



University of Dundee

Policy discourses in Scotland

Swinney, Ann

Published in:
Mobilities and Transitions

Publication date:
2014

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Discovery Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Swinney, A. (2014). Policy discourses in Scotland: adult literacy and social exclusion. In P. Anderson, J. Brown, J. Field, A-M. Houghton, C. Jarvis, A. Jones, L. Morrice, ... D. Smith (Eds.), *Mobilities and Transitions: Learning, Institutions, Global and Social Movements. Conference Proceedings, Glasgow Caledonian University, Scotland, UK, 25-27 June 2013.* (pp. 261-267). Glasgow: Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning, Glasgow Caledonian University.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in Discovery Research Portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from Discovery Research Portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain.
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



University of Dundee

Policy discourses in Scotland

Swinney, Ann

Published in:
Mobilities and Transitions

Publication date:
2014

[Link to publication in Discovery Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Swinney, A. (2013). Policy discourses in Scotland: adult literacy and social exclusion. In P. Anderson, J. Brown, J. Field, A-M. Houghton, C. Jarvis, A. Jones, L. Morrice, ... D. Smith (Eds.), *Mobilities and Transitions: Learning, Institutions, Global and Social Movements. Conference Proceedings*, Glasgow Caledonian University, Scotland, UK, 25-27 June 2013. (pp. 261-267). Glasgow: Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning, Glasgow Caledonian University.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in Discovery Research Portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

? Users may download and print one copy of any publication from Discovery Research Portal for the purpose of private study or research.

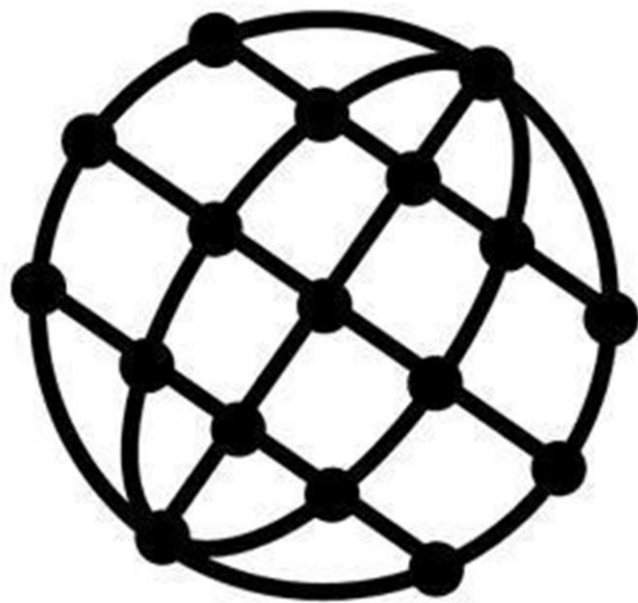
? You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain.

? You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Conference Proceedings



**MOBILITIES AND
TRANSITIONS: LEARNING,
INSTITUTIONS, GLOBAL AND
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Glasgow Caledonian University,
Scotland, UK 25-27 June 2013



Mobilities and Transitions: Learning, Institutions, Global and Social Movements

Conference Proceedings

Glasgow Caledonian University, Scotland, UK
25-27 June 2013

These proceedings have been refereed and edited by:

Dr Pauline Anderson, Glasgow Caledonian University
Julie Brown, Glasgow Caledonian University
Professor John Field, University of Stirling
Dr Ann-Marie Houghton, Lancaster University
Professor Christine Jarvis, University of Huddersfield
Dr Anna Jones, Glasgow Caledonian University
Dr Linda Morrice, University of Sussex
Professor David Smith, Glasgow Caledonian University

Published by: The Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning, Glasgow Caledonian University and SCTUREA, 2014

© rests with authors of individual papers
All rights reserved

ISBN 9781905866700

The responsibility for the content of the papers lies entirely with the individual authors and not with the conference organisers.

Sponsorship received from:



Further copies are available from:
Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning
www.crl.org.uk

Introduction

We have great pleasure in presenting the 2013 CRL SCUTREA conference proceedings. The International conference was held at the Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning (CRL), Glasgow Caledonian University from the 25-27 June 2013.

The conference theme - Mobilities and Transitions: Learning, Institutions, Global and Social Movements provided a platform for researchers engaged in Lifelong Learning and the Education of Adults to address key areas of international concern. This theme expresses the clear need to explore the implications of change, turbulence and fluidity that characterises the field of post-compulsory education in different global contexts. A range of global countries are represented in these papers and in the conference participants, highlighting the strength of this interest. Participating countries include Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Thailand, South Africa, USA and the UK. The papers were clustered around the following central research strands: academic practices, labour markets and skills, students in transition, social movements, institutional mobilities, ethics and values.

We hope you enjoy the papers and that they continue to provoke stimulating debate and provide the basis for ongoing research.

David Smith and Anna Jones, CRL

Ann-Marie Houghton, SCUTREA

Contents

Recognising prior learning in NHS Scotland <i>Karen Adams (NHS Education for Scotland (NES), UK)</i>	Page 8
Dilemmas in mobilizing adult education programs: a reflexive exploration of program renewal in the context of disciplinary crisis <i>David Boud, Donna Rooney and Kate Collier (University of Technology, Australia)</i>	Page 20
The Invisible becomes visible: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Online Learning Environment <i>Lorenzo Bowman, Glenn Palmer and Pamela Harroff (DeVry University, USA)</i>	Page 26
Academic practices: Mapping the curriculum framework tendencies of Australian Youth Work training. Does training follow industry or government policy trends? <i>Jennifer Brooker (RMIT University, Australia)</i>	Page 36
Community university engagement and the politics of redistribution, recognition and participation <i>Shauna Butterwick (University of British Columbia, Canada)</i>	Page 43
Developing sustainable competences through the whole professional life <i>Jean-Marie DUJARDIN (University of Liège, Belgium)</i>	Page 52
Contemporary adult education: still a social movement? <i>John Field (University of Stirling, UK)</i>	Page 62
Institutional Relations in an Age of Mobility: Implications for the Assessment of Immigrant Professionals' Skills <i>Tara Gibb (Athabasca University, Canada)</i>	Page 69
Slow learning: reflective scholarship in a time of mobilities and transitions <i>Patricia A. Gouthro (Mount Saint Vincent University, Canada)</i>	Page 78
Mobilizing sexual and gender minorities in mainstream lifelong learning: bolstering social learning <i>André P. Grace (University of Alberta, Canada)</i>	Page 86
I'm Being Swallowed by a Boa Constrictor: Transitioning Adult Education Departments into Faculties of Education <i>Janet Groen and Colleen Kawalilak (University of Calgary, Canada)</i>	Page 95
Recognition of prior learning and looked after young people <i>Alison Hennessy, Graham Connelly (Centre of Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland (CELCIS), University of Strathclyde, UK) and Ruth Whittaker (Learning Enhancement and Academic Development (GCU LEAD), Glasgow Caledonian University, UK)</i>	Page 102
Higher Education: Means of Transitioning to Better Futures <i>Jeannie Herbert (Charles Sturt University, Australia)</i>	Page 110

Marginalised entrants to Higher Education? Redressing the balance through Access to Higher Education <i>Nalita James, Hugh Busher, Anna Piela and Anna-Marie Palmer (University of Leicester, UK)</i>	Page 118
Public pedagogy and the superheroes of 2012. <i>Christine Jarvis (University of Huddersfield, UK)</i>	Page 128
Boundaries Blurred and Reconceived: How Popular Culture Functions Pedagogically Across Borders <i>Kaela Jubas (University of Calgary, Canada)</i>	Page 138
Moving Forward by Stepping Back: Elder Faculty Speak Out <i>Colleen Kawalilak and Jacqueline G. Warrell (University of Calgary, Canada)</i>	Page 146
Test of Measurement Invariance of Graduate Skill Evaluation Model for Thai Higher Education Institution <i>Buratin Khampirat (Suranaree University of Technology, Thailand)</i>	Page 155
The Thumbless hand, the dog and the chameleon: enriching social movement learning theory through epistemically grounded narratives emerging from a participatory action research case study in Ghana <i>Jonathan Langdon (St Francis Xavier University, Canada), Kofi Larweh (Radio Ada, Ghana) and Sheena Cameron (University of Windsor, Canada)</i>	Page 162
Activity-based instructional design to enhance student mobility <i>Seonaigh MacPherson and Chris Campbell (University of Fraser, Canada)</i>	Page 169
Managing difference and diversity in higher education: the limitations of widening participation discourses <i>Linda Morrice (University of Sussex, UK)</i>	Page 179
Critical traditions in Canadian adult education: Social movements, university scholarship and discursive transitions <i>Tom Nesbit (Simon Fraser University, Canada), Susan M. Brigham (Mount St. Vincent University, Canada), Nancy Taber (Brock University, Canada) and Tara Gibb (Athabasca University, Canada)</i>	Page 187
Communities of practice for PhD study in 'developing country' contexts: mobile learning across borders <i>Julia Preece (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)</i>	Page 195
Time travel: mobilities and transitions from an Irish LGBTQ higher education perspective <i>Aideen Quilty (University College Dublin, Ireland)</i>	Page 202
Global Economic Trends and Academic Mobility: voices from the United Arab Emirates <i>Dr Kay Sanderson (Middlesex University, Dubai, United Arab Emirate)</i>	Page 210
The Media & Communications Institute: learning to tell our own stories <i>Shivaani Selvaraj (Pennsylvania State University, USA)</i>	Page 220
Mapping the Pathway of Continuous Learning for Engineers in China: An Institutional Ethnographic Study <i>Hongxia Shan (University of British Columbia, Canada)</i>	Page 228

Negotiating differences and distinctions: Chinese immigrant engineers in Canada *Hongxia Shan (University of British Columbia, Canada) and Shibao Guo (University of Calgary, Canada)* **Page 235**

Collaboration or Integration: Institutional responses to changing tertiary policy in three countries. *Andy Smith (University of Ballarat, Australia), Liz Beaty (University of Cumbria, UK) and Neil Simco (University of the Highlands and Islands, UK)* **Page 242**

University students and their working pathways *Erica Smith and Wendy Patton (University of Ballarat, Australia)* **Page 253**

Policy discourses in Scotland: adult literacy and social exclusion *Ann Swinney (University of Dundee, Scotland)* **Page 261**

Shaping critical discussions for female college students with learning exceptionalities in transition: analyzing films, graphic novels, and avatars *Nancy Taber, Vera Woloshyn, Laura Lane and Caitlin Munn (Brock University, Canada)* **Page 268**

Literacy skills, the OECD's International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and the economic discourse *Lyn Tett (University of Huddersfield, UK)* **Page 275**

Normal and risky transitions: the role of education, social capital and gender in skilled migration *Sue Webb, Denise Beale and Miriam Faine (Monash University, Australia)* **Page 282**

Painting us in: using diverse ethnography and art participatory approaches to invite engagement. *Theresia Williams and Samantha Williams-Chapelsky (Knowledge Cultivators, Canada)* **Page 291**

Disturbing practices: managing learning on the 'lean' production floor *Keiko Yasukawa, Tony Brown and Stephen Black (University of Technology Sydney, Australia)* **Page 298**

Roundtable

Using online tools in the conduct of research in the education of adults: a methodological round table *Jaya Dixit, Brandi Kapell, Laurie Vermeylen, and Scott McLean (University of Calgary, Canada)* **Page 307**

Teaching across the generations: The adult learning environment and generational diversity *Glenn Palmer and Lorenzo Bowman (DeVry University, USA)* **Page 310**

Symposium

Researching adult education history: current position, future prospects *John Field (University of Stirling, UK), Mark Freeman (University of Glasgow, UK) and Helen Glew (University of Westminster, UK)* **Page 315**

Transitions without institutions: a symposium on self-help literature as a contested site of adult learning

Scott McLean, Jaya Dixit, Brandi Kapell, and Laurie Vermeylen (University of Calgary, Canada)

Page 326

Policy discourses in Scotland: adult literacy and social exclusion

Ann Swinney, University of Dundee, Scotland, U.K.

This paper has been informed by my Doctoral Thesis. The thesis explored understandings of social exclusion in policy and in literacy practitioners' discourses about their practice. As part of my study I undertook an analysis of Scottish policy texts relating to social exclusion and adult literacy. In exploring policy discourse my aim was to draw attention to the 'truths' that are embedded in policy narratives and contribute to critical debate about the nature of social exclusion and the role of adult literacy provision in addressing it.

Here I discuss how policy discourse about social exclusion has evolved between 1999 and 2011 from a combative to a more enabling style. I also illustrate how a more overt, individualistic economic discourse has become established as the underpinning rationale for policy intervention and seems at odds with a continuing attachment, in policy discourse and by practitioners, to a social practice pedagogy of adult literacy.

Social Exclusion has been described as the dominant inequality discourse in Europe (Mathieson et al 2008). The pervasiveness of the language of social exclusion in public discourse and government policy has been recognised (Levitas, 2005). In the UK, contemporary policy interest in social exclusion is driven by a concern to achieve social justice and reduce inequality in society (Scottish Government, 2007). UK and Scottish Government policy statements suggest economic development is perceived to be a fundamental component in strategic approaches intended to address social exclusion and they draw the critique that policy interventions place an 'emphasis on paid work as a vehicle of inclusion' (Levitas, 2005:29).

Social exclusion, however, is a contested term and there is a large and growing body of literature which addresses its nature, cause and purpose. Social exclusion has been conceptualised as alternatively a state and a process (Lister, 2004); it has been described as a multi-dimensional phenomenon arising from a range of factors which interact to disadvantage individuals and communities (Room 1995; Levitas et al 2007) and it has been variously said to be a term which distracts from fundamental issues of poverty in society and alternatively to illuminate the complex nature of social disadvantage (Estivill, 2003). Definitions of social exclusion, explanations about its causes, and the ways in which the term is used vary and, according to Levitas (2005), reflect differing analyses.

Social exclusion is not only embedded in views about poverty and disadvantage but also in views about social norms and attitudes about political and social organisation. Perhaps De Haan's view that social exclusion is best understood as 'a theoretical concept, a lens through which people look at reality and not reality itself' (2001:28) is a helpful metaphor to use when considering different discourses of social exclusion.

Adult literacy is one aspect of social policy which is thought to address social exclusion. Like social exclusion, literacy is a philosophically and ideologically loaded

concept and thus subject to debate and controversy. Hamilton (1996) identified three ideologies of literacy, apparent in public and policy discourse. Literacy for 'emancipation', 'social control' and 'cultural missionary activity' and she suggests the latter two give rise to 'the deficit model of literacy' which predominates in U.K. discourse about provision.

In Scotland literacy is currently defined as 'The ability to read, write and use numeracy, to handle information, to express ideas and opinions, to make decisions and solve problems, as family members, workers, citizens and lifelong learners' (Scottish Executive, 2001). This definition is intended to reflect the different ways in which people use literacy in their lives and move beyond a 'discourse of deficit' in which literacy equates to the acquisition of the pre-requisite skills necessary to participate effectively in a market orientated and driven society. The underlying proposition endorsed in Scottish policy therefore is that literacy is socially and contextually defined and it 'dispenses with the idea that there is a single literacy that can be unproblematically taken for granted' (Crowther et al., 2001:2). It draws attention to power dimensions in the privileging of some forms of literacy over others and argues in favour of a pedagogy in which literacy learning is posited as a liberating project which equips participants to choose to challenge dominant values and practices or to conform. However my analysis of policy texts suggests that this perspective is not sustained in key documents (Scottish Executive 2001; Scottish Government 2010) and that consequently literacy practitioners are operating in a conflicted and contested policy environment. This policy environment embraces both an emancipatory pedagogy of adult literacy and adult literacy learning defined by a neo-liberal economic agenda.

The policy texts which I analysed included *Social Justice: A Scotland where Everyone Matters* (Scottish Executive 1999), *Closing the Opportunity Gap* (Scottish Executive 2002) and *Achieving Our Potential: A Framework to Tackle Poverty and Income Inequality in Scotland* (Scottish Government 2008a), *Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland* (Scottish Executive 2001) and *Adult Literacies in Scotland 2020: Strategic Guidance* (Scottish Government 2010). They were published under the auspices of successive Scottish administrations between 1999 and 2010.

Using an approach informed by the work of Wodak (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) and Fairclough (2003) in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) policy texts were subject to close reading and interrogation using Wordsmith 5.0 textual analysis software to identify key conceptual metaphors employed by the authors. Van Dijk (2001) suggests a useful starting point for analysis of discourse may be the identification of 'macro- propositions' of texts because these often encapsulate the taken for granted assumptions or 'big discourse' (Wetherell, 2004:12) or macro-propositions that delineate the possibilities for framing and thinking about issues. The conceptual metaphors that writers employ are often indicative of these propositions (Fairclough 2003).

My analysis of social exclusion policy texts highlighted that the tone of social exclusion discourse changed in the period between 1999 and 2010 from combative to enablement and collaboration. This latter discourse implied greater individual responsibility for dealing with the causes and consequences of poverty and social exclusion whilst in the former, the state could be seen to assume principal responsibility. *Social Justice: A Scotland Where Everyone Matters* (Scottish

Executive, 1999a) was published shortly after the establishment of the Scottish Parliament and under the auspices of a New Labour administration which had recently returned to government after eighteen years of Conservative rule. Poverty and social exclusion are represented in this text as the consequence of previous exploitive and detrimental policies and practices. The New Labour Government distances itself from culpability but simultaneously assumes responsibility for addressing the problem of poverty and social exclusion in Scottish society. The text makes frequent use of combative vocabulary for example referring to 'the fight against poverty' and its goals of 'stamping out injustice and defeating child poverty'. The militaristic vocabulary represents poverty and social exclusion as an external threat and one which represents a significant 'danger' to society.

However by 2002 the language of policy had become less combative. Social exclusion was no longer represented as the consequence of external and malevolent forces but increasingly as something more complex and embedded in society. The language of *Closing the Opportunity Gap* (Scottish Executive, 2002) suggests a recognition that social exclusion is a more complex phenomenon than previously portrayed. Words such as **providing, enhancing, supporting, improving, and optimising** appear more frequently and begin to replace the militaristic lexicon of *Social Justice: A Scotland Where Everyone Matters* (Scottish Executive, 1999a). Consequently, the later text conveys a sense that the need for a more pragmatic and cooperative approach to social exclusion is required. Policy narratives refer to '**dismantling the obstacles** that people face in their lives' in order to '**unlock the prosperity** that is at the heart of our vision for Scotland' (Scottish Executive, 2002:5) suggesting that perceptions about social exclusion and poverty have shifted. Social exclusion is no longer seen as the consequence of an external threat but generated by malignant, internal social and economic practices that act to disadvantage. The recognition of social exclusion as something undesirable but inherent in social institutions requires a different sort of approach to achieve change because of the vested interest this analysis implies.

Expressions such as '**we will give** our young people the best possible start in life', '**we will make** our nation healthier', '**we want** our young people to realise their full potential' and '**we will tackle** poverty and disadvantage' (Scottish Executive, 2002:5) suggest that the Labour administration recognised a communal responsibility to address social exclusion. The publication of *Achieving Our Potential: A Framework to Tackle Poverty and Income Inequality in Scotland* (Scottish Government, 2008a) however signalled a shift to a more individualistic perspective. Social exclusion continued to be recognised by the Scottish Nationalist Government as a phenomenon or process embedded in social institutions and structures however the individual was more prominent as a key agent of change in the achievement of personal and national prosperity. This can be seen in the way that disease and waste replace combat as a metaphor of social exclusion. Poverty is described as having '**blighted** Scotland for generations' (Scottish Government, 2008a:6). There is recognition of a '**huge waste of potential** in our people and society' (Scottish Government, 2008a:6). It seems that government had shifted responsibility for social change, an assertion supported in the policy statement that

We are committed to an approach which supports **empowering people to make a difference to their own lives**. We must adopt an approach that

improves the capacity of individuals and their families **to lift themselves out of poverty by developing their resilience** (Scottish Government, 2008a:9).

A discourse, to which paid employment is pivotal, has been in evidence in UK and Scottish social policy since the latter part of the 1990s but has more recently become more prominent and eclipsed other policy discourses. Since 1997 economic development has been increasingly recognised as the main mechanism for addressing poverty, disadvantage and inequality and thus social exclusion. As early as 1999 the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive, 1999a:6) stated 'the main driver for poverty has been worklessness' and this discourse is evident in all areas of policy. In 2002, in *Closing the Opportunity Gap*, the Scottish Executive's budget plan for achieving social justice it was stated that

None of us wants to live in a Scotland where poverty and prejudice are allowed to prevail...our plans will tackle poverty, build strong, safe communities and create a fair, equal Scotland where rights for all is our byword...We will help those without work find jobs... Unemployment may be falling, but people living in Scotland's most deprived areas are still four times more likely to be out of work. That is why we will devote our energies to increasing training and employment opportunities in these communities (Scottish Executive, 2002:6).

By 2008 the SNP Government in Scotland had established a social inclusion framework encapsulated in three linked policy documents, *Achieving Our Potential: A Framework to Tackle Poverty and Income Inequality in Scotland* (Scottish Government, 2008a), *Equally Well* (Scottish Government, 2008b) and *The Early Years Framework* (Scottish Government, 2008c). All of these foreground economic prosperity through increased access to paid work as fundamental to achieving the government's goal of 'a Scotland which is wealthier and fairer' (Scottish Government, 2008a). This evolution of discourse is mirrored in Scottish Adult Literacy policy texts but a continuing commitment to a social practice perspective on literacy has given rise to a contradictory and conflicted policy discourse.

The growing dominance of an employment orientated discourse is evident in policy documents pertaining to adult literacy and learning, published between 2001 and 2010. In the late 1990s and early part of the 21st century a discourse of lifelong learning in which the intrinsic worth of learning was more evident in key policy documents relating to adult learning generally, and literacy specifically but employment as an antidote to social exclusion was a discourse already present. In 2001 the tentative view was expressed that

In an increasingly globalised economy, Scotland's future prosperity and competitiveness depends on building up the skills of her existing workforce and improving the employability of those seeking work. But improving literacy skills can also provide the first steps to learning other languages, promoting understanding in a multi-cultural society and accessing a whole range of life opportunities. An inclusive society is also a literate society (Scottish Executive, 2001:7).

By 2010 in the Scottish Government's strategic guidance for literacy the evidence that employment is accepted as the solution to social exclusion is much stronger.

The Scottish Government is committed to creating a smarter, wealthier, healthier, greener and fairer Scotland, with opportunities for all to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth. Central to this purpose is the refreshed skills strategy 'Skills for Scotland: Accelerating the Recovery and Increasing Sustainable Economic Growth'. This strategy reaffirms that "improving levels of adult literacy and numeracy is crucial to securing a competitive economy, promoting education and lifelong learning, and tackling ill- health and improving well-being (Scottish Government, 2010).

However, different and sometimes contradictory discourses can also be seen in adult literacy policy texts. The Education Scotland website for example (Education Scotland 2012:2nd para.), described the 'Scottish Approach' to adult literacy provision as being 'a social practice model, which sees literacies as part of the wider lifelong-learning agenda'. The 'model' is described as recognising 'literacy and numeracy are complex capabilities rather than a simple set of basic skills', and as an approach which recognises the benefits of contextualising learning methods and which embraces negotiated person centred planning and teaching. These are the themes which have been used to characterise adult literacy policy since 2001 (Scottish Executive, 2001; Scottish Government, 2011) and have been widely disseminated across Scotland through practitioner training initiatives. However alongside these is a narrative which reflects a functional and deficit perspective on literacy and which is present in most policy texts (Scottish Executive, 2001; Scottish Government, 2007a; Scottish Government, 2010). A review of adult literacy practice and provision in Scotland *Improving Adult Literacy in Scotland* (HMIE, 2010) by Her Majesty's Inspector of Education, made reference in the foreword, to 'those who lack literacy skills' and to the 'impact of limited literacy skills' on people's lives. Reference was made to learner accounts, 'of their embarrassment about their literacy skills...and attempts to hide their weaknesses'. It was asserted that, 'Supporting their literacy development is a vital area of work in developing an inclusive society in which everyone can contribute effectively'. These introductory comments illustrate a skills orientated and deficit perspective on adult literacy which despite policy statements to the contrary, the evidence (Scottish Executive, 2001) indicates has been sustained for the last ten years.

Barton (2007) suggests that the metaphors we use for literacy shape our discourse. He identifies 'skill set' as a common metaphor for literacy and argues that this metaphor contributes to a discourse of deficit in policy and practice. Barton (2007) argues that by treating literacy as a set of skills, which individuals either acquire or fail to acquire, results in the representation of adult literacy learners as inadequate, vulnerable and socially inept. He also observes that the widespread use of metaphors of disease and warfare are symptomatic of understandings, associated with a skills based or functional view of literacy. These metaphors are seen as contributing to the persisting use of terms such as 'illiteracy' and the resultant deficit models of the adult learner. He suggests that the metaphor of 'literacy as skills' in discourse, makes it difficult for governments to adopt new approaches not least because the skill metaphor corresponds with prevailing economic ideology.

According to Barton (2007), the skills metaphor ultimately gives rise to a discourse about literacy learners as socially isolated or more vulnerable than other groups in the population, a characterisation which he refutes as unfounded suggesting that

those with 'poor' literacy are as equally well 'networked' as other adults in the population it is just that the networks are different and more localised and the social networks in which these individuals engage and the literacy practices of these communities may not be recognised or valued outside of those settings. Bynner and Parsons (2006) findings from UK based research is consistent with this view as are the findings reported in the *Scottish Survey of Adult Literacies 2009* which say 'People have spiky [literacies] profiles, with areas of strength and weakness, and a greater ability to use texts more effectively in some circumstances than others' (St Clair et al., 2010). However this discourse of deficit is powerful and, as Tett and MacLachan (2008) comment, learners are often viewed as 'people whose deficiencies have a direct and adverse impact on the national good and who therefore pose a problem for the literate *others*' (2008:664).

Tett (2006:44) asks the question 'Is it possible to move from the dominant, deficit approach to literacy and numeracy as a way of more effectively promoting social inclusion and justice for all?' Her view is that a social practice view of literacy set within a social justice policy framework will allow provision to make an important contribution to social inclusion. She suggests some ways that this can be done whilst also acknowledging that a start has already been made on this in Scotland. What she proposes is a critical and reflective environment for literacy and numeracy provision that takes account of individual socio-emotional contexts that promotes learning as purposeful and challenging and which takes account of all forms of prior learning and knowledge (2006:49). She argues that learning is crucial to social inclusion but identifies a particular kind of learning that is 'a resource for people to help them identify inequalities, probe their origins and begin to challenge them using skills, information and knowledge in order to achieve and stimulate change' (Tett 2006: 50).

Whilst this is a desirable goal my analysis suggests that in the current policy climate, literacy practitioners may have a difficult task ahead navigating a way through a conflicted policy landscape where a discourse of deficit, fuelled by a growing emphasis on employment, threatens to dictate the nature and purpose of literacy provision.

.

References

- Barton D (2007) *Literacy: An Introduction to the Ecology of Written Language*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.
- Bynner J and Parsons S (2006) *New Light on Literacy and Numeracy*, London, NRDC.
- Crowther J Hamilton M and Tett L (eds.) (2001) *Powerful Literacies*, Leicester, NIACE.
- De Haan A (2001) *Social Exclusion: Enriching the Understanding of Deprivation*. (Unpublished paper) World Development Report, Forum on Inclusion, Justice and Poverty Reduction.
- Education Scotland (2012) *About Adult Literacies*. Web Page [online] Available at <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/adultlearning/adultliteracies/aboutadultliteracies.asp> [Accessed 25/4/13].
- Estivill J (2003) *Concepts and strategies for combating social exclusion: an overview*, Geneva, International Labour Organisation.

- Fairclough N (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London, Routledge.
- Hamilton M (1996) Adult literacy and basic education, in Fieldhouse R. (ed.) *A History of Modern British Adult Education*, Leicester, NIACE.
- HMIE (2010) *Improving Adult Literacy in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Levitas R (2005) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour* (2nd Edition), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Levitas R, Pantazis C, Fahmy E, Gordon D, Lloyd E and Patsios D (2007) *The Multi-dimensional Analysis of Social Exclusion. A Research Report for the Social Exclusion Task Force*, Bristol, University of Bristol.
- Lister R (2004) *Poverty*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Mathieson J, Popay J, Enoch E, Escorel S, Hernandez M, Johnston, H. and Rispel, L. (2008) *Social Exclusion Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities: A review of literature*. WHO Social Exclusion Knowledge Network Background Paper 1
- Room G (1995) *Beyond the Threshold: The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Scottish Executive (1999) *Social Justice...A Scotland Where Everyone Matters*, Edinburgh, Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2001) *Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2002) *Closing the Opportunity Gap: Scottish Budget for 2003–2006*, Edinburgh, Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Government (2007) *The Government Economic Strategy*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Scottish Government (2008a) *Achieving Our Potential: A Framework to tackle poverty and income inequality in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Scottish Government (2008b) *Equally Well: Report of the Ministerial Task Force on Health Inequalities*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Scottish Government, (2008c) *The Early Years Framework*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Scottish Government (2010) *Adult Literacies in Scotland 2020: Strategic Guidance*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- St. Clair R, Tett L, and Maclachlan K (2010) *Scottish Survey of Adult Literacies 2009: Report of Findings*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.
- Tett L and Maclachlan K (2008) Learners, tutors and power in adult literacies research in Scotland, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 27, 6, 659-672.
- Tett L (2006) *Adult Literacies and Social Inclusion: Practice, Research and Policy in Scotland* in Tett L, Hamilton M and Hillier Y (eds) (2006) *Adult Literacy, Numeracy and Language*, Maidenhead, Open University Press.
- Van Dijk T A (2001) *Multidisciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity* in Wodak R and Meyer M (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London, Sage.
- Wetherell M (2004) Chapter 1 Racism and the analysis of cultural resources in interviews in Van den Berg H, Wetherell M and Houtkoop-Steenstra H (eds.) *Analyzing Race Talk Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Research Interview*, Cambridge Books Online, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511489792>.
- Wodak R (2001) *The Discourse–Historical Approach* in Wodak R and Meyer M (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London, Sage.

