Nova Scotia's Adult Learning Legislation and Policies:

Balancing the Needs of Citizens and Markets

by

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Abstract

Nova Scotia is a democratic society; therefore, one would surmise the political social system within the province should be designing adult education and literacy programs to support and develop democratic citizens capable of engaging in critical thinking and sustaining a democratic society. Neoliberal policies have become engrained in many democratic societies due to globalization, including Canada and its provinces. Canada's federal policies are influenced by international economic agendas which permeate each level of society. Nova Scotia's social directive is derived from the legislation and policies developed by government; adult education and literacy are the responsibility of each province. This study will analyze Nova Scotian adult education and literacy legislation, policies, and community consultation reports, using Norman Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analysis framework, to identify how these may have been impacted by the ideologies of neoliberalism and new capitalism.

Keywords: capitalism, literacy, neoliberalism, new capitalism, OECD, global market, community, critical discourse

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Greg, and Linda, who taught me that there are no guarantees in life. To my mother who always pushed me to do more, and to my father who taught me to never give up and smile through it all; because there is beauty in life, even the hardship.

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“Indeed, an analysis of highly technological societies usually reveals the “domestication” of man’s [SIC] critical faculties by a situation in which he [sic] is massified and has only the illusion of choice.”

~ Paulo Freire

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis contends that neoliberal discourses in Nova Scotia's policies and strategies of adult literacy align Nova Scotia's social practices with the global market for the purpose of inculcating neoliberal ideologies at the expense of critical consciousness. It will examine the effect of global monetary policies and how they are shifting literacy programs at the community level away from a social practice to a commodity for sale on the global market. An integral question for policy makers in Nova Scotia should be that, if Nova Scotia's adult literacy policies and strategies are focused on the province's interaction with the global economy, are the needs of the adult learners impacted by such administration being met, and what should the purpose of adult literacy be?

Canada's sociohistorical and sociopolitical influences on literacy will be explored. Once the influences on literacy programming are framed, this will support distinguishing how the term literacy is currently being used within Canadian society, with greater focus on its use within the province of Nova Scotia. The Canadian Council of Ministers of Education define literacy in their report *Adult Education and Learning* (2012) as:

> … the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate, and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve his or her goals, develop his or her knowledge and potential, and participate fully in community and wider society. (p. 14)

What is not mentioned in the above definition are the influences of social practice in language and the learned ability for critical thought to afford an individual to witness social practices or ideologies. According to Halliday et al. (2003) language is a semiotic system, as semiosis has to do with meaning. Language is one of the ways in which we communicate meaning; language itself is therefore a social practice. Language is often learned in a decontextualized space in a point and repeat manner through rudimentary communication. Over time, however, the learning space becomes more contextualized as each individual begins to pick up the nuances of societal influences on language, such as family, community, teachers, and media. According to Ferdinand de Sassure, the father of semiotics, “The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image” (Saussure, 2011 p. 66). As the above quote from the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education indicates, literacy embodies social norms and practices and should enable individuals to participate fully in their community. In today’s neoliberal context, where participation in the economy as a member of the labour force is often equated with the only benefits of citizenship or belonging, I argue that to participate fully in one’s community is not only to be able to partake in the economy but also have the capacity to think critically and engage in the democratic process. And so, literacy programming in Nova Scotia must include the prescription to develop the capacity of learners as citizens beyond just their capacity to engage in paid work.

This research study will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine literacy policies in Nova Scotia. It will explore the definition of literacy, the emancipatory power of literacy for the adult, the social influences and practices of literacy, and the ideology surrounding the context of literacy. The ability to read critically involves having

the tools to know a word while in use, to understand that a word is an instrument, and that the meaning of a word contains context, culture, history, and intent; words are power (Blunt, 2004).

The framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) applied in this study is from Norman Fairclough. Fairclough (1993) employs the word *discourse* to include language as more than simply individualistic action, but rather as inclusive of social structure "by class and other social relations as a societal level, by the relations specific to particular institutions such as law or education, by systems of classification, by various norms and conventions of both a discursive and non-discursive nature" (p. 63). There are rules and expectations within society in regard to communication practices in various social settings. The contextualization and shifting social impact of language is a continuous process in the development of ideologies, generally not given daily attention or consideration (Gee, 1991). For Van Dijk (1998) it is the construction of ideology which not only supports the shared developments in society but regulates social practices. While Brookfield (2005) acknowledges the reciprocal nature of ideology and social practices, he also paraphrases Eagleton (1991) to note that "ideology endures partly because it contains elements that people recognize as accurate in their experience. But just because large numbers of people believe something doesn't necessarily make it true" (p.67). The action of reflecting on our own ideologies and challenging their accuracy will surface many times throughout this thesis.

Context

Typically, to get elected to political office in Canada, a candidate tries to attract voters by promising to reform areas of current public concern. Thus, while over the last

ten years concerns around adult literacy may be of less interest to voters, any mention of anything that will increase employment will always be an attention (and vote) grabber. Over the years, developing a literate society capable of critical thinking has taken a backseat to employment training skills in governments' agendas. It is this shift in discourse from grassroots, community focused adult education programs to a skills-based agenda, as witnessed in Nova Scotia adult literacy documents, which this thesis will critically analyse. There is a balancing act for public servants, elected members included, when the citizens of Nova Scotia need employment skills to earn a living, but attaining this goal should not be to the detriment of fostering an engaged literate society.

Personal Background

The desire to conduct this research was fueled by the culmination of multiple life experiences. Early in my career, I worked as an academic advisor at a provincial college in a western province of Canada where my work often took me to Indigenous reserves. While accompanying an Indigenous Counsellor who had lived experience of the residential school system, my re-education of Canada's history began with her sharing her experiences. I began to question versions of truths and hidden ideologies. This also led me to apply for a Masters in Adult Education of Lifelong Learning once back in my home province of Nova Scotia. At that time, I also was hired as an Adult Education Coordinator with for the provincial government. In this role, I administered provincial funding to adult community learning organizations. It was during this time that I became aware of the shifting language in policy documents around literacy programming focused on monitoring and evaluations for outputs of political and

economic purposes, rather than to the individual's ability to think critically. My life experiences in combination with what I have learning during my graduate studies at Mount Saint Vincent University has led to this thesis and vastly influenced my own awareness of the importance of critical thinking in connection to learning and literacy.

Societal Context

During the writing of this thesis there was a pandemic, which has brought to the fore once more discussions of private individual rights, the common good, and the ability of citizens to make choices as a free entity within the "commons" or public sphere. The concept of private and public can be misconstrued in meaning unless there is understanding of how these terms arose. The German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas (1989), who has contributed significantly to the development of Critical Theory in the field of Education, provides insight in the origin of such discourse. As Habermas explains, in the laws of feudal Germany, the "particular" referred to "private", while the "common", in contrast, referred to communal, or public. During this feudal era what was public or common was for a fiefdom's market purposes, and the common or public was owned by the nobility. As societies transitioned away from feudal systems towards capitalistic ones with the coming of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, the concept of an individual with privileges extended beyond the lords and ruling class to a broader concept of "public", made up of the "common man" [*sic*] (Habermas, 1989, p. 22). Under the capitalist system every person was a free individual in theory, free to participate in the new class system operating via the mercantile economy and demonstrated by the ownership of wealth and material goods. An important element within any new social system, much like the new capitalistic system,

was the maintenance of the dominant ideology. Language harbours much of the power for this reproduction within the social system. Without going too far off track of this thesis's focus of literacy, I would be remiss not to point out that during the era of the "free man" this discourse did not legally (linguistically) nor socially (ideologically) include gender, sex, or race, which was purposefully excluded by those in power.

History has demonstrated the use of the power of language to rule over subjugated populations, whether that be based on culture, gender, race, religion, or politics. In Canada, the historical assimilation of the First Nations is the most visible and documented use of subjugation through discourse in our country, although it is not the only instance. The recognition of the rights of the Indigenous of these conquered lands continues today. The marginalization of diverse cultures, languages and lifestyles is historically common; history is rampant with countries conquering and exterminating other cultures and ways of life. According to Lo Bianco (2016) the foundational Canadian policies and practices were largely designed to eradicate diversity for a unified Canadian identity with British inspired characteristics. From its inception, Canada struggled to create a unified national identity with the duelling French and British ideals. According to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, it was not until 1996 (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, n/d), that the Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provincial (CSAP) was founded in Nova Scotia. The CSAP was created to ensure the Acadian people had control over their own education, to maintain their language and culture through future generations.

The attempt to unite a diverse population and administer governance with a Canadian identity remains a struggle. As stated by Kymlicka (2007), the historical myth of a homogenous nation state was derived through nation-building policies which:

> were used to promote and consolidate a common national language, national history and mythology, national heroes, national symbols, a national literature, a national education system, a national media, a national military, in some cases a national religion, and so on. (p. 62)

There may be a tendency to reminisce of better times in Canadian history, of Canada once being a country of united ideologies, politics, and languages. However, that would be based on a false account of history **–** a history constructed by and for those within the dominant group which privileged their language and ways of life while assimilating those not part of the dominant group. Although the Indigenous rights to self-governance were acknowledged in 1763**,** public education did not begin to include the historical lived experiences of, and informed by, the Indigenous people until well into the twenty first century (Fenge & Aldridge, 2015; Battiste, 2013). In this case, the use of the power of discourse is witnessed in the attempted removal of native socializations such as language, culture, ideologies, and the replacement of these with Colonial/Eurocentric socializations.

The application of discourse as power is also seen in the Nova Scotian context. Nova Scotia lies within the ancestral and unceded territories of Mi'kma'ki; the Mi'kmaq were the original inhabitants of this province. Nova Scotia was one of many provinces in Canada which utilized education, language and discourse as means to assert

government authority. The discourses of today embody the “formations and power relations that are the products of history, social formation, and culture” (Luke, 1995, p. 12). In following chapters, the grassroots social movement towards emancipatory learning testifies to the expanding ideologies required to address power issues that have excluded minority groups, and which have been reproduced in language. It is only in recent years there has been greater directive within Nova Scotia’s adult education to be more inclusive.

Overview of Thesis

The following chapters provide a historical description of Canada’s literacy programs, exploring societal influences with a critical social lens on literacy in the province of Nova Scotia. This account will demonstrate both the evolution of adult education in Nova Scotia and its roots in emancipatory discourse and education. Early Canadian adult literacy education often had a focus on socially just outcomes for both individuals and communities. To understand how we as a province arrived at our current pedagogical focus of literacy as employment skills, we must look back to the history of literacy with a broader scope of societal influences.

Chapter Two will outline the evolving landscape of adult education across Canada around the time of the industrial revolution, concluding with a focus on Nova Scotia. The influence and understanding of neoliberal ideology on Nova Scotia’s current administration which has oversight for current literacy programs and their funding, along with a clarification of liberalism’s origins, will demonstrate the entanglement of the democratic system of government, the economic system of capitalism, and the ideology

of neoliberalism. The last section in Chapter Two presents the changing definition of literacy along with the significance of global agendas in shaping literacy programs.

Chapter Three presents an overview of Norman Fairclough's method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and its use in policy analysis to provide a rationale as to why this analytical framework is best suited for the study of influential documents on adult literacy in Nova Scotia. Fairclough's framework contains four stages: 1) to demonstrate semiotic aspects of a social wrong, 2) to show how discourse can be used to maintain the social wrong, 3) to question if the social order needs to the social wrong and, 4) to explore possible ways to eliminate the barriers. As language contains ideologies and social norms, an important compendium of the oppressive capacities of language will precede the application of CDA on Nova Scotia adult literacy documents. Norman Fairclough is a founder of CDA and notes the importance of viewing CDA as transdisciplinary. He draws attention to the fact that discourse is an active product of social practise, events, and structures, while at the same time is projective of social elements (2003). With the use of Fairclough's framework, I will pinpoint the dominant ideology that informed how the Nova Scotia's *Adult Learning Act*, and associated documents were developed. The social context and influences of a given period are key elements in the manufacturing of text, and in the acquisition of the text. Fairclough's framework will guide the identification of the social wrong of advancing capitalism via underlying neoliberal/free market ideologies in the regulating administration of traditionally socially democratic adult literacy programs.

In Chapter Four I provide a CDA framework based on the work of Fairclough; I apply CDA to government documents of primary influence on literacy programs in Nova

Scotia. A CDA was conducted on the adult literacy legislation documents and community consultation reports using Fairclough's method of analyzing the dialectical relations between semiosis and social elements in the development of Nova Scotia's legislation and policies. Federal mandates and initiatives will be included in the CDA for to consider influences from supranational organizations in the international arena of adult literacy. The following documents (which include federal initiatives) influenced the development of Nova Scotia's literacy policies: the *Adult Learning Act* 2010; Adult Learning Regulations 2014; *Adult Learning Act – Discussion paper* 2010; *Canada's Literacy Challenge* (2009); and the report *Addressing Canada's Literacy: A Cost Benefit Analysis* (Data Angel, 2009).

Chapter Five will conclude the findings of the previous chapters regarding the implications of ideologically laden discourse in connection with the field of adult education, specifically focusing on literacy for this research study, and provide recommendations for future policy considerations.

Chapter Two

Introduction

Knowing the evolution of the history of literacy in Canada provides the roadmap of where we have been as a nation**,** which in turn offers perspective as we move forward in time. In Chapter Two I provide a short overview of Canada's literacy beginnings and discuss the relations between literacy and liberation. A key element in liberation is understanding the world in which we live, grasping the social context of the world we know through semiosis. As this thesis demonstrates, the social context in which we inhabit as a Canadians, is both neoliberal and capitalistic. The practice of capitalism is not new, however, given Nova Scotia's history and experience with grassroots adult education organizations committed to economic liberation, our literacy policies today should be better informed by our past. There has been an important shift in the discourse surrounding literacy and adult education in Nova Scotia which many identify as being the result of having neoliberal ideologies at the helm.

This chapter begins with a historical overview of adult education in Canada and in Nova Scotia. The context of Nova Scotia literacy programs is discussed within a context of liberal and neoliberal shifting ideologies, considering the impact of human capital and globalization in the shaping of our definition of democracy. Next, the evolving and expanding definitions of literacy are reviewed to include critical perspectives such as those provided through the work of Paulo Freire and exploring the changing definitions of literacy provided by movements such as New Literacies and multiliteracies. Lastly, the influence of international organizations such as the Organization of Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank

(WB) on literacy policies are explored, demonstrating how these organizations use financial contingencies for adherence.

As a social democratic society, we need to critically analyze the implications of this shift in discourse. I argue that it has moved in a negative direction in the sense that education, which includes the literacy focus of this thesis, now assigns a monetary value to individuals via the concepts of human capital and the knowledge-economy. While the economy may be an aspect of life, it should not be the aggregate of a person or a society. This expanding influence of neoliberal values means that we have internalized profit as the central objective for our social systems and institutions, which oversee the shaping of our culture.

Historical Perspective

What is now known as Adult Education in Canada has been a progression of adult learning through various methods in Canadian history. Prior to the industrial revolution**,** much of the organized instructional programming for adults taking place was done so by charitable, (often religious) organizations. Education, for the most part, was in the hands of the church, as the church was often an extension of the crown. Between 1760-1900, Canadian society was recast by both the industrial and scientific revolutions; the evolution of education proceeded within this context. Following the Industrial Revolution there was greater demand for systemically educated and/or trained employees. This was often balanced with a focus on education to support the development of citizenship. Between the mid-1800s to the beginning of the twentieth century, adult education included government funded programs, university outreach, and community organizations. The catalyst for such knowledge circulation and

organization was often organically shaped by community interests. The needs of communities were varied, from farming, home economics, religion, mining, a first parents club, a Women's Institute, and the various needs of the citizenry; these were further impacted by the political and social outcomes following World War I. In response to changes in the economy as production shifted away from wartime needs, a more literate and skilled workforce was required for an increasingly industrialized economy. At the same time, much of the education was a combination of men and women's groups organizing not just to develop basic literacy skills such as reading and writing, but to identify common needs in the community. As the learning organizations and purposes expanded there was a greater interest in oversight which led towards formalization of the organizations (Drape & Carerer, 1998; Kidd, 1950).

Historically in Canada, there was a demand for education for the individual, but it often developed through a more collective approach based on the needs of the community and by supporting broader social development. In 1800 the first library was established in Upper Canada. In 1831 the Mechanic's Institute was organized in Halifax Nova Scotia with the intent of creating a more literate workforce. One of the core values of the Mechanic's Institute was that education was a right of all people. The literacy levels within the community at the time were an initial barrier of the Mechanic's Institution to teach according to scientific principles. The Mechanic's Institute is considered the first formally organized education of its time in Canada (Draper & Carere, 1989). Throughout Canadian communities, adults were gaining access to various learning opportunities. In Montreal, in 1850, the YMCA established the first night school for bible studies and personal improvement. In 1861 the first cooperative

society, with the design that each member had equal rights, was created in Stellarton, Nova Scotia (Eastman, 1915; Selman & Selman, 2009; Kidd, 1950).

Around the same time, in the late 1880's in Upper Canada and western provinces, multiple farmer associations, and farm research associations were established. The themes that were explored from a community-based education approach within these groups ranged from research, farm science, protectionism, and collectivism (Draper & Carere, 1989). In the late 1890's universities began offering extension programs. Toward the end of the 19th century, the Mechanic's Institute was beginning to break down; curriculum was becoming prescribed, while educated workers wanted a say in the direction of the institution. Policies on literacy and adult education were devolved to the provincial governments from the British Government, beginning with Section 93 of the Canadian Constitution Act of 1867. In 1901 The Canadian Reading Camp Association was founded by Alfred Fitzpatrick, who instituted the "labour-teacher" educational camps for unskilled and uneducated thousands working in remote and isolated conditions building Canada's mines, logging camps and railway (Draper & Carere, 1989). Welton (2018) draws upon the work of George Cook (2018) to explain that the government would not intercede, and that the churches, labour unions and universities could not intercede, and so Fitzpatrick intervened, in what was a social pioneering manner. The Canadian Reading Camp later became Frontier College (founded 1919), which remains in existence today (Draper & Carere, 1989).

The province of Nova Scotia is documented as having deep roots in social reformation through adult education. Within Nova Scotia's history, literacy was also used at a community level as a tool for the common people, not only for individuals to

be able to read printed materials but also to emancipate themselves from poor economic situations through greater understanding of their society and situation, to identify oppressive barriers and determine how to take action to change their own lives (Alexander, 1997; Selman & Selman, 2009).

Beginning in the 1920's, Nova Scotia experienced the Antigonish Movement, which saw social and economic exploitation mitigated through grassroots community literacy collectives. The Antigonish Movement is one of Nova Scotia's historical movements with enduring impact on Canada and beyond, which continues into the present time. It came into being to address several inequities found within rural society of the day, and transformed the community through adult education (Alexander, 1997) while transforming adult education itself. The people in many Nova Scotian communities were living in a continued form of what could be termed as economic fiefdom, although it was a capitalist rather than a feudal system, toiling in coal mines, steel mills, poverty-stricken fisheries, and farms (Lotz & Welton, 1987). The climate was ripe for social change for several reasons: people's desperate economic conditions were deepened by the Depression of the 1930s, along with continued rural outmigration into the cities. In addition to the impacts of World War I, numerous factors created a social climate that was open to change initiated through the passion of educators and local Catholic leaders, Father Jimmy Tompkins, and Father Moses Coady. St. Francis Xavier University was an initiative of the diocese in Antigonish and was founded in 1853 to support the Catholic church's goals of remaining relevant through science, developing democratic citizens and reforming liberalism (Lotz & Welton, 1987). The main employment for many of the settlers in the rural areas on the Eastern Shore of Nova

Scotia at that time was fishing and farming, but they struggled to make a living. The settlers owned their land but found it difficult to sell any produce beyond what was needed for their own needs in the marketplace. Fishermen were at an even larger disadvantage having to deal with a monopoly of the market who would only buy through brokers.

Through the 1920s members of the Antigonish diocese had been advocating for a university extension department, one that could provide the people with education to support them through the challenging changing times (Forbes, 1979). Although the Antigonish Movement began in 1918, it was not until 1928 when the Extension Department of the University was founded that the Antigonish Movement was formalized. Over time small community reading groups & networks were established with common goals. Through the 20's Father Coady and Father Tompkins were traveling to develop networks and garner support. The study clubs that were developed were effective in gathering large groups, and over time through collaborative approaches the Antigonish educators brought forward an instructional method which allowed locals to identify the issues that they want to act on. From these collaborations came credit unions, co-operative fisheries, and farms, co-operative housing, and stores, along with the study clubs. "The Antigonish educators believed that persons, awakened through education, would develop the strategies for co-operative economic institutions" (Lotz & Welton, 1987, p. 105). The Antigonish movement provided the community with liberatory power through adult education taught from a critical perspective, as existing power structures were challenged to provide more socially just opportunities for economic development.

The educational awareness of participants in the Antigonish movement meant that they were able to identify what was oppressing them and helped them to identify actions to empower themselves and their community. For Romanow (2007), the Antigonish movement was successful under Father Cody's guiding principles, because what made "the economic sphere work is the democratic concept of group action (p.48). White and King (2017) emphasize the impact of Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement, on pioneering "the field of emancipatory education" (p. 55) in general, but especially in Nova Scotia. Unfortunately, despite emancipatory adult education being pivotal in Nova Scotia's history, there is still a need for it to exist, as many critical educators would plead that programing focused on critical thought is still required. In recent decades, however, the literacy programming in Nova Scotia has evolved to focus less on local community, an individual's liberation, or literacy for critical thought, and more on educational certification for the purpose of economics. Over time, there has been a shift of literacy's purpose in Nova Scotia towards a more neoliberal bias which emphasizes literacy as the tool for individuals to become a form of human capital, as opposed to being used as a tool of social reform, to support the development of critical thought or engaged citizenry.

Current Context

Currently in Nova Scotia, adult literacy programs continue to be commodified for the purpose of developing humans capable of marching to the beat of a neoliberal capitalist ideology, rather than education for empowerment and reform, what Paulo Freire called consciousness raising, or "conscientizacao" (Freire,1970, p. 35). Consciousness raising, according to Freire, requires literacy programming for active

learning and reflection, which will be discussed in more detail in later in the chapter. As educators, we must know where we have been to know where we are going- so we begin with looking at Canada for greater social context to understand how its literacy policies and programs are situated.

Canada is a social democratic welfare state; like other provinces in Canada, the Nova Scotia provincial government is financed by the taxpaying public. Employees of the province are referred to as public servants, including democratically elected politicians, who are employed to serve on behalf of the citizens of Nova Scotia. Therefore, legislation and policies developed by public servants regarding literacy should be developed to meet the needs of Nova Scotia citizens. However, Nova Scotia's situation is similar to that of other provinces, where as Rubenson (2013) states, the "adult learning policy space has been colonized by the workplace literacy and skills agenda" (p.242). Over the years, across Canada, provinces' financial support for literacy programs have taken a backseat to the economic need to increase employment skills caused by their participation in the federal Labour Market Development Agreements. Granted, there is a juggling act for public servants, elected members included, to administer provincial strategies for the good of its citizens, while complying with supranational economies in the hopes of generating the economy; it is a tricky balancing act which lies at the root of the motivating question driving the focus of this thesis. As was mentioned in the introduction, if Nova Scotia's adult literacy policies and strategies are focused on the province's interaction with the global economy, are the needs of the adult learners impacted by such administration being met, and what should the purpose of adult literacy be?

Evolving Definitions of Literacy

The word literacy is often understood as an individual's ability to read and write, but the act of learning to read and write does not happen in a vacuum. I will begin the discussion of literacy philosophies with critical literacy, as that is an integral piece to understand adult literacy. Following a brief overview of Freire's critical literacy is a discussion about New Literacies, a framework which proposes combining the local and the global for a more powerful literacy rather than romanticizing local at the expense of the global. The philosophies of multiliteracies are considered last, which focuses on critical literacy through a non-linear approach with the inclusion of alternative technologies, and the use of multi-modalities to support meaning making amongst learners.

Critical Literacy

Paulo Freire was a critical theorist, Brazilian educator, philosopher, and activist. Freire began his teaching career teaching Portuguese and studied law. Paulo Freire proposed literacy studies should be taught with a particular focus on relations between discourse and social elements such as power, ideologies, institutions, and social identities (Fairclough, 2013).

According to Freire (1970), the world is not a prescribed reality to which one must adapt. In his books, Freire set forth the problems facing adult literacy at the time when he was writing, and many of these concerns are still relevant today. Freire attested that the purpose of being human is to fulfil ones' greater good, or their individual humanization. For Freire, humanization is achieved at a level of critical consciousness which can only be reached through dialogue, not limited to speech, but the use of word

in both reflection and action, that individuals seek from within themselves as well as in the world. Freire (1970) writes in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that even if an adult is illiterate, they are not empty vessels to be filled with an educator's ideology laden words. Illiterate adults come to their educator having experienced the world, and they come with their own knowledge that has not yet been reflected on in a manner which allows them to orient themselves within the world to which they are being acted upon. Freire refers to 'banking style education' when the learner is treated like a passive vessel to be filled by the educator, similar to a bank account. The banking style educational system creates and maintains the alienation of people, along with oppression through the dispatching of knowledge without the creation of and reflection through dialogue (Freire, 1970). Language is based on and is constantly evolving in relation to the world in which one lives; this is what Freire refers to as "conscientization" (Freire, 1998, p. 221). Conscientization is an educational process in which a learner critically analyses the world in which they live, and the social and cultural practices that have molded them. Individuals may reflect upon this critical learning and take action for change.

Complementary to Fairclough's dialectical organization of social practices, Freire (Leonard & McLaren, 1993) developed a method for teaching literacy in which the learner identifies a form of coding by the individuals within and of their society. These codes are called "generative themes" (p.110) which when assembled create a "thematic universe" (Freire, 1970, p.96). The generative themes are inclusive of the language one learns to identify their reality, the level at which they comprehend their reality and their orientation within society. The thematic universe is the totality of the generative themes.

It is here, through generative themes that Freire (1970) presents the beginning of education for a 'practice of freedom'. According to Freire (1970), humans are the only creature with consciousness, as an animal cannot confront itself nor transform the world configuration in which it lives. Literacy, according to Freire (1970), therefore, is a continuous task of first learning language to truly know one's world, to identify "limit-situations" (p.99) or oppressions and to negate and overcome these.

> It is as transforming and creative beings that humans, in their permanent relations with reality, produce not only material goods-tangible objects- but also social institutions, ideas and concepts. Through their continuing praxis, men and women simultaneously create history and become historical-social beings. (p.103)

This quote supports the argument that educational programming, which includes literacy programming, should be liberatory education. The educator or coordinator creates a space for the individual to establish their "limit-situation" and begin to "decode" the object reality through dialectical praxis.

When one does not have a capacity to name the social forces acting upon them, nor situate themselves in this reality, the world is being given to them by those who are benefiting from the social structures, those with power. Freire argues that literacy is knowledge, and knowledge is power. Power lies in embedded ideologies for those that the ideologies benefit, while at the same time power lies in how one forms their own identity through placement of themselves within their world through knowing their world. As stated by Freire, there is no truly neutral education. If this is true, one might ask,

what is the point of education? Freire would argue the point of education is freedom through knowledge. Reflection on the world in which they live which provides the ability for citizens to choose their path. Educational policies which lead to programing to support critical thought and reflection would support a more beneficial approach to education. Although neoliberal policies have been shifting the objectives of literacy away from the purpose of fostering human freedom, as Freire suggested, there are pockets of resistance that challenge a neoliberal framework for learning, such as the New Literacy Studies.

New Literacy Studies

The "New Literacy Studies" (NLS) began in the 1980's and consists of a body of work across multiple disciplines which focuses on literacy situated in social and cultural practices. Around the time that the NLS was being developed, literacy was all too often seen as a cognitive skill or mental function, which is a very narrow view of literacy. Alternatively, NLS theorised that literacy is based in local practice which generates pluralities of literacies. NLS has two main principles: "the notion of 'social literacies" and the idea that "language is dialogic" (Tett, et al., 2012, p.16). Literacies have communities of social practice which furthermore have literacy practices within various domains of social life, such as in religion, education, and finance. An individual learning to read and write is influenced by the social context and social practices in which they learn. For the NLS, at the heart of social literacies is the learner and the learners' ability to negotiate their literacy, to be able to acknowledge their literacy experiences and establish their literacy goals. The word 'literacy' denotes education, social status, power, value, and too often does not reflect the social system in which it is fostered (Gee,

1991). Secondly, and complimentary to the first tenet, language is dialogic, which means language is part of a dialogue and dialogue is an exchange. Freire would argue this is important as the exchange is fundamental to a learner's praxis, which is action and reflection and that "without communication there can be no true education" (Freire,1970, p.93). Acknowledging that literacy is learned through social practice, while recognizing such social practices function within dialogue, empowers the learner to participate and negotiate their "meaning-making" (Tett, et al., 2012, p.17).

Multiliteracies

Recognising and understanding the embedded ideologies and power in today's semiotics is the challenge of educators and responsibility of all citizens. The meaning-making and transmission of social, cultural, and economic discourse perpetuates inequities as everyday normalcies, historically exemplified in the gendered division of domestic and labour workforce, segregation of schools in the 60's, and the representation of Indigenous peoples as ignorant savages.

The multiliteracies framework for literacy of the New London Group brings to light the multiple modes of meaning-making (Linguistic, Visual, Audio, Gestural, and Spatial) as well as a literacy pedagogy in which those modes are an actively changing resource utilized by the meaning-maker to best represent themselves (culturally) and their purpose. The New London Group is a collaboration of educators, researchers and discourse experts who came together in a shared concern over "appropriate literacy teaching in the context of" "the new demands being placed upon people as makers of meaning in changing workplaces, as citizens in changing public spaces and in the changing dimensions of our community lives" (Cope et al., p.p.3-4, 2000). Despite these

changes occurring in our society, a learner will traverse their shifting world when enabled to practise praxis, through reflection and creation of their own meaning making.

Gunther Kress, a member of the New London Group, addresses the inadequacies of Western semiotic theories founded in static language technology structures, which historically have been enforced on learners to be successfully literate within the prescribed dominant culture. When multiliteracies was initially developed as a theoretical and pedagogical framework in 1996 there was less discussion on digital technologies, and more focus on "how language meets with cultural and linguistic diversity" (Cope et al., p. 3, 2000). The New London Group brought forth the recognition and concern of systemic literacy requiring learners to conform to the strict language rules of acquisition to be evaluated through standardized testing, which could not and cannot account for or include, learners' differences and their situated context. With technologies evolving at an accelerated rate on a global scale, the New London Group brings forth two main concerns, first the matter of multimodal semiotic systems emerging from digital technologies: and second, global diversity of learners engaging in digital semiotics (Cope et al., 2000).

As previously mentioned, meaning making is culmination of what we have been exposed to educationally, social/culturally, and politically. When underlying ideologies are more tacit, citizens are unable to express the generalizations implied (Gee, 1991). This becomes more of a concern with the exposure of digital technology crossing multiple modes of communication. Language, which is fundamentally communication in its various forms, is contextually learned at first at home and within our community. Digital technologies increase the rate at which communication is decontextualized which

further supports distributed systems of power (Gee, 1991; Cope et al., 2000). “Dialogical opportunities for lifelong learning that address how cultural, social, and political factors impact upon educational contexts are essential to fostering critical approaches to literacy” (Holloway and Gouthro, 2020, p. 207). Considerations and inclusion for all learning styles and differences is crucial in developing a critical approach to literacy.

Literacy that is inclusive and accessible to everyone is an integral part of ensuring there is more than one story or ideology influencing educational policies. This holds true for Nova Scotia adult literacy policies as well. There are problems when policies reflect ideologies of neoliberal supranational organizations in Nova Scotian governance.

Raising the Alarm for Literacy

Through the years there have been numerous policies declaring literacy in crisis. (Gee, 1991). The influence of the OECD in raising the crisis alarms began with the International Adult Literacy Survey of 1995, which “was a large-scale co-operative effort by governments, national statistical agencies, research institutions and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development” (OECD, 2000, p.ix). According to Smythe, Canadian Adult Literacy for much of the first decade of the 2000's has been dominated by adult literacy measurements of international organizations, and from these data, policy discourse has emerged on what defines adult literacy and assessment. The report *Literacy in the Information Age* (OECD, 2000) developed by OECD from the ALS data, stated the purpose of the OECD as follows:

[The OECD] Shall promote policies designed:

• to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy.

• to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development; and

• to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations. (p.ii)

This is a clear statement of a global economic agenda and demonstrates how neoliberalism shapes the objectives of this organization. Allow me to restate that seeking economic stability is a worthy goal and reiterate the importance of asking how important it is to consider the impact of such neoliberal ideologies at the local level within a Nova Scotian community. With supranational organizations developing global literacy policies for individual countries to implement, it is important to question what constitutes acceptable literacy pedagogy for individual citizens of socioeconomically, culturally, and politically diverse backgrounds. Fairclough's (1992) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyze Nova Scotia's policy documents to identify the influencing neoliberal ideologies being applied through supranational organizations. Fairclough's CDA is explained in the following chapter, along with examples of application for analysis to prime the reader for Chapter Four.

Neoliberalism

Why is it that Nova Scotia's literacy programs and policies, which have deep roots in social justice and democratic movements, are now laden with the language of

finance and economics? Two important elements of my argument are the influences of discourse which have grown out of liberalism's ideology together with the economic theory of capitalism.

The basic neoliberal ideologies of free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital, and freedom of investment, combined with capitalism's policies of amassing privatized wealth, has led to a zenith of monopolies and control. Capitalism cannot and should not been studied as a theory of market economics alone, as the repercussions are far reaching into society. According to Bruce Scott (2006), political authorities in a capitalistic state have two responsibilities: one is to execute and preserve the existing system, the second is to foster enough power and votes to overtake the legislature and change the rules as the new power requires. In his dissertation, Scott MacPhail (2019) concisely highlights the historical influences involved in what is now adult education in Nova Scotia, and for my argument, literacy.

> Establishing and exploring the point of emergence of modern adult education allows for an examination of how the interplay of liberalism and capitalism's ideologies have shaped and shifted adult education discourses over time, from a liberal interpretation of freedom for individuals to a neoliberal monetization of adult education and the rise of homo economicus. (pg. 41)

MacPhail's insight on the execution and preservation of the reigning ideology is that it serves to monetize education and create individuals of human capital. The concept of 'human capital' is accredited to an economist, Gary S. Becker, who introduced the term in his 1957 Ph.D. Dissertation. In subsequent writing, Becker,

(1962) explains that he was interested in the “activities that influence future real income through imbedding of resources in people” (p. 9). Imbedding those educational resources in people is a key phrase; it reflects the shifting discourse which identifies the person as a resource to be treated like a commodity (e.g., “human resources departments”); if they are not trading high enough, they have less value. The concept of human capital is an important element of economic theory which is fueling today’s education policies. At first blush, a political agenda of developing the Canadian or Nova Scotian economy is a worthy goal; but history has demonstrated time and again that goals driven by economic and political actors of the select few, rather than the community and its citizens, does not generate wealth distribution, instead it furthers segregation of classes (Amin, 2017; Horton, 2013; Harvey, 2005).

The entanglements of concepts and origins of neoliberalism, capitalism and literacy was mentioned in the introduction briefly. “Neo-liberalism is a term that has come to be used with a lack of precision in contemporary political debates. What it stands for and what it explains is both confused and confusing.” (Turner, 2008, p.2). To untangle these ideas, I begin with liberalism, which has a multitude of influential beginnings, as attributed by Fallon (2019). Fallon begins by pointing out there are two liberal traditions, liberal education, and liberalism. Fallon begins by pointing out there are two liberal traditions, liberal education, and liberalism. The first, for the individual, involved learning through the liberal arts, going back as far as ancient Greece. The second which was basically political in nature, and can be attributed to John Locke, focused on the separation of church and civil sate, which was at the centre of Enlightenment reforms (Fallon, 2019; Farrell, 1986). Fallon accredited the origin of the

word “liberal” to Cicero. Cicero used the phrase “Artes Liberales” meaning general or complete education; the later addition to the definition of liberal arts was from an English priest Alcuin, the word “trivium, meaning three-fold education which encompassed language: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. With the passage of time, trivium began to be called simply the Arts. Within the same vein, Farrell (1986) stated the humanist liberal perspective involves education for the sake of knowledge and reason. The purpose of the liberal approach to education is that individuals should have a well-rounded education, which would provide one with the capacity to philosophize; to place oneself within the world; to tie the natural world to an “invisible world of ideas” (p.13); so that people can think through their experiences. Over time, however, this became confused with the political traditionalist perspective on liberalism. Political liberalism, according to Farrell, was a product of the church, which sought to reform society under their norms and values. When the two liberal perspectives converged it created the idea of a liberal education i.e., the knowledgeable individual equipped with their common logic to reform society.

In feudal times there was not a centre of economic or political power so much as the distribution of lands by a ruling monarch in which each manor was ruled in a way that was nominally independent, while still greatly influenced by the church. For an extended period, the church did have extensive control over society through tax collection, judicial authority, and societal norms. With the rise of the Industrial Revolution and as the value of logic and science gaining ascendency through the period of the Enlightenment, the power of the church gradually declined. In the 1800s, social support services were auctioned off by the crown to organizations at the lowest cost.

The organizations to which the social support services were auctioned, were preambles to current non-profits organizations.

It is the overlay of the ideologies of traditional liberalism along with capitalism, most notably during the industrial revolution, which brings us to today's neoliberal framework that is influencing adult education (MacPhail, 2019). The concept of individual rights and freedoms over support for the social democratic collective has become more and more pervasive; the rights and freedom of the individual are integral pieces of neoliberalism discourse. Over the past thirty to forty years, governments around the world, Canada included, have increasingly focused adult literacy programing to align with neoliberal ideologies of globalizing markets (Gibb, 2008; Hursh & Henderson, 2011). In his book *L'essence du Neo-liberalisme*, Pierre Bourdieu (1998) has aptly referred to "Neo-liberalism as a political project for the reconstruction of society in accord with the demands of an unrestrained global capitalism" (as cited in Fairclough, 2000 pg. 147).

Neoliberal ideologies claim that through unfettered markets and minimal interference of the state a balance of distribution of wealth will occur (Turner, 2008). Thus far, this distribution of wealth has not occurred around the world and the intervention of programming by organizations such as the OECD demonstrates the level of interference a supranational organization can have on the policies within our own nation-state. The problem of cultivating literacy programs designed to fulfill the objectives set forth by neoliberal global economic policies is that the purpose of the program shifts away from the needs of the citizens of the province, to the needs of the global market. Correspondingly, this shift in policy and program development places

the focus of power and decision-making with global economic influences rather than with the local people, such as citizens of Nova Scotia (Shenhav et al., 2012; Hursh & Henderson, 2011).

We, as a democratically voting population, need to be conscious of how much global politics and economics influence provincial education and consequently our society. The dominant ideology informing the democratic political system in Nova Scotia and impacting adult literacy legislation is neoliberalism. Neoliberalism garners strength and support of citizens through their belief in democratic freedoms and individual liberties. Neoliberal ideological discourse has become so pervasive and tacit that democratic freedoms and personal security are at risk of being redefined as one's ability to successfully participate in the open-market global economy. Neoliberalism, as defined by Harvey (2005),

> is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force, if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. (p.2)

An individualistic and economic approach thus far has not created a more democratic society or followed through on its promises of greater freedoms (Harvey, 2005). Often freedom, in terms of individual rights and civil liberties, are thought of as a child of democracy, if not synonymous with democracy. The discourse of democracy has become steeped in the neoliberalism concepts such as individual freedoms, and rights, to the point of near imperceptibility. The combining of these systems has created an inaccurate association of democratic rights to neoliberal attributions. Over time, neoliberalism has been redefining the public idea of a democratic society.

As a country, Canada is democratic in how it functions as a social system. Translated from the Greek origins, democracy literally means a society which is ruled by the people (Miller & William, 2012), and a democratic social system is one in which the wealth is redistributed to support equity of prosperity. Civil societies are ones in which public citizens are not just engaged in but are also involved in influencing the elements which form their collective – such as politics, culture, and education. For Habermas (1996), this means focusing on the public citizens' communicative power to make changes through democratic dialogue and action. In Canada, if the political systems are supposed to be ruled through (the communicative power) of the people, the adult education and literacy social systems should be designed in a way which develops critically educated and engaged citizens. A democratic social system should generate governing rules which provide programs that are supportive and accessible to all its citizens to meet the objective of a civil society.

Currently Canadian literacy strategies are greatly influenced through Canada's membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

At this point in history the influences, or interference, of international, or supranational organizations on nation states should be common knowledge. Following the Second World War, advanced western countries readily joined together in international governing organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to rebuild and stabilize economies while also controlling the future possibilities of experiencing another communist wave (MacPhail, 2019; Harvey, 2005; Sharma, 2013). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 with one of its founding aims to increase world literacy, in conjunction with social, political, and economic reform. UNESCO received much of its funding from the member states, however, the WB did not provide funding to this endeavour until the 1960's as the WB did not see literacy as an investment with measurable returns. When the WB began funding education, it was for secondary education projects initially. However, by 1961 UNESCO began shifting their literacy focus as leaders of WB recognized that literacy was not only an economic project but also a political project. Initially UNESCO was being compelled to change the words of their campaign from "mass literacy" due to its association to Cuba's Communist "mass literacy" campaign. With the continuation of the Cold War the WB saw the success of literacy campaigns in communist Cuba and recognized the opportunity to wage their own political literacy strike (Dorn & Ghodsee, 2012). From its inception the WB focused on program and projects based on loans. The President of the WB, George Woods, coordinated with UNESCO to expand literacy effort fueled by Human Capital Theory and the political war on Communism. By the 1980's the President of the WB, Robert McNamara, the former US Secretary of Defense, received approval to introduce

Structured Adjustment Lending loans, which were non-project loans on conditions of "macroeconomic policy reforms, usually centered on the liberalization of trade and price controls" (Sharma, 2013, p. 668). What better way to enforce an agenda of ideologies than to tie required outcomes to funding?

As indicated by David Henderson, a former Head of the Economics and Statistics Department of the OECD, the liberalization of world trade was specified in Article 1 of the convention of OECD during its inception in 1960. Since its beginning, the OECD has maintained the focus of "liberalization of cross-border transactions" (Henderson, 1996, p.11) while expanding the areas of economic and social activities. For example, the OECD does not focus solely on the global economy through financial markets but influences societies through the development of social policies such as public school and adult education policies. The OECD is the presiding forum in which capitalistic economies produce, legitimate, and disseminate adult education policies, which are further supported through the data collection provided by international standardized assessments known as the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) (Mahon & McBride, 2009)." PIAAC focuses on three domains considered basic for adults living and working in globalised industrial and 'knowledge' economies: namely, literacy, numeracy, and problem solving in technology-rich environments" (Tsataroni & Evens, 2014, p.168). Therefore, each nation participating in PIAAC implements a standardized curriculum for monolithic competencies and conformity.

A concern for adult literacy programing at the provincial level is how international policy and discourses permeate into the daily activities of adult literacy learners (Ball,

2012; Smythe, 2015). International surveys, such as the PIAAC were conducted to provide a summary of the population's literacy of those participating nations, not to be used to define literacy of an individual within their daily lives (Smythe, 2015). International surveys provide the data, which is used to found new forms of governance, by such organizations as the OECD, the development of their educational policies, backed by the survey data (Tsataroni & Evens, 2014). However, the surveys tested individuals in the context only found in the test, in standardized performance not the social practices found in day-to-day life. The population surveys, International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) 1995, Adult Literacy Skills Survey (ALLS) 2005 and the Literacy and Essential Skills (LES) framework were intended to give a picture of the larger population and do not work as indicators of individual abilities in a practical situation (Darville 2011, as cited by Smythe, 2015, p.8). PIAAC's standardized testing of curriculum provides a statistical assignment of a country's' adherence to assimilation of the curriculum or pedagogy.

The source of influences on Nova Scotia's literacy programs is a central element of this thesis which will be demonstrated by the use of Fairclough's CDA. Fairclough's framework for CDA, along with how it has been applied in the field of Education, is explained in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Critical Discourse Analysis

Faircloughian Framework

There are many different versions of discourse analysis, drawing on a wide range of theoretical traditions in social theory (van Dijk, 1998; Titscher et al., 2000). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been applied by various researchers to establish ideologies, power, and social construction through education. Norman Fairclough offers a comprehensive model of critical discourse analysis that examines how varying forms of discourse found in society such as texts, policy documents, and websites, reflect societal values. The framework that I use for my analysis draws extensively upon his work. I begin this chapter by providing context for Fairclough's dialectical-relational (Wodak, 2016) framework through the semiotics of discourse. I explain Fairclough's CDA by providing context of the dialectical-relational framework, first through Fairclough's overarching discoursal elements and then by providing examples of how CDA has been used by other educational researchers. The elements of Fairclough's CDA begins with orders of discourse, the discussion moves into genres, discourses, and styles, with the last element being research themes.

Following the explanations and definitions of the research themes, I provide examples of the research themes in other pieces of work to further demonstrate how they can be applied in the field of Education. The examples offer clarification of how Fairclough's CDA elements will be applied in my next chapter to develop an analysis of Nova Scotia's policy documents in the field of literacy and adult learning. The application of Fairclough's framework to Nova Scotia's educational policies is to

highlight influence of what he refers to as “new order” (Fairclough, 2000, p.147). The new order alludes to neoliberalism’s new capitalism which demonstrates how the broader society is shaped by the effects of unrestrained global markets. Ideological research themes will be used to demonstrate the four stages through the power and provisions of a system that can be found in language according to Fairclough’s framework. Fairclough emphasises that his CDA is not a strict structure or approach but is to be used based on the research at hand with other forms of social analysis. The four-stage framework that Fairclough has designed directs researchers 1) to focus on the semiotic aspects of a social wrong and the connection to other interdisciplinary influences; 2) to identify the way in which societal barriers are constructed to maintain the social wrong; 3) to consider whether the social order needs the social wrong; and 4) to identify possible ways past the obstacle (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Fairclough’s application of CDA identifies historical and social influences with the use of linguistics of power and influence. Fairclough’s “orders of discourse” will be defined and explained to demonstrate the use of societal practices which establish implicit rules on how we communicate.

Orders of Discourse

In Fairclough’s (2003) theory of discourse, “orders of discourse” are the social practices which organize how we communicate in any given domain. Digital technologies are altering those orders of discourses and the language of new capitalism appears unequivocally in Fairclough’s work as a driving force in shifting social practices, the marketization across social domains, and semiotics. According to Fairclough (2000) “the neo-liberal order is a distinctive network of practices part of whose distinctiveness

is the way semiosis figures as an element of its material processes and in the reflexive construction of these processes" (p.147). A simple example is the use of the social media platform for sharing images, Instagram. Instagram takes a comforting social practice of capturing a moment and bridges the visual expression from a local situation, across social domains such as the nations, culture, language, economies, and political stages. The images being shared are not just for social interactions but for advertising, transforming the sharing of pictures and experiences to a marketing of lifestyle. The language of new capitalism commodifies knowledge, whether that knowledge is being designed or consumed. The questions that must follow are a) whose lifestyle is being communicated, and b) which culture, politics, social practices, and discourse are being sold?

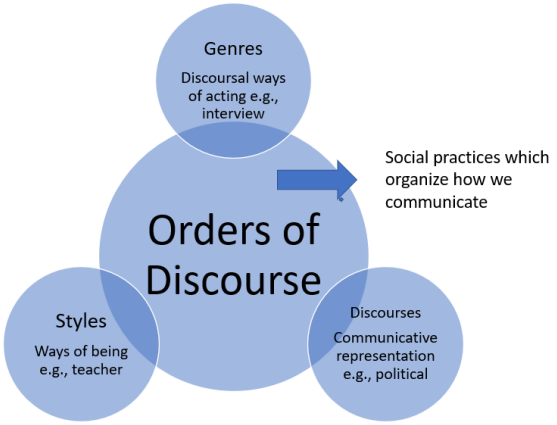
Genres, Discourses & Styles

Fairclough identifies several different terms in his model that he uses to provide a socially oriented analysis of written and spoken language. The terms used in my thesis provide a frame in which social research can be organized to locate social constructs within texts. Layered in the semiosis of orders of discourse are Fairclough's three discoursal practices which he explains as "genres, discourses, and styles" that are ways in which communication "enacts" ideologies through representation (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9). I will use Fairclough's three discoursal practices of genres, discourses, and styles, to present capitalism's impact on social practices. Genres are discoursal ways of acting i.e., an interview vs a report; discourses are different communicative ways of representing the world, i.e., political discourse; and lastly, styles are ways of being in a social event i.e., a teacher or politician. "The main point is that the distinction between

the three aspects of meaning and between genres, discourses, and styles, is a necessary analytical distinction which does not preclude them from "flowing into" one another in various ways" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 29). Although Fairclough provides three elements of social practices for "action", "representation" and "identification", it is for the purpose of analytical social research. They are not discrete elements and are dialectically related within social representation, which is demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Fairclough's Elements of Discourse



Social Research Themes

In his book *Analysing Discourse* (2003), Fairclough illustrates a number of social research themes under new capitalism; for Fairclough this is not to focus strictly on economic changes but rather to investigate the impact that those capitalistic changes have had on numerous aspects of society such as politics and education. The social research themes under new capitalism which are most applicable to this research paper are: ideologies; governance; globalization; hybridity; space-time; legitimation; character types; hegemonic struggles; and societal informalization. The themes under new

capitalism are not finite elements and are therefore not designed to be analyzed as though they are disconnected. Ideology has been briefly mentioned previously, however, it is important to break this down further as it is a theme under new capitalism. “Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003, p.9). This definition is foundational for my thesis question. When ideologies are represented in educational policy discourse which then becomes actionable in educational programs and pedagogy, there is no room for dialectics in learning unless the hidden ideologies are identified, and alternative ideologies are offered. The effect of this is to shut down conversations that may explore alternative perspectives or frameworks for understanding.

The policies that have led to today’s adult literacy programming do not happen in a vacuum, as policies are political in nature (Ball, 2012; Smythe, 2015). The theme of “hegemony” accredited to Gramsci, is identified by Fairclough as a theme is allied with ideology. The influence of ideological policies in pedagogy and the power of hegemony is succinctly explained by Brookfield (2005) who states,

> If ever the possibility of alternative values was seriously countenanced, then the system could be challenged. But if the system was accepted as a natural phenomenon needing no explanation or justification (because its essential rightness was so obvious), then the possibility of resistance evaporated. (p.73)

Hegemony is to normalize en masse an understanding of the discourse and representations of the controlling ideology, which maintains dominance and power

(Fairclough, 2003). The social research themes of hegemony and globalization are compounded, as Fairclough explains the hegemonic struggle is to “give a universal status to particular discourses and representations” (2003, p.7). This means the social constructs, social practices, and ways in which we perceive our world prevails as the collective view. Thus, the discourse of globalization legitimizes policies and actions, while creating mystification and predicting the way the world should be, and will be, once global markets are integrated (Fairclough, 2009). This suggests the discourse of globalization promoted in neoliberalism creates an argument through justification based on a future objective without providing the actualization. Ideology exists in social practice, culture, and action. As an individual we act out our ideologies in our daily lives, reflecting the order we have internalized to be true. For example, the ideology of ageism is a socially constructed negative belief about older beings and posits that aging itself is negative. This ideology can often be seen in advertisements where a twenty-year-old is promoting a product designed for individuals double their age.

The discourse of governance ideology is an influential piece to the discourse of new capitalism and globalization. Governance is “activity within an institution or organization directed at managing or regulating social practices” (Fairclough 2003, p.217), but Fairclough further explains there are “genres of governance” in critical discourse analysis which tend to link scales of influence, for example, supranational, national, and local. As previously mentioned, Fairclough points out the elements of a social practice are not discrete elements, and there is overlapping of the elements. This can be seen in the case with characters of new capitalism and through other elements such as governance. For example, a character-type identified within governance is the

"manager"; it is both a power-relation representation and an internalization. Fairclough claims there are character-types which are products of neoliberalism and globalization; two of these are identified by Fairclough: the politician, and the guru – both of which are fundamentally seen as an expert. Character-types are a form of discoursal style, ways of being or identifying which are inculcated with ideology. Alasdair Macintyre (1984), according to Fairclough "suggested that a significant part of what makes a culture distinctive is its stock in characters" (2003, p. 161). Again, a character-type falls under Fairclough's discoursal practice of 'styles' – ways of being in a social event. Fairclough identifies a few characters, along with their social identities such as the Manager, Politician and Therapist. Social identities cannot be reduced to the social definition, as they are molded by the individual who embodies the position, and according to Margret Archer (2010), molded to the extent of the individual's agency, and their capacity for "collective action and shaping social change" (Fairclough, 2003, p.160). Therefore, a character-type is developed by social practices while also influenced by the actor and their life experiences and beliefs.

Fairclough defines hybridity as "blurring of boundaries which some social theorists associate with "postmodernity" (Fairclough, 2003, p.22). Fairclough agrees with David Harvey (1990) that hybridity, space-time compression, and globalization are not finite elements to be examined, but instead are very much interconnected social practices influenced by capitalism in a postmodern world. Fairclough identifies the research themes of hybridity and space-time as genre chains within globalization. The concept of genres and genre chains are an important aspect of new capitalism. To reiterate, genres are discoursal ways of social action; in new capitalism, social actions

(genres) are coalesced. The coalescence of social actions under the research theme globalization is a key demonstration of loss of influence at the local level. Space-time are social constructs, different social orders construct space-times differently, and constructions of space-time are dialectically interconnected with other social elements in the construction of social orders as networks of social practice" (Fairclough, 2003, p 224). All three themes (hybridity, space-time, and globalization) can be witnessed in the everyday, from discourse to social institutions. At the local level, although physical institutions are part of social processes, they are also entities unto themselves.

Society functions while surrounded by, and impacted by, physical institutions. For example, universities are partially funded and thus impacted by the provincial government, provincial politics are influenced by the federal government, and the federal government is also influenced internationally, for example by the legal instruments Canada has agreed to by joining the OECD. David Harvey (1990) asserts that the idea of the saying there is "a time and place for everything," is common-sense or common practice, but with the internet and global discourse exposure daily, this no longer holds true. For a simple example, in the past the genre of political would see a politician using the discourse of government, law, or at a minimum, the discourse of higher education. Members of society would expect their politicians to demonstrate a higher level of intellectual prowess- this was the social practice of a politician. A very clear demonstration of genre coalescences was instituted through the election of Donald Trump, a businessman and reality TV character, who actioned the discourse of such within the highest political representation of the western culture, the office of the president.

The remaining themes to be presented are legitimation, and character-type. According to Max Weber “every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy” (Weber, 1964, as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p.88) and that “much of the work of legitimation is textual, though texts vary considerably in how explicit or implicit legitimation is” (Fairclough, 2003, p.219). Legitimation is a “semantic relation of purpose” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98), the strategic positioning of ideology within linguistics of argumentation, that provides justification of a given social, political, moral, or economic position. There are four main strategies for legitimization according to Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) (as cited in Fairclough, 2003):

1. Authorization: Legitimization by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and of person in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested

2. Rationalization: Legitimization by reference to the utility of institutionalized action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity

3. Moral Evaluation: Legitimization by reference to value systems.

4. Mythopoesis: Legitimization conveyed through narrative (p.98)

The “new order” of cew capitalism exercises legitimation to rationalize the ideology of choice, through a narrative reference to morals, traditions, authority, laws, and customs. Another aspect in Fairclough’s CDA, within the discourse of new capitalism is the dialectics of discourse, whereby “Discourses (representational meanings) [are] enacted in genres (actional meanings)” (Fairclough, 2003. p. 29). This

can be witnessed throughout the levels of documents to be analysed. Some of the terms within the discourse of new capitalism such as ‘globalization’, ‘assessment’, ‘monitoring’, ‘modernization’, ‘democracy’, ‘markets’, ‘free trade’, ‘knowledge-based economy’, ‘accountability’, ‘flexibility’, and ‘human capital’ are witnessed throughout the genres and will be used in the analysis of the Nova Scotia documents that will be examined in the next chapter - the discussion paper; provincial act & regulation; federal, and commissioned reports.

Research Themes Illustrated and Explained

Critical Discourse Analysis has been used by other scholars to develop policy analysis within the field of adult education. Norman Fairclough’s CDA has often been drawn upon in the study of the social and political impact on education policy of neoliberal influences. In this next section, I briefly overview several examples of how CDA has been used in different educational research studies, to illustrate how CDA can be used to develop a critical analysis of government policies and their impact upon various educational contexts.

Sandra Taylor (2004) uses Fairclough’s CDA in her policy analysis of language of late modernity or late capitalism, which she refers to as “new times”. The ‘new times’ consists of advanced globalization and capitalism, founded in knowledge-based economies and contemporary technologies, all of which is modifying semiosis and creating an advanced form of global socialization. For Taylor, the “new times” (2004, p. 433) has created greater importance of language and the use of language, which has resulted in a mixing of genres, discourses, and styles. The amalgamation of genres, discourses and styles, also masks the marginalization of active citizen semiosis. There

is an abundance of social scientists' publications and research adamant about the importance of acknowledging language, learning, and discourse within the larger social context. Learning and discourse cannot be removed from the greater context, nor should it be isolated to knowing skills or rules of a language, rather it should also be seen as a set of social practices (Gee, 1991; Fairclough, 2013).

Allan Luke's (1995) article explores the political influence within text and discourse in the education system. Luke employs CDA on education structures in postmodern times in the United States to demonstrate how a differential of power and subjectivity is produced through curriculum and aptitude assessments. Luke notes that CDA should be studied within society and "that human subjects engage in the negotiation of knowledge, identity, and social relations in the everyday patterns of institutional life" (1995, p.12). This statement is key when acknowledging such negotiations within the institutions which educate citizens, whether youth or adult, on what is acceptable knowledge and determine the value of that citizen based on their standardized evaluations. Luke refers to the sociolinguistic work of James Paul Gee. Gee (1991) asked the important question "How do people come by the Discourses they are members of?" For Gee (1991) it is a combination of "Acquisition" and "Learning" that follows ones' initial enculturation:

> Acquisition is a process of acquiring something subconsciously by exposure to models, a process of trial and error, and practice within social groups, without formal teaching…in natural settings which are meaningful and functional… Learning is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching (though not necessarily from someone officially designated a teacher)

> or through certain life-experiences that trigger conscious reflection. This teaching or reflection involves explanation and analysis that is breaking down the thing to be learned into its analytic parts. (p.146)

CDA provides the framework to question the use of discourse to engrain ideologies within social practice.

The Canadian Federal Government is no stranger to developing ideology in social practice through ideological strategies tied to funding. Amy Metcalfe and Tara Fenwick's (2008) research focused on the power of discourse within the Canadian federal government's strategies and policies. Metcalfe and Fenwick show how higher education's competitiveness and research purpose is being influenced through the meta-narrative of the knowledge economy and Human Capital Theory. Metcalfe and Fenwick highlight the disbursement of the federal policy discourse within Calls for Proposals by defining what will constitute research, along with outcomes of undefined innovation through partnership. They demonstrate how expectations for knowledge production are shaped to reinforce a neoliberal ideology within the very process of applying for research funding.

Jane Mulderrig (2011) provides a semiotic approach demonstrating the dialectical relationship of the language of governance in education policy and the influence on the economic, political, and social activities of liberal states in the United Kingdom. Mulderrig employed multiple semiotic approaches in her article, *The Grammar of Governance,* to demonstrate how use of language in policy becomes coercive within an individual's volition. This is also an example of the societal informalization theme

identified by Fairclough as “the shift away from explicit hierarchies” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 76). Muldering’s example demonstrates a blurring of responsibilities and separation between government and public citizens. The term “Managing Actions” is a term coined by Mulderrig, which references the discursive resources used by political parties over roughly thirty odd years. Mulderrig showed how political parties over time shift language used in subtle yet impactful manners; for example, from referencing the government to referencing we – making the language of governance appear to be owned by the people. “Managing Actions involve complex lines of agency and are frequently highly abstract” (Mulderrig, 2011, p.51). Mulderrig goes on to demonstrate several semiotic codes which obscurely lay actions on those individuals to which the policy is applied (managed actor) while placing agency with the government (manager). Mulderrig furthers this argument by offering examples. For instance, in the language of agency, the freedom and autonomy of the “managed actor” is covertly subverted with language that implies the manager has created the opportunity and supported the successful outcome, and that without the manager, the managed actor would be unsuccessful. In the case of marketization, using a banker style education, the manager delegates responsibilities of action to the students, parents, and teachers, while maintaining agency via a managing role monitoring outputs and outcomes.

Leona English and Catherine Irving (2015; 2008) researched the influence of international policy as demonstrated in the practice of feminist research. English and Irving demonstrate the themes of hybridity, globalization, and space-time compression in their respective articles. In the first article (2015), feminist discourse (ways of representing) develops first through the recognition of the social practice of gender roles

(the genre, ways of acting) and then through the blurring of gender roles as a result of the advocacy of women's daily struggles and the development of inclusionary policies. Feminist discourses are then enacted and enforced by individuals, politicians, educators, or advocacy groups such as National Action Committee on the Status of Women (styles, ways of acting).

English and Irving explore the intersection of policy, practice, and the financing for women's adult education and activism; this intersection is an example of discourse hybridity. English and Irving simultaneously focus on globalization and space-time compression. One clear example of the space-time compression is the representation of time, place, and space in the following quote: "For some voices, such as Sara Carpenter (2012), the vision for adult education involves reaching back to Marx to see how their theories can advance an equitable feminist agenda" (English & Irving, 2015, p. 3). This is not to suggest that time-space is reducible to text alone but the creation of dimension within the analysis, connecting previous social practice to future social change in policy, practice, and learning illustrates the time-space genre chain.

Their second article, *Partnering for Research,* (2008) highlights the use of funding to compel partnerships between institutions and the subsequent impact on women researchers and educational actions. Their analysis of "social relations of power operating in knowledge generation processes, especially as they affect feminist researchers in adult education" (p.107) provides an admirable testimony of scales of influence. Genres of governance, according to Fairclough "through which organizations communicate with individuals, are pervasively characterized by simulated social relations which…tend to mystify social hierarchy and social distance" (Fairclough, 2003

p.76). Fairclough's statement supports English and Irving's research, demonstrating ideology in discourse and the power influence from an international level to the domestic.

Rebecca English (2019) applied Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to the Queensland Education Act amendment in a demonstration, again, of how discourse can shift power and agency. English uses Fairclough's CDA when exposing how discourse in policy actuated to an arduous registration for home schooling which impeded rights of parents to define their child's education and jeopardized their access to government funding, while discrediting home education and empowering the institutional education system. English provides a fragment of the Queensland Act, in which two forms of legitimation "Moral Evaluation" and "Rationalization" is evidenced through the statement "the child must be seen to be receiving a high-quality education" with no further explanation of what high quality means. The Education Act was amended with no consultation with the parents of children who were home schooled. Prior to the amendment, parents could apply to home school their children by providing an educational philosophy. Following the amendment, English indicated through the elimination of that particular part of the text, the parents' ability to report with an educational philosophy was removed. The purpose of the replacement sentence implicitly suggests that whatever the requirement the government has deemed necessary is of an agreed end for all students to be highly educated and that an educational philosophy such as self-directed learning is not valid. "It also approaches education as a list of inputs, rather than a relationship between learner and their world, consistent with unschooling approaches" (English, 2019). English's research

substantiates the expansion of the institutional education system or “banking” concept of education into the homes of home-educators which demonstrates reach of power of a given institutions’ ideologies. This substitution of the learner’s education within their world, in this instance, within their very own homes, acutely highlights Freire’s emphasis on the importance for learners to know words within their world, to know their own discourse and not to be oppressed unknowingly through the transferring of prescribed information that is only valued upon regurgitation.

The numerous applications of critical discourse analysis within the field of education confirm Fairclough’s stance on the discursive attributes of policy, the influence of policy and importance of critical discourse analysis in relation to ideological objectives. The following chapter will use a CDA analysis to demonstrate the impact of neoliberal ideologies occurring in Nova Scotia’s adult literacy policies.

Chapter Four

Analysis of Nova Scotia Adult Education Documents

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, when literacy is referred to as the ability to read and write, this creates an implied quantitative skill which resides within the individual (Gee, 1991). I contest that Nova Scotia adult literacy policies, and subsequent programming has been formalized into measurable standardized learning, with the side effect of generating "economies of student worth" (Ball, 2012 p. 29).

Using critical discourse theory, a semiotic analysis of adult education documents will be developed to explore how Fairclough's social research themes: hegemonic struggles; governance; societal informalization; globalization; hybridity; space-time; legitimation; and character types are embedded in the policies informing educational practices in the field of literacy within the province. These research themes will be explored within these educational documents to demonstrate the omniscient application of neoliberal culture and "new capitalism" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 164) within the Nova Scotia context.

I will begin by providing some contextual overview of the governance of adult literacy in Nova Scotia. The discourse analysis will begin with the law in Nova Scotia, the *Adult Learning Act*, and regulations, followed by analysis of the policy documents which informed its development. These include: The *Adult Learning Act: Discussion Paper; Addressing Canada's Literacy: A Cost Benefit Analysis; Too Many Left Behind: Canada's Adult Education* and the *Training System*.

Overview

The Department of Labour, Skills, and Immigration (LSI) within the Nova Scotia Government oversees the adult learning programs in Nova Scotia; the positioning of adult literacy within a department which uses such a name, is indicative of ideological influences. Previously adult literacy was governed by the Department of Education. There is overlap between the divisions within the LSI department, such as adult education, workplace training and essential skills, as many of the strategies over the years have shifted focus from fostering general literacy capabilities to skills development for employment purposes. I posit that the overlap between these departments is an institutional representation of the ideology demonstrated in the themes of governance, globalization, and hegemony.

As this thesis is analysing the discourse of specific documents, an analysis of the website is outside the parameters of this research. I will, however, begin this chapter with a short overview of examples contained on the website to provide context of the research theme of governance as it is demonstrated within the LSI department. I argue that the website is the demonstration of research themes, governance, and hegemonic struggle. These research themes are identified by the blending of two social practices, career development and learning, along with shifting the purpose of learning to outputs and benefits to the economy under the pretence of education, at the expense of critical pedagogy. The blending of these ideologies of new capitalism are intrinsic to current policy discourses. Suggesting any alternative perspectives would be considered illogical and antithetical to the objectives of the LSI department.

Since the start of my research there has been an upgrade of the government website. The version of the website currently does not provide accessible divisions or programs within the department, and instead there is a topic option. Under the topic of "Education, Training and Skills" the training is geared toward government employees. In the section labelled "Field communications Training," there is no mention of Adult Learning for the public. The shifting use of the internet from an informational resource tool as part of public services provided to citizens and driven by the public needs, to a website designed for the public as an audience who are to be treated as consumers in need of persuasion, is an indicator of the influences of capitalism. The change in the access of information and representation of education on the website establishes hegemony through the attempt to change and normalize a social practice that focuses on the needs of the economy rather than the needs of citizens (Adie, 2008; Snyder, 2002). There is an option to search on a specific topic, however, that would require the searcher to know the labelled topic they are looking for. Today most people enter a search topic into the search bar, but this does not guarantee the results for a local literacy program. Ultimately, there is an obscurity of information which is accessible to the public, which demonstrates what Fairclough calls the "reconstruction of society" (Fairclough, 2000, p.147). There is a clear demonstration of ideology of new capitalism contained on the website, and a fuller analysis may be developed in future research.

Nova Scotia Documents

The Nova Scotia documents will be analyzed in succession beginning with the *Adult Learning Act* (2010), followed by the regulations, and then influential documents will be examined chronologically by their publication year. Each document will be

analysed for evidence of Fairclough's ideological research themes. The research themes identified by Fairclough within new capitalism are not finite, but they all intersect. These themes include Governance; Globalization; Hybridity; Space-time; Legitimation; Character Types; and Hegemonic Struggles.

The Nova Scotia Adult Learning Act

The Nova Scotia School for Adult Learning (NSSAL) administers the adult learning programs regulated by the Adult Learning Act, and these include programs that focus on credentialing and gaining an adult high school diploma, as well as options for obtaining the General Education Diploma (GED). The first reading of the Adult Learning Bill C-31, was in the Nova Scotia legislature on December 2, 2010, with Royal Assent on December 10, 2010, which was enforced on June 24, 2014, by proclamation of the Governor General on behalf of the Queen. The name of this bill will be shortened to "the Act" for the remainder of this chapter. The Act is a statute which is a written law passed by the members of the Nova Scotia provincial legislature. Fairclough (2006) describes two important characteristics of political genres:

> The first is the fluid and shifting character of political genres, their hybrid character, and their openness to new forms of hybridity. Politics is in a sense a 'space between' a social sphere that on the one hand merges into the structures of the state and the market, and on the other connects with more open and diverse sphere of the 'lifeworld', everyday life. (p.37)

Fairclough's statement is consistent with the history of Community Learning Organizations (CLOs) in Nova Scotia, which were mentioned in Chapter Two of this

thesis. According to Fairclough's words, politics is the bridge between the public everyday social interactions and society's structural organization. The discoursal bridge of political genres shifts and changes easily. The learning organizations which are currently administering the Nova Scotia School for Adult Learning programs were initially established as grassroots community movements. The early grassroots social movements were political by nature, as the learning organizations provided for an economic fulcrum out of poverty for the individual learners.

Today, adult learning programs remain political as they are controlled by legislation. Instead of focusing on the broader needs of citizens, however, policies and programs focus on the effect of adult learners' education and their impact on Canada's gross national product. CLOs have had to adjust to funding requirements of government to meet the marketization of adult education into national and provincial economic growth (Bagnall, 2000; Hursh & Henderson, 2011). This is an example of the space between the social CLO, the state, and the market. The CLO's must meet the provincial government funding requisites, which are informed by learning policies. As noted in Chapter Three, policies are political in nature and in CDA they fall within political genres.

Fairclough's second characteristic of political genre is:

> the interconnection of political genres, the relations that are contracted between them in genre chains or networks, the relations of recontextualization that obtain between them, and the linguistic transformations entailed when material from committee meetings is recontextualized in policy documents. (p.37)

Fairclough's statement is an important description that can be witnessed between the genre chain in the lifeworld of public consultations (genre) for adult education, which is reconfigured into a government report which is a distinct genre, and then informs that Act (legal/legislation genre). Genre chains are an important aspect of the ideological research theme of governance as they connect systemic processes which create an avenue of influence of power at a distance. Following the CDA framework discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, the Act would be a genre of discourse, as it is a specific discoursal way of acting/interacting with society. According to Fairclough (2003) "Genres are important in sustaining the institutional structure of contemporary society- structural relations" (p.32). The Act is part of a genre chain, which is "involving systematic transformations from genre to genre" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 31). This is an important component of Fairclough's framework, as the linking of genre chains provide an avenue of transformation which "transcends differences in space and time" (Fairclough, 2003, p.31). This is precisely what occurs from the Act to the regulations, and policies to programs. The research theme, space-time, is also witnessed in the regulations. The *Adult Learning Regulations* made under Section 15 of the *Adult Learning Act* (2010), tells the public how to comply with the law, and this involves the linking of law to every-day lives, from discourse to space and time.

The regulations begin with definitions; included in the definitions are "support system", "learning organization" and "Minister's Adult Learner Demographic Form" (Adult Learning Regulations, 2014). The support System is defined as:

> a common system and set of business processes operated by the Department to focus on the administration of labour market programs and services for its

> Provincial partners, currently operating under the name of the Labour Market Programs Support System (LaMPSS). (Adult Learning Regulations, N.S. Reg. 132/2014)

The regulations demonstrate Fairclough's theme of governance, not just because it is quite literally law, which is, in and of itself how the public is governed, but also because of the specification of how the LaMPSS program is to be used in a way that recontextualizes business processes within the teaching and learning environment. This definition is also connected to the research theme of hybridity through the prescription of blending financial social practices with educational services or programs. The learning organization is defined as "an organization that provides adult-learning programs and services to adult learners," (Adult Learning Regulations, N.S. Reg. 132/2014), which reads in a general manner and appears to be inclusive of any organization providing such services. However, after the definitions, the criteria are prescribed for any learning organization to be recognized by the government for the purpose of financing. The use of policies to wield ideology through funding was discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. A learning organization is prescribed in such a manner that only certain learning organizations would be recognized. The regulatory prescription establishes the first strategy of the research theme of legitimacy by authorization, through the law as the legal system is a social value system and an institution of authority.

As explained above, hegemony is ideology which, in a sense, acts as a ritual which is accepted as a logical ordering of the world. Once a learning organization meets the requirements to be recognized as legitimate, to receive and maintain funding, the

organization must also follow the predetermined requirements for adult learning programs. This includes using constrained curricula, resources, and assessments, approved by the presiding minister. The regulations also include an annual report requirement which establishes the research theme of character type. The employees of the community learning organization must take on the role of manager, monitoring outputs and outcomes, which again comes from business processes and the blending of new capitalism with education. As stated by Fairclough (2003)

> The social transformations of 'new capitalism' can be seen as changes in the networking of social practices, and so change in the forms of action and interaction, which includes change in genres. Genre change is an important part of the transformations of new capitalism. (p.38)

The discourse of the regulations demonstrates Nova Scotia's transformation under new capitalism through the prescribed social practices. From the law, policies, and guidelines, the procedures are developed, and from these tools, ideology is established and reaffirmed in daily actions.

The Nova Scotia School for Adult Learning (NSSAL) provides the prescribed legitimate learning organizations with program policies. The policy begins with definitions, the first being "Agreement Managers, which mean the Adult Education Coordinators of the Department of Labour, Skills and Immigration who are tasked with managing NSSAL funding agreements with learning organizations." (NSSAL Program Policies, Draft Version 2.3, n/d, p.2) This is a demonstration of the research theme of character-type. The Adult Education Coordinator shifts from a collaborative supportive

role to a managing role. As Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) state, “we cannot take the role of discourse in social practices for granted” (p.186). As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, the character-type is a way of being or identifying with a discoursal style to represent the character-type. Such character-types are inculcated with ideology as they are characters of new capitalism. The coordinator of education attributed through the NSSAL policy guidelines is a manager, which is further evidenced in subsequent definitions in the NSSAL Program Policies:

> Evaluation means the use of records to assess the performance of NSSAL programs and services.
>
> Labour Market Program Support System (LaMPSS) means the common system and set of business processes developed to focus on the administration of labour market programs and services. It provides organizations with self-serve capability to apply for funding, maintain programs and services, submit any required financial and activity reports, among other functions. (p.2)

Both definitions represent the shifting narrative of Nova Scotia’s adult literacy programming from being guided by emancipatory goals to focused on meeting market demands. It entails the social actions required to fulfill a market-oriented discourse, such as assessing the performance of the services of literacy organization through the requirement to submit reports of outcomes and outputs. The business language does not allow for a consideration of the learners’ needs.

Policy statement 1.1 does state that the programs and services are to support the learner to contribute to a “healthy society and a prosperous and sustainable

economy” (p.4). This is a demonstration of the two strategies of the research theme of legitimacy; rationalisation and moral evaluation which involves the use of a value system wrapped in economic determinism. The remainder of the policy focuses on the identified objectives, “to ensure that service providers in the NSSAL system are able to effectively operate and deliver programs that meet the needs of adult learners in Nova Scotia” (p.4). This emphasis again plays on a value system that reinforces the establishment of neoliberal ideologies and social practices. The following policy points,1.4 and 1.5, focus on accountability and monitoring, both of which are common pieces of neoliberal discourse established in earlier pages, as reflective of the values defined with a system of new capitalism.

Subsequent to the Act proclamation of 2010, but prior to the enforcement in 2014, the Nova Scotia Government published an *Adult Learning Act –Discussion Paper* on September 10, 2010. At that time, the public was asked for feedback on The Act.

The Discussion Paper

The *Adult Learning Act - Discussion Paper* (2010, [The Discussion paper]) follows a well-defined structure within the document and is linked to the larger procedure of informing law, which influences societal practices. As well, a predicted genre framework is followed with the following elements used for organizing sections of the document: Introduction (with statistics), Background (with rationalization), Issues to be addressed, and Discussion questions posed to the public for feedback. The Discussion Paper (2010) identifies its purpose on page two:

> to invite comment on proposed legislation that will formalize NSSAL's role on the eve of its 10th anniversary, reaffirm the Government's ongoing commitment to adult learning, and stimulate public awareness about the need for and capacity to improve our literacy levels and essential skills in Nova Scotia. (p.2)

An important element of genres is the discoursal ways of acting and interacting through social practices. Fairclough identified societal informalization as a practice that has emerged in the discourse of new capitalism. "Societal informalization" and "conversationalization" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 224) are two actions in which power and authority are implicit, and social hierarchies and social distance are compounded. Conversationalization is a discoursal process to create societal informalization; informalization is one of Fairclough's research themes under new capitalism. The discussion paper is written in less formal text than a report, creating a conversational style between the reader and the creators of the document. This strategy provides an example of how the ideology of globalization is reproduced through rescaling and the use of space-time. For example, speaking to the audience through associative language like "we" in the introduction removes distance from policies makers and communities, and creates the impression of a commonality between the public citizen and levels of government. In addition, the words 'NSSAL's role' followed by 'Governments' commitment', or 'Governments' priority', demonstrates implicitness of power while blending hierarchies and rescaling. Rather than spelling out the full title, The Nova Scotia School for Adult Learning, the acronym NSSAL is applied. NSSAL is a part of the Government, however, using this acronym makes this association less present in the reader's mind. This again, is an example of informalization and rescaling.

The context in which NSSAL and Government's role/priority is used within *The Discussion Paper* is correlated to the expected long-term outcomes from investment in literacy required to participate in the "knowledge-based economy", sourced from the *Cost Benefit Analysis* (CBA) report. The CBA report is written by a private, non-partisan organization. Utilizing the acronym of the school as opposed to the name, and personifying the school by giving it a role, shifts the focus of the reader away from a societal hierarchy of government agencies taking control of programming rather than having these shaped by community organizers, thus demonstrating Fairclough's concept of societal informalization. An inanimate object cannot have roles, as a role is a characteristic of a human being. Yet again, later in *The Discussion Paper* it is stated "NSSAL has prided itself", giving the title of a school emotions of an individual. The document begins by setting the stage with positive correlation to marketized learning through recent developments associated to integration of employment and essential skills into literacy skills.

The word "development" in the third opening sentence implies advancement based on the inclusion of employment skills in literacy. In the second paragraph it moves directly from developments to the negative "challenge" of improving literacy and essential skills. Following that are the statistics of the population levels that do not have a high school diploma. No statistic is provided on how many do hold a diploma; rather, it notes "many who do lose ground," with no evidential description on what losing ground might mean. Fairclough describes the discourse of neoliberalism, whereby "The task is not only to specify the threat, but also to specify emergent practices of resistance, and to discern possibilities for change" (Fairclough, 2000, p. 148). The description of lacking

a high school diploma is a threat, as well that even for those who do have a diploma, it is not enough, as they are losing hypothetical ground.

The beginning paragraphs of *The Discussion Paper* (2010) also demonstrate legitimation, as the text provides a rational to legitimize literacy to meet market needs. For example, the argument that even those Nova Scotian's who have degrees "lose ground", compels the reader to support the objectives of neoliberalism through fear. As well, the statement, "According to Statistics Canada, a 1% increase in our adult literacy scores is associated with an eventual 2.5% increase in labour productivity and a 1.5 % rise in GDP per capita," (p.1) is persuasion through a social value system, patriotism, and building on the objective of wanting the nation to prosper. Fairclough emphasizes the importance of acknowledging that "all forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given" (Fairclough, 2003, p.55). However, when implicitness in shared meaning is assumed under the guise of covert ideologies, there can be no real shared understanding. *The Discussion Paper* primes the reader for a lens of literacy that is determined by the needs of the economy. Referencing the report, *Addressing Canada's Literacy: A Cost Benefit Analysis* (Data Angel, 2009), the statement "there is considerable benefit to moving Nova Scotians to Level III literacy which is believed to be the minimum level of literacy required to participate in a knowledge-based economy" (Discussion Paper, 2010, p.1) is another example of legitimization through both rationalization and moral evaluation.

The first document referenced in *The Discussion Paper* was *Addressing Canada's Literacy: A Cost Benefit Analysis (Data Angel, 2009)*, which provides a statistical analysis with expected outcomes of moving Nova Scotians from level I literacy

to level III, and from level II to III. The outcomes are referred to as “economic and social improvements.” However, the bullet points provided are all financial in scope: employment increase, hourly wage, tax revenue, and reduced employment insurance recipients. None of the benefits address broader democratic purposes for providing education for citizens, although there is a sentence following that acknowledges that beyond the workforce productivity, and employment, there are intrinsic values of “confidence and family, community and civic society” which comes from literacy improvement (Discussion Paper, 2010, p.1). That being said, the focus of impact from literacy programs are concentrated on the financial impacts for the marketplace with little to no reference of local social democratic values or programs to develop or maintain community or an educated citizenry.

Federal and International Influence

Canadian Adult Education and Training System

The two influential documents mentioned in *The Discussion Paper*, *Addressing Canada's Literacy: A Cost Benefit Analysis (Data Angel, 2009)* and *Too Many Left Behind: Canada’s Adult Education and Training System (June 2006)* will be analyzed in chronological order based on publication year. *Canada’s Adult Education and Training System (CAETS)* of 2006 was a much longer, one hundred- and seven-page document, which at first glance contained far fewer neoliberal terms than the fifty-nine-page *Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA)* report of 2009. CAETS was developed by the Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc. and was funded, at least in part, by Alberta Human Resources and Employment Department and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. The report was written by two authors from the Department of Sociology in the

University of Toronto. CAETS is written in a report style, beginning with a cover page containing author names, report number and date, followed by a blank page then another page dedicated to the authors, acknowledgement of funding source and the authors' respective university departments. The layout of the document represents the genre of a typical report.

The foreword dives quickly into both legitimation and governance in a bid to garner consensus in what Mulderrig refers to as the 'politics of inclusion', as can be seen in the second sentence (2012, p. 702).

> In an economy where technologies and skill needs are constantly changing, it is important that Canadians have access to learning opportunities throughout the course of their lives. In an ageing society, it is important that everyone, including older Canadians, has a chance to fully contribute to the economy and to their communities. At a time when there are concerns about the polarization of earnings and incomes, it is essential that those with lower levels of educational attainment have the opportunity to improve their skills. (p.i)

I suggest consensus is being sought through economic scare tactics of earnings, incomes, and the national economy. Governance and intertextuality are represented with the selling of higher education as a commodity as opposed to a social act of consciousness raising; while legitimation is demonstrated in the emphasized importance of the ever-changing technologies, and the skills required for the Canadian economy to compete. According to Manfred Steger (2003) there are six core claims of globalism:

1. Globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets

2. Globalization is inevitable and irreversible
3. Nobody is in charge of globalization
4. Globalization benefits everyone
5. Globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world
6. Globalization requires a war on terror. (pp. 97-110)

The CAETS document demonstrates the operationalization of the first five of the six core claims. From my analysis the CAETS report uses fewer neoliberal terms throughout the document than the CBA document and provides the statistical research data in a more unbiased account. Despite employing fewer neoliberal terms, however, the document is imbued with neoliberal ideologies using governance. Governance as defined by Mulderrig "is a matter of coordinating and managing the collective actions of diverse actors" (2011, p. 46). In the CAETS document, this is handled through intertwining the discourse of governance and the application of hegemony. This is evidenced throughout the report, beginning with the claim of the indisputable knowledge economy skills needed in Canada and the assertion that "Canadians need to catch up." The use of "we" followed by phrases such as 'Canadians need to catch up', 'better-educated', 'high-school dropout', and the 'rich getting richer' (CAETS, 2006) are all examples of what Mulderrig refers to "polarising distinctions", like 'inside–outside' and 'us–them'. Using these opposing distinctions are of great significance in political discourse; they help construct and maintain group membership and privilege" (Mulderrig, 2012, p.708). Such discourse creates a sense of diffusion through authors identifying with the population being referenced in the research, while at the same time maintaining a voice of othering.

There is an additional effect of the mixing of 'us-them' discourse, which creates confusion of who is governing. The use of the word we by a governing entity, is a form of self-representation within the populace. This form of neoliberal discourse of governance creates a soft power through hierarchical governing (Fairclough, 2007; Mulderrig, 2011). Heterarchical governing disperses power through "attraction and persuasion". For Mulderrig, "the government must step back from direct control over actions (while retaining the power to specify outcomes), allowing the responsible individual to step forward" (Mulderrig, 2011, p.52-53). In the case of adult literacy, the government has stepped back two-fold: 1) by sanctioning a supranational organization such as OECD to dictate literacy policies, and 2) through the neoliberal ideology of individualism, which places literacy successes or failings with the individual adult learner. Yet the assessment of success or failure is not defined by the adult learner, rather it is prescribed by governing bodies in a limited, controlled method.

Hegemony is often joined with intertextuality; "achieving hegemony entails achieving a measure of success in projecting certain particulars as universal" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 41). The previously mentioned act of informalization using 'we' is applied in the forward followed by the use of intertextuality. The social research issue of hegemonic struggle can be seen in the statement of "Canadians losing ground, as other countries forge ahead" (CAETS, 2006, p.i). Similar to *The Discussion Paper*, which was influenced by the CAETS report, the claim is that Canada is being identified as losing a battle against other countries, and the battle to win is the economy. "The 'knowledge economy' is an example of a discourse of 'major social change' that is occurring in nation-states and cited as a reason for the restructuring of systems" (Adie, 2008, p.253).

The *Executive Summary* shifts genres style from a report format into a pamphlet style, which is typically used for marketing and promotional purposes, with two columns and is written in a more narrative tone. This is an example of hybridity through the mixing of writing genres. The introduction moves back into the report style of formatting. The first sentence of the introduction begins by asserting the report's legitimacy with a statement regarding the consequence of continuous learning through 'working lives' to be unchallengeable. This is followed by an analysis of educational impact on wage, earnings growth, and unemployment, with a brief mention within the first paragraph of the educational system being at the "heart of a nation's social prosperity" (CAETS, 2006, p. 1). The two-page introduction relies on statistics which are used to focus on the importance of improving educational levels for the purpose of labour market productivity, gross national product, and economic competitiveness, as well as supporting the knowledge-based economy. The supranational organization, the OECD, is referenced throughout the document, beginning on page one.

Chapter Two of the CAETS report provides the statistical outlook of educational attainment in Canada and provides context to how explain how students who do not attain high school and further education are at threat of being left behind through lower wages and unemployment, in a "post-industrial, knowledge-based economy" (Myers & de Broucker, 2006, p.3). Compared to the previous introductory chapter in the report, overall, the discussion in Chapter Two is based on statistics and uses a more neutral language, with less evidence of a neoliberal discourse; that is not to say, however, that it is devoid of neoliberal references and discourse. Chapter Two begins with the previously mentioned hegemonic reference of the hostilities of the labour market toward

high school “dropouts” and discusses how those individuals will be “left behind.” The word dropout may not be a common neoliberal text; however, it does represent a stigmatized individual. Both ‘dropout’ and ‘being left behind’ are negative connotations to fuel fear and support the legitimation of the report’s stated objectives, with the goal of social buy-in. Ultimately the chapter is used to draw the picture of the need for educational attainment that leads to successful labour market outcomes, which provides a statistical rationale for offering literacy programs based on human capital theory.

The third chapter of the CAETS report discusses different training programs such as those which are employer funded, but for the sake of this analysis I will focus on the discussion surrounding government funded programs. Chapter Three is titled *The Efficacy of Adult Learning*, yet the question in this chapter is not how effectively adults achieve enlightenment or knowledge but rather how efficiently education provides a return on the cost of the investment. The capacity at which the adult learner applies knowledge in their lifeworld for social justice or democracy is not considered or accounted for. Instead, how individuals’ knowledge and skills are utilized in the labour market is assessed to determine the linkages between education and profitability.

The discourse of Chapter Three in the CAETS Report illustrates the research theme of legitimization. The four main strategies for legitimization according to Dutch linguist, Theo Van Leeuwen (2007) are: authorization; moral evaluation; rationalization and mythopoesis. All four strategies are present in Chapter Three’s legitimization of advancing capitalism via underlying neoliberal/free market ideologies. The document itself contains an overarching institutional authority; as a society we have placed value on the tradition of institutionalization of research, research framework and sourcing of

information. In addition, the research project was funded by the federal government, which again is a source of authority. Van Leeuwen (2007) asserts that legitimation can be applied linguistically to approve or reject ideologies and, that the four categories of legitimization can be applied individually or mixed. Chapter Three provides instances of all three forms of legitimization: mythopoesis, authorization, rationalization, and moral evaluation.

Mythopoesis means the making of myths; used in legitimation it is the telling of stories through a narrative to legitimize an ideology. The mythopoesis narrative is established immediately in the subheading using the word “debates” which primes the reader to believe the literature to follow in the chapter is carefully weighing the logic behind the discourse. Such an approach gives the impression of theoretical debate between the opposing sides; the authors pushing for skills upgrading versus the skeptics, without truly conducting oppositional debate.

In Chapter Three the authors continue the development of their argument of education for Canadians “to fully contribute to the economy” (CAETS, p.i) through posing a counter argument of skills upgrading in a way that suggests both sides of a debate are being considered, which in turn offers legitimation through both moral evaluation and rationalization. The authors use society’s value of education while also hinging the future of the economy on that value. There are points in the third chapter where the forms of legitimation are mingled together. Rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis are themes that continue to be explored in Chapter Three which includes debates of the utility of education for the purpose of financial gains, while the future prosperity of the economy is referenced through the key theorists and

economists, such as James Heckman (2003) and his colleagues. James Heckman is an economist who attended the Chicago School of Economics which embodies neoliberalism and market driven values.

Again, the chapter begins with identifying Heckman as the author to which anti-skills upgrading proponents base their claims. Two claims of Heckman are identified; that investments in early learning have more return than investments later in life; and that second chance training is a poor investment. These contentions suggest investments in adult learning are not financially beneficial. The CAETS authors acknowledge the points made through Heckman's claims and research, which support the reasons to not upgrade skills. The CAETS authors are then quick to then use Heckman's research to challenge his position and argue the benefits of upgrading skills, thus creating a perception of debate.

The creation of a debate represents Fairclough's research theme of legitimation through mythopoesis. As mentioned in earlier paragraphs, mythopoesis means the making of myths; it is the telling of stories through a narrative to legitimize an ideology. Fundamentally, despite the creation of two-sided debate, the standpoint of both Heckman and the argument against it is related to an approach to literacy and skills training informed by Human Capital Theory. It is not until the third chapter that the words "human capital" is used, however the ideology is witnessed from the beginning of the report. This banking style approach to education, and individualist social perspective is evident on page 13 of the CAETS:

> There are good reasons to believe that these types of programs [government funded] differ significantly from other forms of training, such as employer sponsored training and formal education (Ahlstrand et al., 2003). Government programs tend to be narrowly targeted towards welfare recipients and the long-term unemployed. In contrast, other types of programs such as college diploma programs attract motivated learners with a wide range of labour market experience. Another difference is that government sponsored training programs are often based on curriculum that is not connected to existing certificate or degree programs. Thus 'graduates' of these programs are typically left without an easily recognized credential that they can use as a signal to potential employers. This puts the 'graduates' of these programs at a serious disadvantage, especially if the program disappears once the pilot or demonstration is complete. (p.13)

This paragraph highlights the attitude toward the social welfare system and recipients, by the contrast of "more motivated" learners attending diploma programs. There can be a multitude of reasons why people are accessing social welfare, often of which have nothing to do with a lack of motivation. The impression is given that programs associated with a literacy curriculum must have a credential to which an employer can place value. According to the report, the lack of a credential places the learner at a disadvantage, yet at the same time, it uses Human Capital Theory as a foundation to claim that learning begets learning and offers individual utility. What is overlooked in such references to credentialed literacy is qualitative intrinsic successes such as the ability to read medication, which is supportive of health and wellbeing, or

reading religious literature which supports an individual being able to connect with their community and spirituality.

The title of Chapter Four of the CAETS report is *Earning a high school diploma as an adult* and is framed through the initial sentences stating that a high school diploma is progressively viewed as the minimum level of education required to participate in the labour market. The chapter begins with a discussion of the Canadian pathways to an adult high school diploma, or equivalent pathways. Although the title indicates that what is to follow is about how to earn an adult high school diploma, the discussion immediately broadens to options to upgrading credentials. The pathways discussed in the chapter are: Secondary diploma; Adult secondary diploma; General education development (GED); academic upgrading; Test of Workplace Essential Skills (TOWES); and Literacy and basic skills.

Much of the chapter is a presentation of factual information of adult high school programing, accessibility, and costs, across Canada. My analysis of the Secondary Diploma and Adult Secondary Diploma options did not identify neoliberal or new capital ideological discourse present in this section of the text.

The GED is an example of the research theme “globalization” through the process of rescaling to operate globally. The GED is an international assessment developed in the United States with content intended to be standardized for all locations, however, the GED is adjusted somewhat to fit Canadian Standards. There was acknowledgement within the report that at the time there was not Canadian research available to demonstrate wage earning benefits of the GED. However,

American research is cited as to be applied generally in place of Canadian research. The research indicates the earnings or labour market success of GED holders is not equivalent to regular high-school graduates. The discussion quickly compares GED holders to “un-credentialed drop-outs”, which I postulate can be a considered a form of Fairclough’s theme of character-type for the purpose of legitimization.

Throughout the report, the discourse interchanges between referring to individuals who have left school as dropouts or as early high-school leavers. Although Fairclough provides examples of character types as social roles which the individual choses, and enacts the characteristics of the role, such as a politician – in the CAETS report the discourse is applied to a group of individuals referred to as “drop-outs” and the reader applies the social characteristics. Society places a negative connotation on individuals who leave school even when they themselves do not consider themselves as “drop-outs” (Hynes, 2015). In this case, the character type, the social role, along with characteristics the character type exhibit is created through the discourse, which used for the purpose of legitimation through the society’s value system of the importance of education.

The TOWES is a test designed to support employers in identifying skills applicable to the workplace, further demonstrating focus of education to employment. An important aspect to acknowledge in adult education are the experiences of the adult (Stearns & Glennie,2006; Jordan & Others, 1996). Often adults who have not obtained a high school diploma or further education had negative experiences in traditional schooling and providing alternatives is critical (Hynes, 2015). Freire would assert that critical pedagogy should be evidenced in action and reflection by the adult learners’

lives, which requires alternative pathways and flexibility. The narrowing of educational programing focused on learner skills for the purpose of employer needs, echoes a banking style of learning where the employers deposit the required work knowledge and encourage little, if any, reflection.

For context, this project, the *Essential Skills Project*, involved identifying a list of 200 essential skills profiles based on complexity of common tasks for occupations in the *National Occupational Classification*, otherwise known as NOC (CAETS, 2006). The purpose of the project was to identify the core skills or competencies would best equip the labour market for the *Future of Work* in a rapidly changing labour market. The complexity of common tasks was assessed for "reading text, document use, numeracy, writing, oral communication, working with others, thinking skills, computer use and continuous learning" (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, n/d). The project began with occupations requiring a high school diploma or less. The paragraph that follows indicates there was "extensive field-testing" of the TOWES, along with one institution which utilized the TOWES for apprentices. The results from the one institution are referred to as "convincing results" for the connection between essential training skills and possible educational attainment; however, there is also a recommendation to conduct further research on educational and labour market outcomes of TOWES learners.

Following a statement of the options which are available for adult learners for academic upgrading, a table is provided with a summary of advantages and disadvantages of each option. Interestingly, there is only one option which mentions an ability to "participate in civil society" (CAETS, 2006, p.24), and that is the secondary

diploma. This demonstrates the lack of expectation for the learners who choose the four other “high-school-related pathways” (CAETS, 2006, p.32) to garner the educational capacity to be an active member in civil society, while at the same time affirms the primary purpose of the programs for attaining skills for the marketplace. I argue, along with a multitude of educational theorists, that all adult literacy regardless of the pathway are fundamental to civil participation (Tett, Hamilton, & Crowther, 2012; Crowther et al., 1999). As a society, education that produces individuals who have the capacity to actively participate in a civil society is what should be expected from all adult programing.

Chapter Five focuses on post-secondary programing which for the purpose of my research of adult literacy is outside the scope of this thesis.

Chapter Six focuses on employer provided learning opportunities. The chapter overall is a representation of how both hegemony and legitimation work; the chapter is an argument to incentivize employers to provide training, and the incentives fundamentally are financial ones. The literacy discussion in this chapter implies that literacy is defined as workplace skills for the purpose of the labour market, with no mention of critical thought or empowerment of the individual. At the beginning of the chapter, HRSDC Deputy Minister Wayne Wouters, is quoted as saying the purpose of the federally funded *Workplace Skills Strategy*, which provides financial incentive for employers to provide training, is to ‘‘ensure the Canadian workforce is highly skilled, adaptable, and resilient; build a labour market that is flexible, efficient, and productive; and work with employers to ensure that workplaces are healthy, productive, and innovative.” In his view, ‘this is not just a social policy issue but darn good economics”

(CAETS, 2006 pg. 46 as quoted in TASC, 2005). This is an example of the how the themes hegemony, legitimization, and governance are embedded in policy texts. Legitimation is observed in assertions made by the Deputy Minister, who is a person of influence in a social institution which is qualifying the purpose of funding programs geared toward workplace skills; programs which define literacy for the marketplace and the use of social policy for economics.

The demonstration of governance is identified in the recontextualization of market economies within social policy. One must question, what is the fundamental purpose of social policy? According to Ken Blakemore and Louise Warwick-Booth (2013) “Social policies aim to improve human welfare…and to meet human needs for education, health, housing and social security” (p. 1). In Canada’s context which is a social democratic welfare system, the social needs mentioned are for the most part funded by the federal government. For the federal government to sustain a welfare state the national finances must be strong enough, which does of course require attention to Canada’s financial capacity.

The question that must continue to be asked, however, is whether neoliberal ideologies found in supranational organizations’ policies are undermining critical literacy at the local level, leading to a lack of support for Nova Scotia’s civil society. In the same paragraph containing the Deputy Minister’s statement, the supranational organization, the OECD is referenced, which demonstrates the use of authorization legitimation and moral evaluation legitimation. The two forms of legitimation are validated through mention of the institution of the OECD which has been granted institutional authority within society, and the value system of competition, whereby “Canada is below the

OECD average" (CAETS, 2006, p.46). In section 6.3, hegemony and legitimation is practised, as can be seen in the statement, "to increase living standards, Canada must continue to invest in the drivers of productivity growth: human capital, physical capital and innovation…the role of government is to enhance and strengthen policies that encourage Canadians to invest in these drivers of growth" (CAETS, 2006, p. 49). The reference of people as human capital is high neoliberal trope. Again, this a good example of the use of hegemony and legitimation as it seeks obedience in referencing a neoliberal ideology through supporting a particular value system. The value system provides a justification for the policies provided, arguing that most rational people want to raise the standards of living, and this will lead to a redistribution of wealth. However, in Nova Scotia currently there have never been more individuals with university degrees and college diplomas, yet at the same time there are a record number of non-housed individuals. As of January of 2022, seventy percent of Nova Scotian's have a Post Secondary degree (One Nova Scotia, 2022) while homelessness has more than doubled in a single year (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2022) due to impacts of the pandemic.

The neoliberal rationalization that higher education guarantees redistribution of wealth, which is only available through an individual's global market participation, is a value system yet to be proven. As well, the buzz word "innovation" is employed once again but is yet to be defined or explained up to this point in the document. Although the word innovative or innovation is not defined within the document, Webster's dictionary defines it as "a new idea or method, or device" (Webster, 2023). I would suggest the Webster definition might be a commonly anticipated answer. Nonetheless, the CAET

states “Workplace Skills Initiative – WSI will promote and test new and innovative approaches to skills development” (CAETS, 2006, p.50) which insinuates that in this discourse, innovation is more than just something new being introduced, without exemplification. Chapter Six concludes with Canada’s shortcomings, in this case the participation in job-related training, compared to other “advanced nations” (p.59). This is the application of legitimation through a narrative, in this case the narrative suggests that Canada is losing a competition. Chapter Seven is titled, *Adult Learning Scenarios*, the chapter reviews provincial programs for upgrading, second chance post-secondary, and workplace initiatives through the lens of “real-life scenarios” and accessibility. From my analysis, the seventh chapter was for the most part, devoid of neoliberal discourse. The chapter identifies the gaps between programs and financing experienced by various learners through scenarios.

Chapter Eight, *Gap identification and policy implications,* begins with a balanced sounding introduction by acknowledging the importance of both economic and social benefits from a life of learning. Despite the initial mention of social implications, the statements that follow then focus on financial objectives. Similar to the earlier chapters, the bulk of the focus is on an economic discourse, thus priming the reader to carry forward the argued ideology of economic over social benefits of adult education. Chapter Eight sees hegemony at play, with brief summarizations of current policies across the provinces and identified policy gaps to support what critical educator, Stephen Brookfield (2005) describes as “ideologically determined practices” (p. 75). The authors, Myers and de Broucker, commence Chapter Eight by noting that the greatest impact to the economy would be to improve the literacy for people with the lowest skills

rather than more highly skilled graduates and that there is a need to identify those who are lower skilled and who are not being served by the programs in place. The chapter begins with noting that this population of clients are not participating in specifically “job-related skills training” (CAETS, 2006, p. 67). There is no mention of literacy learning for reasons external to the needs of the economy or other than programs with a job-related focus. This establishes a foundation for the discourse to follow, which identifies policy gaps along with recommendations for redress. The question of why there is lack of participation in literacy programming is mentioned, however, the answers as to why are not provided. What is provided is a summary of changes to provincial programs that are applauded; however, the changes are not discussed in relation to how the programs or policies will create accessibility to literacy programming for the intended lower literacy population.

The discourse in section 8.2 titled *Current policy frameworks and existing gaps* is very much focused on existing policy gaps regarding supplying human capital for the labour market, not on developing policy for addressing the service gaps from a learner-focused lens. Policy and practice next steps are provided in section 8.4 and begins with the sentence “the business case for adult learning is clear” (CAETs, 2006, p.70) which establishes the themes of hybridity, space-time, and globalization. The discourse recontextualizes the grounds for adult learning into an economic one, while blurring the two practices as well as shifting the loci of influence.

The first recommendation is the “right to education”, which intimates social justice. The phrase comes from an international recommendation from the International Labour Organization on Human Resources Development, from 2004, which federal and

provincial frameworks would need to include. This can be seen as a prime example of international influence. As quoted in CAETS (2006) the first recommendation is:

> Members should:
>
> a. recognize that education and training are a right for all and, in cooperation with the social partners, work towards ensuring access for all to lifelong learning;
>
> b. recognize the realization of lifelong learning should be based on the explicit commitment: by governments by investing and creating the conditions to enhance education and training at all levels; by enterprises in training their employees; and by individuals in developing their competencies and careers. (p.71)

Considering the previous discourse in earlier chapters which were laden with neoliberal ideologies focused on skills for market participation, I would suggest that the application of such a recommendation would lead to the development of provincial policies and programs that are less focused on client needs and more on competing in the global market. The international influence at the provincial level demonstrates the ideological research themes of globalization and the rescaling of hierarchical relations. The second step (CAETS) acknowledges the financial needs of adult learners:

> Given that adult learners are often involved in providing care and financial support for other family members, their participation in skills upgrading is often not feasible unless they are provided with a minimal level of financial assistance to help them meet basic living expenses. (p.72)

This step is an important recommendation, as research shows individuals with lower literacy levels disproportionately represent populations of lower socioeconomic status. One of the challenges in addressing the concerns of lower income citizens is that:

> While these are individuals with actual issues, it is sometimes convenient to frame them as policy problems and on occasion to send funding their way through ad hoc arrangements and programs, which do not constitute actual policies with long-term implications." (MacPhail, 2013, p. 3)

For literacy programs to be more than ad hoc and result in long term outcomes, the policy problem being solved must be beyond a human capital perspective and framed to include the individual as a whole. During my time working with an adult learning organization, there were no policies or programs to provide the wrap-around supports required to mitigate such financial hardship for learners who had education below a high-school diploma. The second recommendation again alludes to social justice, but the question must be asked, how will it be applied?

The third recommendation is about financial incentives for employers which brings the focus back to the marketplace and economic outcomes. Within the third recommendation, Nova Scotia is commended for their Sector Council Programs. *The Nova Scotia Sector Council Program Guidelines* of 2012 states:

> The purpose of the Sector Council Program is to support an industry-led approach to human resource development tailored to meet the labour market needs of industry sectors. In particular, the program will ensure that small- and

medium-sized businesses in Nova Scotia have increased access to expertise, resources, and support in the area of human resource planning. (p.4)

The program guidelines confirm a policy framework which results in fulfillment of a neoliberal ideology and discourse through a programming focused on industry needs.

The fourth recommendation is to increase government investments in training for basic skills. This recommendation suggests “a coherent incentive framework designed to encourage individuals, employers, community organizations, and educational institutions to engage in learning activities” (CAETS, 2006, p.73). The sentence reads as being collaborative, inclusive, and sociopolitical, but one must question, which ideology is steering the framework and the programs to come out of such discourse.

The final recommendation is the development of “a coordinated approach to respond to adult learners’ needs” (CAETS, 2006, p.74). The final recommendation begins by acknowledging that provincial adult learning environments are very complex and suggests the development of an entity to ensure effectiveness of government-funded programs. A minimum requirement by government is ensuring learners have access to up-to-date information to make informed decisions regarding their learning. The concluding comments of the recommendation are to develop an accountability framework consisting of outcome-based reporting systems. Accountability systems are part of neoliberal discourse which was discussed earlier in Chapter Three. Literacy that is result focused, standardized, and monitored for outcomes are examples of research themes regarding hybridization, character-types, governance, and globalization, through the mixing of economic and education genres.

Cost Benefit analysis

The title, *Addressing Canada's Literacy Challenge: A Cost Benefit Analysis*, (CBA) contains an economic term and demonstrates overt market influence. The title of the report clearly states this intent. Education is squarely placed within an economic discourse with continuous references using terms such as the market, macro-economics, investments, and estimates, The CBA report surpasses subtle references to economic discourse: In this document literacy is characterized as a commodity with an established "literacy market", the literacy learners are divided into "market segments" based on the International Survey of Reading Skills (ISRS) data, and "market segments'' consist of higher and lower literacy rates. The appropriation of education by an economic systemic process demonstrates a neoliberal discourse through the research theme of governance. Governance is established through the recontextualizing of education, while simultaneously blurring the two social practices, substantiating the research theme of hybridity.

The research themes, governance; globalization; hybridity; legitimation; character types; hegemonic struggles; and societal "informalization" are all present in the CBA. This particular document is more difficult to analyze for discrete demonstrations of the research themes as it exemplifies the discourse of new capitalism engaging many of the research themes which are intertwined. The corpus, as the title suggests, is global market discourse demonstrating the research theme of legitimation – the argument attempts to persuade the reader to internalize the "facts" of neoliberal discourse. The "fact of life…that all must bow to the logic of the global economy" (Fairclough, 2000, p. 147). In this instance, shifting the relations of global economic determinants to local

literacy programming is being legitimized. The report delivers “facts” of how literacy levels impact on Canada’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is legitimation through rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis. Rationalization uses the institutionalization of Canada’s GDP in hand with the moral evaluation of a value system – that literacy rates impact on Canada’s economic stability. Lastly, mythopoesis is seen in the narrative of the discourse in that section which leads the reader from concerns about Canada’s economic stability (because of literacy rates) in opposition to other OECD Countries. The direct comparison or ranking to other OECD countries, is set as another “fact”. The ability to rank Canada to other countries is “produced by inter-governmental agreements” (Fairclough, 2000. p.147), which demonstrates the research theme of globalization. According to Fairclough, the production of inter-governmental agreements correspondingly is the restructuring of power. The international agreements shift the level of governance from the local to the supranational. The CBA data is from the International Survey of Reading Skills which was a joint project between the “Educational Testing Service, Princeton and Statistics Canada, Ottawa, implemented in co-operation with the National Center for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy at the Harvard Graduate School in Boston and Westat, Inc. based in Maryland” (CBA, 2009, p. 22), which further represents globalizations’ rescaling and shifting genres of governance away from the local to the supranational.

There is only a little mention of individual financial, health, and social impact in the document; however, the major focus is on the national labour productivity, as well as global competition. “Adults with lower literacy skill levels participate less in community activities, volunteer less and are less likely to vote (Statistics Canada and OECD, 2005;

HRSDC and OECD 2000)" (CBA, 2009, p.13). The limited acknowledgment of the social impacts of literacy makes the importance of broader participation in social systems fade into the background while the commodification of literacy takes centre stage. Fairclough (1992: pp. 2-3) cites his earlier work to state that "a critical awareness of language is 'a prerequisite for effective democratic citizenship and should therefore be seen as an entitlement for citizens, especially children developing towards citizenship in the educational system," (Fairclough, 1999, p. 71). Active citizenship is both a right and a responsibility at every age and requires critical awareness, not just meeting a literacy level according to the scales set by an international survey. Democracy should be founded on more than voting predicated on the ability to read and check a box on a voting ballot.

As mentioned previously in Chapter Three of this thesis, genres are discoursal ways of acting i.e., an interview vs a report. In addition, discourses are different communicative ways of representing the world, i.e., political discourse. Lastly, styles are ways of being in a social event i.e., a teacher or politician. According to Fairclough the new order restructures social practices, and this is affirmed in the CBA through transforming discourse elements of genres, discourse, and styles. Although the CBA is a report, the entire document is written in pamphlet form, which as mentioned earlier in the chapter, is typically used in marketing genre for promotional elements. The report starts with an *Executive Summary*, which does fit the common report genre outside the pamphlet layout. The first sentence "The report makes the case for an urgent investment to solve Canada's literacy problem" involves the research themes of hybridity and legitimation. In this instance the use of the word "case" is borrowed from

the legal genre, and the report is used to provide the evidence to legitimize and persuade the reader. The mixing of genres such as law, finance and education is applied throughout the document: “the provision of hitherto unavailable market intelligence” (CBA, 2009, p.3) and the noun “firm” is used twenty-one times, indicating how enterprises benefit from literacy. As well, the statement that “There is strong prima facie evidence of market failure” (CBA, 2009, p.5) demonstrates a mixing of the genres.

As well, in the first sentence, literacy is referred to as a “problem” to be solved mathematically, as can be seen in how it is statistically represented. For example, the report states that “the average level of literacy explaining 55% of differences in long term growth rates of GDP per capita and labour productivity in OECD economies” (CBA, 2009, p.3) as opposed to being an attribute of an individual requiring social supports. This is a subversive form of persuasion contained within neoliberal ideologies to reduce social democratic protections for citizens and lessen the state’s obligation to provide social welfare through shifting the responsibility of attaining literacy to the learner whose goal is to be able to compete successfully in the global market.

Having shown how the neoliberal agenda has co-opted the concept of literacy to suit its own purposes, at this juncture I would be remiss not to acknowledge that for social supports and welfare to exist and function, the country and province must maintain a level of wealth to sustain social supports. The aim of this thesis is not to negate the importance of Canada and Nova Scotia’s economic prosperity, but to seek and question the source of the ideologies influencing power dynamics touted as indisputable truths witnessed in local literacy policies.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Chapter Five of this thesis will discuss the findings of the previous chapters, recapitulating the argument that neoliberal discourse is influencing Nova Scotia's literacy policies. It will conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of this research study to inform the future direction of policy development in the area of adult literacy in Nova Scotia

Chapter Two of this thesis provided a historical review, exploring where we have come from and demonstrates Nova Scotia's deep roots in literacy for emancipatory purposes from oppressive social realities. Emancipatory literacy for the purpose of social change is in our proverbial blood. The inception of the educational forums at that time were drawn from the needs of individuals and communities, to support broader social accomplishments. Yet Chapter Four of the thesis concludes that a different ideology has been more recently influencing Nova Scotia literacy policies. Those ideologies are shifting social practices and literacy programs in Nova Scotia away from a social justice orientation and the goal to support critically engaged citizens. The analysis was conclusive in its demonstration of the neoliberal influence from supranational organizations such as the OECD, impacting provincial regulations and policies which undermines local governance and the social practices of adult literacy in Nova Scotia.

As quoted by Harvey (2005) in Chapter Two of this thesis, the definition of neoliberalism is that "The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional

framework appropriate to such practices" (p.2). Those practices are "political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual, entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p.2) which clearly emerged throughout a critical discourse analysis of the documents influencing Nova Scotia's policies and informing adult literacy programs.

If a critically thinking and engaged citizenry operating within a democratic society is the objective, then the literacy policies and programing in Nova Scotia must do more than develop human capital for the global market as dictated by supranational organizations. Continuing with that assumed objective, Nova Scotia policies must be balanced with the needs of the learners and learning community and for programming to include praxis. I believe the impact of these findings is dependent upon the direction the citizens of Nova Scotia, and this includes policies makers, politicians, Community Learning Organizations, and considerations regarding the direction that our general public wants our society to go. Critical Theory, according to Wodak and Meyers (2016) "means that social theory should be oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole" (p.6). Literacy that is premised on a social justice orientation will require a shift in the language of the policies used by the Nova Scotia government to determine funding and programming for literacy organizations.

There is a cyclical nature between policy development and literacy education. Literacy has an enormous impact on social conventions; learners enact and reinforce their learning in the world. "Literacy policy is never just about literacy; its meanings and practices are formed and re-formed in a network of ever-shifting actors, texts and

practices" (Smythe, 2015, p.16). I have posed the question – what the purpose of literacy is – throughout this thesis and have demonstrated the entrenched neoliberal ideologies are currently driving the policies and programs for literacy in Nova Scotia.

The concern for addressing local needs versus global agendas regarding literacies has been raised by numerous researchers (Street, 2012; Collins, 1995; Reder and Davila, 2005). Brandt and Clinton (2002) question if there is proportional influence of local to global and vis versa. They also proposed that if literacy networks and practices are wholly localized, they are more likely have less agency and influence, than those with more expansive agents between the micro and macro. This is an interesting perspective of influence. From this concept, there is a possibility that Nova Scotia literacy networks have influence beyond our borders. Could Nova Scotia shift the direction of ideology currently released from supranational organization, to national, to provincial, to local? Ultimately, this would require continuous critically analysis of ideologies, origin, and influence, to ensure balance in the purpose of literacy programming.

I maintain, to balance such expansive endeavours would still be best served from Nova Scotia developing policies to support programming like Freire's "conscientizacao". As defined in the footnote from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Freire's literacy programming involves a process in which the learner perceives "social, political, and economic contradictions" in discourse and "take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970, p. 35). For literacy programing in Nova Scotia to contain conscientizacao", policies must be informed from the bottom up, not just the top down, with a more integrated knowledge approach. To shift the current direction of policies

from supranational down to local, a more democratic approach to informing Nova Scotia policies should be utilized. It is time to repeat a process from Nova Scotia's past and develop new educational forms. The creation of forums for subject matter experts at all levels should include representatives from government, community organizations, educators, and learners to inform policy and programing.

A critical theoretical approach can be used to inform literacy programs and policies. There are educational theorists and researchers whose work outlines strategies that resist neoliberal ideology and new capitalisms' economic determinism. Researchers in the New London Group, supporters of multiliteracy, or contributors to Social Solidary Actions/Social Enterprises, continue to create spaces more focused on social justice, social equity, and humanity. Education, which includes adult literacy, for the citizens of Nova Scotia, has the ability to form our social practices and define our civil society. As previously mentioned, the goal of a province to be economically sound is a justified goal, especially if that leads to greater social equity and an informed society capable of thinking critically enough to recognize latent ideologies. Often in society today, philosophy is seen as a relic; it doesn't meet the financial returns that a materialist world demands. However, Plato's Allegory of the Cave taught of the ignorance of humanity when humanity remains trapped in conventions formed by society. Nova Scotia's policies should be analyzed to ensure Community Learning Organizations have the flexibility to develop programming to grow a critically engaged adult literacy population, not just produce literacy outcomes which check boxes.

Habermas states this is a presumption of understanding of the lifeworld which becomes implicit in members of society when there is an assumption of rationality in

knowledge. However, for Habermas knowledge does not guarantee rationality. Rationality only comes with both the active securing of knowledge and subsequent application of this knowledge (Habermas, 1984). If a learner is taught a prescribed pedagogy without being a participant of the creation of the pedagogy or how to analyse the source and purpose of the information they are given, they become a prophet of another's' worldview. For adult literacy learners to be active participants functioning in the global economy and living within a just society in which they can be active citizens, they must also be participants in the creation of the policies and programs that will shape their learning experiences.

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Appendix A

Addressing Canada's Literacy Challenge: A Cost/Benefit Analysis

Adult Learning Act, c 31 (2010):

Adult Learning Act: Adult Learning Regulations. 132 SNS (2014)

Adult Learning Act-Discussion Paper (2010)

Too Many Left Behind: Canada's Adult Education and Training System