can be further analysed by focusing the inter-relatedness of each key competence via correlations.

5.3 Inter-relatedness of all four key competencies

Arithmetic scales out of the four items of each key competence can be analysed in detail by the use of a correlation matrix. As expected and stated before, the strongest correlation ($r = 0{,}664$; $p = 0{,}000$) can be found between professional competence and methodological competence. It can be assumed, that they depend on each other in higher education. There are also remarkable correlations between self-competence with methodological competence ($r = 0{,}512$; $p = 0{,}000$) and social competence ($r = 0{,}522$; $p = 0{,}000$). The weakest correlations can be found between social competence with professional competence ($r = 0{,}316$; $p = 0{,}000$) and methodological competence ($r = 0{,}356$; $p = 0{,}000$). These results are also not unexpected. Thus, the correlation matrix highlights the connection between professional competence and methodological competence on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it sets the social competence apart of that connection. Self-competence is connected to all other competencies.

6 Summary and recommendations

Students at the University of Cologne designed their own questionnaire in order to address some of the statistical issues within common student course evaluations and to focus on skills and competencies in respect to the difficult measurable teaching effectiveness. They have been aware of the necessary techniques to design a proper questionnaire and the theoretical background on skills and competencies. A research team took care of their approach.

Although there is quite some theoretical reference on competence-based evaluations, this is the first time it is used within a student course evaluation entirely designed by students themselves. As a result, the students came up with their own questions for professional competence, methodological competence, social compe-

tence and self-competence. All user-generated questions have been a match according to the four dimensions of key competencies and can be identified via exploratory factor analysis within the new questionnaire. Confirmatory factor analysis, reliability analysis and correlations confirm the concept of four key competencies on basis of two different data sets (Round 1 and Round 2), reflecting different terms and seminars with a total of 1.002 students participating.

However, a strong correlative connection between methodological and professional competence can be found. Reliability analysis as well as factor analysis indicate the statistical challenges in designing an own scale or dimension that fits the theoretical concept of both competencies, since there is a theoretical and practical link between professional competence and methodological competence. This makes it statistically hard to differentiate between these two competencies. Despite one linking-item, factor analysis provided a very consistent alignment of items for professional, methodological, social and self-competence. That covers perfectly the academic discourse on that broad topic and stands in line with the field-tested design of INCHER.

As a result, a competence-based student course evaluation is a different approach than the current comparison of means and standard deviations. It works on the assumption that each course is different and sets different teaching goals. While one course may focus on professional skills like theoretical terms and concepts, another may focus on the practical application, self-experience and social interaction with others. Furthermore, students are not alike. Measuring four key competencies allows for considering their different background knowledge and learning behaviour. This can be clearly identified within both datasets, Round 1 and Round 2.

In respect to the initial research questions it can be stated that the students' approach has proven valid during a multistage-testing procedure. The students have been able to address common statistical issues and designed adequate questions during the process of operationalization. Their set of questions underlines the fourfold division of key competencies and differentiates adequately between different contents of different courses. Thus, their approach is nowadays the standard student course evaluation at the Professional Center and this is a remarkable achievement, considering all different types of courses offered by the Professional Center. Some of them are centred on professional and methodological aspects, while others focus the students and their interactions with others. Therefore, program managers can use student course evaluations that focus on key competencies, in order to systematise their courses and check for differences according to the intended goals of the courses. The students involved in designing the student course evaluation, for example, indicated clear effects on their professional as well as methodological competencies during the course.

A Scientific-Use-File (SUF) on term 2016 has been created, covering 786 students that can be analysed in detail, focusing different faculties, a broad range of different seminars, the progress of the students as well as their sociodemographic factors. The SUF will be provided by the authors on request.

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III Rezensionen/Reviews

Rezension: Schriftsprache im Kontext von Habitus und Milieu

Carolin Radtke

Natalie Pape: Literalität als milieuspezifische Praxis. Eine qualitative Untersuchung aus einer Habitus- und Milieuperspektive zu Teilnehmenden an Alphabetisierungskursen. Alphabetisierung und Grundbildung Bd. 13, Waxmann Verlag, Münster 2018, 214 S..

Innerhalb der Erwachsenenbildung gewinnt die Alphabetisierungsforschung zunehmend an Bedeutung. Die vorliegende Dissertation leistet hierzu einen weiteren Beitrag und ordnet sich in die Reihe Alphabetisierung und Grundbildung, herausgegeben vom Bundesverband Alphabetisierung und Grundbildung, als 13. Band ein. Ausgangspunkt der Dissertation bildet das vom Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung geförderte Forschungsprojekt *Interdependenzen von Schriftsprachkompetenz und Aspekten der Lebensbewältigung* (Interdependenzstudie). Im Rahmen dieses Projekts stehen *Pape* für ihre Dissertation 36 Interviews mit 19 Teilnehmenden an Alphabetisierungskursen zur Verfügung. In einem empirisch-qualitativen Forschungsdesign untersucht sie diese hinsichtlich der literalen Praxis der Teilnehmenden aus Habitus- und Milieuperspektive. Mit den Ergebnissen bietet *Pape* Erkenntnisse zu sozialen Milieus sowie habitus- und milieuspezifischen Zugängen zu Schriftsprache von Alphabetisierungskursteilnehmenden und eine Herausstellung von vier milieuspezifisch und alltagspraktisch eingebetteten Grundmustern von Literalität und Kursteilnahme.

Ausgehend von einer Skizzierung und Würdigung der bisherigen Forschungsaktivitäten im Feld der Alphabetisierung kennzeichnet *Pape* in einem ersten einleitenden Kapitel zugleich auch Forschungslücken, insbesondere bezüglich des Verhältnisses von individuellem Umgang mit Schriftsprache und sozialen Logiken (S. 15). Daraus begründet die Autorin plausibel die theoretische Anschlussfähigkeit an das Habitus-Feld-Konzept Bourdieus, an das Milieumodell nach Vester et al. sowie an das Konzept Literalität als soziale Praxis von Street. *Pape* geht davon aus, „dass es sich bei sozialen Milieus auch um Orte handelt, an denen bestimmte Vorlieben und Gebrauchsformen von Schriftsprache, also Grundmuster der Literalität, eingeübt werden und dass sich ein Phänomen wie funktionaler Analphabetismus darin eingebettet betrachten lässt“ (S. 17). Die Verschränkung dieser Perspektiven erlaubt es der Autorin sowohl die subjektive Alltagspraxis als auch die strukturelle und soziale Bedingtheit der literalen Praxis zusammenführend in den Blick zu nehmen. Klar formuliertes Forschungsinteresse sind Erkenntnisse zu sozialen Milieus von Alphabetisierungskursteilnehmenden, habitus- und milieuspezifischen Zugängen zu

Schriftsprache sowie zur Einbettung der Kursteilnahme in die milieuspezifische Alltagspraxis (S. 17).

In Kapitel zwei werden der aktuelle Forschungsstand und -aktivitäten im Bereich der Alphabetisierungsforschung anhand von drei zentralen Forschungssträngen skizziert. Im Fokus stehen dabei Erkenntnisse bezüglich der sozialen Zusammensetzung von Adressaten und Teilnehmenden von Alphabetisierungskursen ebenso wie hinsichtlich ihrer Zugänge zu Schriftsprache. Hervorzuheben sind zudem die Unterkapitel, die sich Erkenntnissen zur Lesesozialisationsforschung, Literalität als soziale Praxis sowie Milieubezogenheit von Literalität widmen. Der Autorin gelingt es dadurch, Forschungsdesiderate und zugleich die wissenschaftliche Anschlussfähigkeit der eigenen Forschungsarbeit dezidiert aufzuzeigen, ebenso wie die Relevanz ihrer eigenen Forschung plausibel zu begründen.

Kapitel 3 stellt das theoretische Fundament der Arbeit dar. *Pape* stellt die o. g. Konzepte (Bourdieus Habitus-Feld-Konzept, das Konzept sozialer Milieus nach Vester et al., Streets Konzept von Literalität als soziale Praxis) prägnant in ihren Grundzügen dar und hebt durch eine stringente Verschränkung der theoretischen Perspektiven deren gewinnbringende Bedeutung für den Forschungsgegenstand hervor. Zugleich leitet sie daraus theoretische Annahmen bezüglich des Forschungsinteresses ab. *Pape* entfaltet auf dieser Basis ihre eingangs aufgeführte These, „dass Literalität in die Alltagspraxis der Menschen eingebunden ist" (S. 59) und dass das Phänomen des funktionalen Analphabetismus „sich mit der milieuspezifischen Alltagspraxis in Beziehung setzen lässt" (ebd.).

Kapitel 4 widmet sich dem Forschungsdesign. *Pape* beschreibt zunächst detailliert und transparent das forschungspraktische Vorgehen der Interdependenzstudie als Ausgangspunkt der Dissertation. Demnach wurden in einem empirisch-qualitativen Vorgehen innerhalb eines Jahres eine Basis- und Folgebefragung sowie Lernstandsdiagnosen mit 19 Alphabetisierungskursteilnehmenden an einer Volkshochschule durchgeführt, sodass insgesamt 36 leitfadengestützte Interviews vorliegen. *Pape* beschreibt sodann die forschungspraktische Umsetzung der Dissertation, wobei sie einen hermeneutischen Zugang für ihre Auswertung wählt. Für die Dissertation wurden vier Eckfälle ausgewählt, die hinsichtlich milieuspezifischer Gebrauchsformen und Grundmuster von Literalität ausgewertet wurden (S. 86). *Pape* grenzt das Dissertationsprojekt plausibel von der Interdependenzstudie ab, besonders durch die klar formulierten differenten Fragestellungen, theoretischen und methodologischen Überlegungen. Während die Ausführungen zur konkreten methodischen Umsetzung des hermeneutischen Zugangs durch sequenzanalytisches Vorgehen kurz geraten, wird die methodologische Passung für den Untersuchungsgegenstand ausführlich und transparent aufgezeigt.

Herausragendes Kernstück der Studie sind die Ergebnisse in den Kapiteln 5 bis 7. In Kapitel 5 erfolgt eine sehr ausführlich dargestellte und nach identischen Mustern strukturierte, habitus-hermeneutische, theoretisch rückgekoppelte Auswertung der vier Eckfälle, die differente Habitusmuster und Grundmuster der Literalität herausstellt. Kapitel 6 beinhaltet eine milieuspezifische, analytische Differenzierung

der Eckfälle, ergänzt und verdichtet durch die 15 weiteren Fälle, die zu einer Systematisierung von vier milieuspezifischen Habitusmustern bzw. zentralen handlungsleitenden Prinzipien führt (S. 154). Daraus leitet *Pape* vier Grundmuster im alltagspraktischen Umgang mit Literalität ab – angestrengt-ambitionierte Literalität, sachbezogene-pragmatische Literalität, prätentiös-elaborierte Literalität, gelegenheitsorientierte Literalität – die sie in Kapitel 7 anhand von habitus- und milieuspezifischen Vorlieben und Gebrauchsformen der Schriftsprache näher erläutert (S. 167). Durch die strukturierte Darstellung gelingt der Autorin eine sehr gute Leitung des Lesers durch den umfangreichen Ergebnisteil, ebenso wird durch die vielen Interviewbelegstellen die Auswertung der Autorin transparent.

Den Schluss der Dissertation bildet das 8. Kapitel mit einer prägnanten Einordnung der Ergebnisse in die Alphabetisierungsforschung, ebenso wie Perspektiven für die Alphabetisierungsforschung und -praxis aufgezeigt werden. *Pape* sichert dadurch die Anschlussfähigkeit ihrer Arbeit – sowohl im spezifischen Forschungsfeld der Alphabetisierung, als auch an das der Erwachsenenbildung.

Insgesamt liegt ein Band vor, der das Dissertationsprojekt anspruchsvoll und stringent aufbereitet darstellt. Die Dissertation ist nicht nur wegen ihres innovativen Charakters, sondern auch aufgrund ihres beachtlichen, empirisch und theoretisch fundiert aufbereiteten Ergebnisteils hervorzuheben. *Pape* leistet damit einerseits auf wissenschaftlicher Ebene einen hoch relevanten Beitrag zur Alphabetisierungs- und Erwachsenenbildungsforschung, andererseits eröffnet sie Bearbeitungsmöglichkeiten und -ansätze auf praktischer Umsetzungsebene.

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Rezension: Mixed Methods als methodologische Perspektive in den Sozialwissenschaften

Martina Engels

Nina Baur, Udo Kelle & Udo Kuckartz (Hrsg.): Mixed Methods. Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft 57/2017, Springer VS, Wiesbaden 2017, 481 S..

Innerhalb der internationalen sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung sind Mixed-Methods-Ansätze ein etabliertes Forschungsfeld. Dagegen findet die Auseinandersetzung mit Mixed-Methods-Ansätzen im deutschsprachigen Raum nur zögerlich statt und gewonnene Erkenntnisse werden kaum rezipiert. Das vorliegende Sonderheft 57/2017 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie möchte die Debatte und den Wissenstransfer im deutschsprachigen Raum fördern und einen möglichst differenzierten Einblick in die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten dieses Ansatzes in der aktuellen Forschung geben. Zu diesem Zweck wurden die Beiträge des Sonderheftes in vier Diskussionsstränge unterteilt: Philosophische, methodologische und methodische Grundlagen von Mixed-Methods-Forschung; Mixed-Methods-Design und Mixed-Methods-Sampling; Formen der Datenkombination und Fragen der Validität sowie Prozesse, Längsschnittanalysen und Evaluation.

Einleitend werden der Stand der Debatte und die aktuelle Problemlage beschrieben. Dafür skizzieren *Baur, Kelle & Kuckartz* die aktuelle Methodendiskussion, die unterschiedlichen Standpunkte quantitativer und qualitativer Methodentradition sowie die Themenschwerpunkte der Mixed-Methods-Forschung. Dabei zeigen sie, dass Mixed Methods als eigenständige Methodologie zu verstehen ist und zu einer Überwindung des Konfliktes zwischen qualitativer und quantitativer Forschung beitragen kann.

Im ersten Kapitel setzen sich verschiedene Autoren kritisch mit philosophischen und methodologischen Grundlagen von Mixed-Methods-Ansätzen auseinander. Dabei beschäftigen sich die Autoren mit unterschiedlichen wissenschaftstheoretischen Standpunkten wie Pragmatismus, Neo-Pragmatismus und gegenstandstheoretischen Überlegungen (*Johnson et al., Kelle*). Neben diesen wissenschaftstheoretischen Überlegungen werden auch kulturspezifische Mixed-Methods-Ansätze diskutiert (*Creswell & Sinley*) sowie die Konstruktion von Mixed-Methods-Designs (*Schoonenboom & Johnson*), Fallauswahl (*Onwuegbuzie & Collins*) und Datenanalyse in der Mixed-Methods-Forschung (*Kuckartz*). Dabei gelingt es den Autoren nicht nur, die aktuelle Debatte kritisch zu reflektieren, sondern auch neue

Überlegungen bei der theoretischen Begründung und Rechtfertigung von Mixed-Methods-Designs zu diskutieren. Ferner schaffen sie es, Probleme und Besonderheiten in der Anwendung von Mixed Methods anschaulich und in Form eines Wissenstransfers zu vermitteln.

Das zweite Kapitel des Sonderheftes widmet sich dem Thema des Mixed-Methods-Designs und des Mixed-Methods-Samplings. Dafür legen die Autoren anhand von Fallstudien Potenziale und Fallstricke von Mixed-Methods-Designs und -Samplings dar sowie mögliche Lösungsstrategien für auftretende Probleme. So setzen sich beispielsweise *Haunss, Schmidtke & Biegoń* in ihrem Beitrag mit dem Spannungsverhältnis zwischen methodologischer Strenge und Freiheit auseinander und appellieren für eine Horizonterweiterung in der politikwissenschaftlichen Mixed-Methods-Forschung. Zur Verdeutlichung ihrer Forderung zeigen sie die Beantwortung einer mehrdimensionalen Forschungsfrage an einem integrierten multidimensionalen Mixed-Methods-Design. Die weiteren Beiträge in diesem Kapitel beschäftigen sich mit der Fallauswahl. So zeigt *Hense*, wie qualitative Stichprobenpläne und theoretisches Sampling durch quantitative Sekundärdaten (beispielsweise das Sozio-Ökonomische Panel) unterstützt und die Stichprobenqualität gesteigert werden können. Ferner legt *Akremi* dar, wie durch Mixed-Methods-Studien die Abgrenzung eines heterogenen Forschungsfeldes und die Generalisierung besser gelingen können. Zusätzlich werden die Herausforderung das Samplings bei international vergleichenden Studien dargestellt und wie ein Mixed-Methods-Ansatz aussehen könnte, der diese Herausforderungen miteinbezieht (*Grunow*).

Das dritte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit Fragen der Datentransformation, Datenintegration und Validität. So diskutieren die Beiträge bewährte sowie auch andere Formen der Datenintegration und die daraus resultierenden komplexen Validitätsprobleme. Neben den verschiedenen Varianten der Datenintegration zeigen die Beiträge, wie Schwächen bei monomethodischem Vorgehen durch Mixed-Methods-Ansätze aufgedeckt und überwunden, komplementäre Informationen gewonnen und die Validität erhöht werden kann. Des Weiteren wird nach einer kritischen Reflexion der Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Transformation von qualitativen Daten in quantitative Daten verlangt (*Vogl*).

Abschließend geht es in Kapitel vier um Fragen zu sozialen Prozessen, Längsschnittdesigns und Evaluationsstudien. *Mayring* kritisiert in seinem Beitrag die in der Gesundheitsforschung oft eingesetzten randomisiert kontrollierten Studien und zeigt, wie Mixed-Methods-Designs die Aussagekraft von Evaluationsstudien mit quantitativem Schwerpunkt steigern können. Ferner erläutern *Buchholtz & Kaiser* in ihrem Beitrag, wie Mixed Methods das Verständnis für komplexe Wechselspiele von Mikro-Makro-Strukturen verbessern können.

Zusammenfassend liegt hier ein Sonderheft vor, das Mixed Methods aus verschiedenen Perspektiven betrachtet und es dabei schafft, die aktuelle Debatte innerhalb dieses Forschungsstranges kritisch wiederzugeben. Den Autoren gelingt es nicht nur, die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen dieses Ansatzes sehr anschaulich sowie reflektiert aufzuzeigen, sondern die Leser*innen zu einem Blick über den Tellerrand

anzuregen und gleichzeitig darzulegen, wo innerhalb der Disziplin noch Diskussionsbedarf besteht. Hervorzuheben ist, dass neben den gängigen Methodenkombinationen auch innovative Mixed-Methods-Designs vorgestellt werden, die nicht nur die vielfältigen Anwendungsgebiete und die Reichweite dieses Ansatzes verdeutlichen, sondern auch zeigen, dass die Forschungsfrage die Methode bestimmen sollte.

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7. Bericht des deutschen Bildungswesens

Schwerpunkt Bildungswirkungen und -erträge

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- Gesamtsituation des deutschen Bildungswesens
- Empirische Längsschnittstudie

In dieser Dauerbeobachtung des deutschen Bildungssystems führen die Autorinnen und Autoren die Analyse bekannter Indikatoren mit neuen Akzenten fort. Schwerpunktthema der 7. Ausgabe der Studie sind Bildungswirkungen und -erträge.

Alle zwei Jahre liefert der Bericht eine Bestandsaufnahme des deutschen Bildungswesens, betrachtet die Bildungsvoraussetzungen, Bildungswege und Bildungsergebnisse von Kindern, Jugendlichen und Erwachsenen und verknüpft diese mit Daten der Bildungsinstitutionen sowie weiteren Kontextinformationen (z. B. der Region).

Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung (Hg.)

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