

ADULT LITERACY TEACHERS IN CENTRAL QUEENSLAND: A DISCURSIVE POSITIONING OF TEACHERS, POLICIES AND FUNDING IN REGIONAL, RURAL AND REMOTE COMMUNITIES

R. E. (Bobby) Harreveld
Division of Teaching and Learning Services
Central Queensland University

ABSTRACT

The sociocultural markers of adult literacy teachers' identities are significant for understanding the nature of teaching which is constructed through, and contingent upon, diverse geographical and systemic spaces – at once a dilemma and a strategy in promoting education in regional areas. This article reports on one aspect of the work of a cohort of 23 adult literacy teachers living in regional, rural and remote areas of Central Queensland. Discourse theory is used to frame the conceptualisation of one particular teacher's discursive positioning of her work. The article concludes that the relationships between adults positioned as teachers and students can become a community resource with the potential for rural engagement and for transformation of social and economic capital in such communities.

INTRODUCTION

Policy changes (see also Walker-Gibbs and Hartley, this issue) within Australia's adult vocational, technical and community education arena have led to changing work practices for adult literacy teachers over the last decade. Changes to work practices were mandated through the institutionalised powers of registered training organizations (RTOs) operating within a nationalised vocational education and training (VET) system (Australian National Training Authority, 1994, 1998). Conceptually, 'literacy' has been positioned by this VET system as an important social resource for enriching the country's economic capital (see also Allison & Douglas, this issue). To this end, literacy and numeracy were moved from the margins to the mainstream of policy and practice within the VET system (Watson, Nicholson & Sharpin, 2001, p. 1). Consequently, new roles were constructed for adult literacy teachers as they were subjected to the same professional uncertainties and insecurities as those experienced by their colleagues in both private and public sector training organisations.

Copyright Agency Limited (CAL) licensed copy. Further copying and
Communication prohibited except on payment of fee per Copy or Communication
And otherwise in accordance with the licence from CAL to ACER. For more
Information contact CAL on (02) 9394-7600 or info@copyright.com.au

In an examination of "Learning down on the farm: Rural literacy issues", Pam Lambert (1997) identified the challenges that these changes have posed for adult literacy teachers:

How do we balance the requirements of the Federal Government push for literacy to lead to "real jobs" with the ethos that [the] language, literacy and numeracy area means to enrich lifelong learning? How do we meet the requirements of a political agenda in order to access funding, while maintaining an ethical obligation to adult students to maintain equity and access to a broad range of language, literacy and numeracy opportunities that enable them to meet their ever-changing needs as adults. (p. 1)

Lambert's questions illustrate the dilemmas faced when teachers seek to meet the ongoing lifelong learning needs of adults (see also Allison & Douglas, this issue) as their students within policy induced funding frameworks linked to economic imperatives of the day. These dilemmas would seem to be compounded when working in regional, rural and remote communities throughout an area such as Central Queensland. The question emerging from this contextualisation addresses the strategic and transformative possibilities (see also Allison & Douglas, Smyth & Down and Fullerton, Danaher, Moriarty & Danaher, this issue) that a discursive positioning presents for people working as adult literacy teachers in, and seeking to use learning to engage, such communities.

In this article, I examine one of the findings from a five-year study into the discursive positioning of 23 adult literacy teachers' work in Central Queensland (Harreveld, 2002). These teachers were undertaking a professional development course in adult literacy teaching and the major data collection took place during face-to-face sessions, teleconference sessions and videoconference sessions, together with confirmatory interviews, throughout the period from 1996 to 2001. First, I present an overview of the outcomes from over a decade of change in the Australian VET system, with a specific focus on the notion of adult literacy teaching as a particular community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Second, one teacher's perception of the implications of these changes and her representations of herself and others operating within the system are examined through the lens of Gee's (1996a, 1996b) discourse theory. Third, this discursive positioning of adults as teachers and students in communities is then considered for the strategic and transformative possibilities that it presents for promoting adult literacy education in regional, rural and remote communities.

CHANGES TO COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

In this era of change, professional education opportunities for teachers in regional, rural and remote communities focused on official policies and predetermined operational procedures for their implementation. Decisions that were made in the metropolitan and southeastern area of Queensland, as well as other capital cities (see also Hartley, Smyth & Down and Fullerton, Danaher, Moriarty & Danaher, this issue), affected the terms and conditions of teachers' work. As RTOs sought to position themselves for economic and political survival in this new national VET system that incorporated adult literacy provision, teachers' identities were being reframed and their sense of self-worth, purpose and pleasure, which caused them to enter the profession in the first place, was challenged by the system's stakeholders.

In its policies and curriculum focus on competency-based education, the VET system wields institutionalised power through, among other avenues, the Australian Qualifications Framework (Australian Qualifications Framework Advisory Board, 1998) and the Australian Quality Training Framework (formerly the Australian Recognition Framework) (Australian National Training Authority, 2001). It strives for consistency, compliance and conformity with and to the expressed needs of its stakeholders, who are named and positioned as representatives of small, medium and large businesses, industry skills councils, and government and non-government organizations. VET needs are articulated in regional, state and national training plans. The form of governance chosen for this system is that of a bureaucracy. Not only the stakeholders but also the teachers and students are positioned in certain ways by this system's bureaucracy.

Adults who function as teachers and students in their local communities have their first and ongoing contacts with the VET system through RTOs, which compete with one another for funding. The terms 'regional', 'rural' and 'remote' denote non-metropolitan communities' geographical, social, economic and cultural relationships with the metropolitan area of Queensland, which is centred around the capital city, Brisbane.

I am framing my engagement with discourses as theoretical spaces through the deployment of selected elements of the literature on what might be termed 'space theory' (see for example Barcan & Buchanan, 1999; Bhabha, 1994; Danaher, Danaher & Moriarty, 2003; Soja, 1996; Usher & Edwards, 2000). Mercer (1997) addresses the issues of space theory through a framing of Australia's regional cultures. His thinking

encapsulates the complexity and complementarity of the notions of 'space' and 'place' in considerations of the Central Queensland 'region' as I am positioning it here. According to Mercer (1997), there is the region as:

...*administrative* space delimited by political indicators such as Local Government Areas (LGAs)...[,] as *geographic* space delimited by physical indicators such as mountains, plains and ocean...[,] as *economic* space delimited by patterns of commuting, employment characteristics and retailing...[,] a *functional* region...[and] as a *social* space defined normatively and in deficit terms as 'non-metropolitan' . (p. 6; *emphasis in original*)

Mercer (1997) argues that all these spaces and their definitions are needed to theorise the notion of a region.

In this reasoning, the space that a region occupies is understood in administrative, geographical, economic, functional and social terms. The pejorative sense of a 'non-metropolitan' social space is identified in terms of deficit (see also Smyth & Down, this issue) or lack of social life in comparison to the social space of a metropolitan region. Each of these spaces has its merits for defining a 'region'. The VET system's bureaucracy governs through the notion of the (Central Queensland) region.

The people who live there in perceptual terms, that is, as a cultural space, can also define the region. I turn to Mercer (1997) again for the perceptions of cultural affinity:

If you feel like a central, northern or western Queenslander or, crossing State boundaries, as a Riverina or Mallee or Central Australian or Desert or Long Grass person, and there is sufficient evidence that there are others who would identify in this way, and there is a culture of exchanges, traditions, rituals and common artefacts to support this feeling, then you have a region. This is an imagined community. But it is a *really* imagined community and that, after all, is the basis of our nations and polities. (p. 8; *emphasis in original*)

Here the 'region' is defined through relationships that embody people's feelings and perceptions of shared cultural exchanges, traditions, rituals and artefacts of daily life, together with their social interactions as both individuals and members of groups.

Southwest from Rockhampton, the Dawson Valley towns of Biloela, Theodore and Moura have retained their globally restructured agricultural and pastoral industries throughout the sometimes intermittent development of the coal mines surrounding Moura township. Since the opening up of coalmines throughout the whole Bowen basin further north in the Central Highlands, communities such as Emerald, Clermont, Dysart, Moranbah, Middlemount and Blackwater are also known as 'mining towns' in the

centre of agricultural and pastoral industries from surrounding properties. North on the coast, a major sugar cane production industry base was developed at Mackay, with an ongoing exposure to global market fluctuations. Mackay is also a service centre for the aforementioned mines, and as such the mine industry provides the major economic wellspring for the town and district. Besides being a dormitory rest and recreation location for Central Highlands workers and their families, this coastal area surrounding the township is continuing to expand as a tourist gateway to the Great Barrier Reef.

In the far west, Longreach functions as a remote yet regional community hub for pastoral and service industries operating through smaller, geographically remote townships of this area. Located almost in a direct line to the east of Longreach, and close to rapidly growing coastal industries, Gladstone and Rockhampton function similarly as regional communities. There are nearby townships that are considered 'remote' – not necessarily in a geographical sense, but in the people's social and/or economic and/or cultural distances from access to employment opportunities.

In these last few paragraphs, I have also suggested the notion of 'place' in which this study is located. This notion of place is significant because it strengthens understandings of 'region' – the region has both space and place (Danaher, Danaher & Moriarty, 2003). The term 'community' is used advisedly to denote people's self-identifications as belonging to particular groups of people with common interests and shared histories. Communities in this study were considered to be not only regional but also rural and remote. They embody Rowe's (1997) understanding of the region as space and place which:

...mediates between minutely localised and extensively globalised conceptions of space and place in which people and settlements are seen to be linked in various ways by propinquity, distance from metropolitan capitals, culture, history, political affiliation, economic interest and, not uncommonly, bureaucratic taxonomy. (p. 17)

Beare (2002, p. 1) calls for "a new paradigm for community" to reflect new linkages formed in response to changes in the social and economic structures of societies throughout the world. The flight of social capital (see also Allison & Douglas and Smyth & Down, this issue) from communities in the Australian bush is well documented in research findings (Falk & Mulford, 2001; Garbutcheon Singh & Harreveld with Hunt, 1997; Luke, Herschell & Bahr, 2000). Resonances of these findings would no doubt be found in other contexts with similar large rural centres

(populations of 25000 to 99999), small rural centres (populations from 10000 to 24999) and other rural centres with populations of fewer than 9999 people (Griffith, 2002, p. 5). Such communities are tenuously balanced between social sustainability (see also Allison & Douglas and Hartley, this issue) and decline as the effects of global ebbs and flows of human and physical resource capital are worked out at the level of the local and the particular in a *mélange* of government policies that seek to mitigate resultant service access tensions and dilemmas.

While not ignoring the community identifications of people who live in the same geographical area, people who have had similar experiences of unemployment and/or dislocations of enforced itinerant lifestyles (see also Hartley and Fullerton, Danaher, Moriarty & Danaher, this issue) and/or poverty when living in urbanised, metropolitan communities have perhaps more in common with those people living in regional, rural and remote communities who are the recipients of government's social security networks. Adult literacy teachers in such communities have been found to experience similar lifestyles of what I term a 'professional itinerancy'. The following quotation is a synthesised narrative that I developed from interview and participant observation data gathered from such teachers in the far west of Central Queensland:

In the morning you could be paid via WELL [Workplace English Language and Literacy] funding while in the afternoon you're paid via responsive funding from a pre-qualified supplier. The following day you're paid by TAFE and that evening you're a volunteer with a community literacy funded program. For the rest of the week you wait for the three young unemployed kids to turn up so you can earn some money via the Mutual Obligation funding. They're pretty busy and give it a miss that week because there's some pig shooting to be done; while the abattoir down the road (200kms away) is hiring again and the word is out that the show people may be taking on some roustabouts [casual workers]. (Harreveld, 1999, p. 14)

Professional identities constructed from lived experiences as depicted above are diffuse, complex and transitory. In such communities of practice, the teachers have more in common with the students than with bureaucrats who administer policy according to particularistic, ever-changing funding processes. Thus particular communities of practice are recognised from within particular discourses. These adult literacy teachers recognise one another through shared meanings, practices and social constructions of their identities. This recognition reflects both the distinctive dilemmas confronting educators working in regional communities and the potential strategies that

they might deploy to promote education in, and thereby engage transformatively, such communities.

DISCOURSES AND DISCURSIVE POSITIONING OF WORK

Language is central to the development and dissemination of policy directions that ultimately influence the identity constructions of adult literacy teachers. However, language is also used by these teachers within a family of social practices that mediates the VET system's policies on the one hand, and the day-to-day practices of their lives within regional, rural and remote communities on the other (Gee, 1996a). In other words, as Gee (1996a) explained in relation to the notion of discourses:

When we write or read, speak or listen, we coordinate and are coordinated by specific identities, specific ways of using language, various objects, tools, technologies, sites and institutions, as well as other people's minds and bodies.
(p. 6)

Accordingly, discourses are ways of 'framing up' events, beliefs, values, assumptions, perceptions and representations of oneself and of others that have meaning only if they are shared with and recognised as such by other people.

To illustrate a discursive positioning of adult literacy teachers, policy and funding, I will set out one teacher's text which came from a written assignment submitted at the conclusion of her professional development course. I use Gee's (1996a) approach to discourse analysis: this recognises five interrelated linguistic systems which, when working together, "constitute the *sensefulness* of a text" (p. 93; *emphasis in original*). This means that, for each particular text chunk chosen for analysis, I use the combined five linguistic systems to identify its meaning through: (1) its prosody (if it is a transcript from the spoken word); (2) its cohesive ties; (3) the text organisation (generic and top-level structures); (4) any contextualisation cues; and (5) its thematic organisation.

Originally an early childhood trained teacher, Julie (a pseudonym) had been asked to set up a community literacy program, although she never actually began the literacy program in that small rural community because the funds were not allocated owing to insufficient student numbers. By 1999, Julie was living in a different town in the remote far west of the Central Queensland region, teaching at the local preschool by day and adult literacy classes in the evenings. At the time of my finalising the study in 2002, she had left that town.

Figure 1 depicts what I call 'discursive dissonances' evident in the institutionalised systemic power coordinations and the identity constructions (including both dilemmas and potential strategies) that constitute this adult literacy teaching discourse. Because this is a written text, there are no prosodic cues of variations in pitch, rate, rhythm or tone of voice to guide my identification of basic speech units. Hence, for the purpose of this analysis, the basic speech units (shown as lines) were identified using syntactical cues that reflected the way in which I 'speak' this text in my mind when reading it. Julie has tried to guide me into a particular interpretation by her choice of sentence structures, grammar and punctuation. The text is expository in its macrostructure, with its thesis (Stanza 1), argument (Stanzas 2 and 3), three key supporting points (Stanzas 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) and a reformulation of the thesis (Stanza 8).

I THESIS

Stanza 1

1. *I seem to have entered /*
2. *an educational field /*
3. *one could liken to a war zone //*

II ARGUMENT

Stanza 2

4. *At 'the front' /*
5. *we have our practitioners /*
6. *teachers, educators and students //*

Stanza 3

7. *striving for victories /*
8. *often facing defeat /*
9. *and incurring casualties /*
10. *living the frustration /*
11. *yearning for peace and harmony /*
12. *some consistency /*
13. *and for things to just 'make sense' //*

SUPPORTING POINT I

Stanza 4

14. *Behind the front line of battle /*
15. *are those who substantiate its existence /*
16. *and outline the battle plan //*

SUPPORTING POINT II

Stanza 5

17. *our theorist /*
18. *working hard at formulating the best 'strategies' /*
19. *setting up the artillery for support of their plans /*
20. *and more importantly perhaps /*
21. *addressing the 'higher order' demands //*

SUPPORTING POINT III

Stanza 6

22. *It is here we become aware /*
23. *of the unseen /*
24. *and often unacknowledged /*
25. *decision makers /*
26. *who set the 'agenda' /*
27. *outside of individual concerns /*
28. *operating rather at the higher level of political/socio-economic power plays //*

Stanza 7

29. *no name /*
 30. *no faces /*
 31. *decision makers /*
 32. *who have the 'overall good' in mind //*
 CONCLUSION: REFORMULATION OF THESIS
 Stanza 9
 33. *The overall betterment /*
 34. *the overall objective /*
 35. *determining the outcome of battle //*

Figure 1: Julie's text extract

In Stanza 1, Julie positions herself as an adult literacy teacher who in her THESIS statement has "*entered an educational field*" (Lines 1 and 2), which is a special type of educational field that "*one could liken to a war zone*" (Line 3). The analogy for the whole text is established in Line 3. The thesis is reinforced in her ARGUMENT that is presented succinctly in Stanza 2 and explained in Stanza 3. Two main features of her argument are presented in Stanza 2. First, "*teachers, educators, students*" (Line 6) are together as "*our practitioners*" and second, it is these practitioners who are "*at the front*" (Line 4) line in this war zone. Stanza 3 fleshes out the argument, with its graphic visualisation of the work that these "*practitioners*" (Line 5) perform at "*the front*" (Line 4) as they "*strive for victory*", "*face defeat*", "*incur casualties*", "*live with frustration*" and "*yearn for peace, harmony and consistency*" with, above all, the hope that things in their working lives will "*just make sense*" (Lines 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13).

SUPPORTING POINT I continues the analogy's visual imagery, with the notion that there is something going on in this war "*behind the front line of battle*" (Line 14), because there are people there behind the line who "*substantiate*" (Line 15), or give reason for, the war's existence in the first place and who also "*outline the battle plan*" (Line 16). In Stanza 15's SUPPORTING POINT II, Julie identifies one of the people behind the line as "*our theorist*" (Line 17). The theorist's job in this war is strategic (Line 18), which means "*setting up the artillery*" (Line 19) with the most important job of attending to the war's "*higher order demands*" (Line 21).

While the strategy plotting, "*higher order demands*" knowledgeable theorist is visible to the practitioners, there is yet another group behind the front line. In SUPPORTING POINT III, Stanzas 6 and 7 alert the reader to a group whose members remain in the shadows but whose presence is definitely made known to the practitioners at the front. In this group are to be found the "*decision makers*" (Line 31). The decision makers constitute a group that "*sets the agenda*" (Line 26), with the "*overall good in mind*" (Line 32). With the CONCLUSION, Julie reformulates her thesis to include the

idea that the “agenda” for the battle set by the faceless, nameless ones (Lines 29 and 30) who were operating at “the higher level of political socioeconomic power plays” (Line 28) must be for the “overall betterment” (Line 33), because this is in effect the “overall objective” (Line 34) of the war. This agenda will also determine the “outcome of battle” (Line 35) from the “war zone” (Line 3).

In this written text, contextualisation signals are read from the punctuation marks and use of the parentheses that were a feature of Julie’s writing style throughout her assignment. These contextualisation signals were used to consolidate the analogy by building her feelings and beliefs into the text in lieu of the pitch and tonal variations, eye contact and body language that can be used as contextualisation signals in oral speech. In the original text, the use of an exclamation mark (!) at the end of Line 3 in Stanza 1 told the reader that she wanted this to be noticed and that the “war zone” is an important descriptor of the educational field of adult literacy teaching. Parentheses have been used within and across stanzas to consolidate her thesis.

From this brief summary of the full interrelated linguistic analysis, the main protagonists and their functions in this educational field’s war zone are identified in Figure 2:

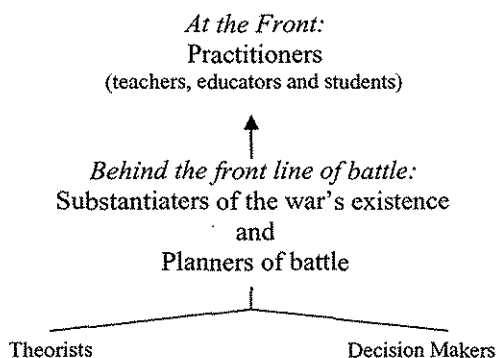


Figure 2: The war zone

Julie’s paradigm for community depicts a localised development of social capital encompassing the relationships that embody Julie’s feelings, values, beliefs and perceptions of shared cultural exchanges, traditions and rituals and the general artefacts of her daily life, together with the social interactions that she had experienced both as an individual and as a member of an adult literacy teaching community. She did not identify these practitioners through notions of regionality, rurality or remoteness; rather, she identified them through their relationships with those “behind the front line of battle”.

As can happen in war zones, though, sometimes strategically focused artillery falls short into its own lines with the troops coming under friendly fire. In other instances, front line troops have been known to advance so swiftly that they are caught in the middle of an artillery barrage from their own side, while still other front line troops navigate different pathways forward such that the artillery is superfluous to the result of the battle and the overall outcome of the war. In such instances, there is a danger that the agenda set by the general staff of decision makers behind the line becomes further removed from those front line troops' lived experiences. On the other hand, if intelligence from the front is timely and grounded in these lived experiences, then the war's agenda may reflect the overall betterment of all people and the strategically focused artillery will support the efforts of those at the front,

Julie's depiction of her community of practice reveals an ideological basis for the distribution of social goods in society, as it also reflects social representations within the discourse (Gee, 1996a; van Dijk, 1998). Through the "war zone", she interprets her perceptions of a given political order, with its legitimisation of hierarchies, its power relations and the framing of group identities of its key participants. Of crucial significance in this finding is Julie's positioning of the practitioners in relation to the decision makers and theorists-as-strategists who constitute the community of planners and substantiators of this war.

RELATIONSHIPS AS COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Gee (1996a, 1996b) would argue that Julie has coordinated specific professional identities, with specific ways of using language, in particular sites-of-practice and institutions. Relationships among people in all educational endeavours are foregrounded in this interpretation. At the same time, this interpretation also represents some relationships as more socially powerful than others. Julie acknowledged the dominance of "unseen and often unacknowledged decision makers, who set the 'agenda'" and who operate at the VET system's "higher level of political/socio-economic power plays". The institutionalised reforms of VET in Australia have reconceptualised the system, yet done little to reconceptualise a notion of the system-in-community, which I would argue is a core concept of educational transformation. Central to this transformation is a reconceptualisation of relationships as community resources.

"Relationships are the lifeblood of the community; they translate aspirations into experience and are the single most powerful signifiers of communication and culture"

(West-Burnham, 2002, p. 5). Relationships can constitute a community resource for the redevelopment of social capital – a social capital which requires the establishment and maintenance of networks, norms, trust, connectivity and reciprocity between and among people (Field, 1999, 2003; Smith, 1999). In his examination of education, leadership and the community in this new century, West-Burnham (2002) views the development of social capital as contingent upon the development of economic capital and *vice versa*. Findings from my research undertaken in communities throughout Central Queensland would support West-Burnham's (2002, p. 5) contention that there is a "symbiotic relationship" between "economic and social entrepreneurship" (see also McConachie & Simpson, 2003; see also Walker-Gibbs, this issue).

Ongoing investigations into a symbiosis between economic and social entrepreneurship could do much to contribute to a mapping of the transformative potentialities of adult education in Central Queensland communities. Central to such investigations would be a consideration of the notion of 'social entrepreneurship' – what that would look like in different communities of practice, and how it would relate to a notion of 'economic entrepreneurship'. Likewise social entrepreneurship could well provide a viable framework for understanding the dilemmas confronting educators in regional communities more broadly, as well as for charting possible strategies for addressing those dilemmas as a means of promoting education in such communities.

CONCLUSION

In this discussion, I have moved from a consideration of 'the 3 Rs' of regionality, rurality and remoteness in communities to 'the 2 Rs' of relationships as resources in communities. I have used a discursive framing of adult literacy teaching to illustrate both the possibilities and the potential risks of mobilising human relationships as community resources in educational endeavours. Yet the discursive dissonances resulting from divergent ideological positions of a bureaucratic system on the one hand, and teachers and students as 'practitioners' on the other hand, already challenge a hegemonic view of system and community in which the latter is subservient to the former.

Central to this challenge is the harnessing of those complex, diffuse and transitory relationships among people into reconstructed sociocultural markers of identity in mutually negotiated, joint venture, social repertoires of teaching and learning practices.

These sociocultural markers signal the notion of a 'relationships capital' that is a potentially significant contribution to place/space theory building. Relationships among people have value within a community and as such can be nurtured and/or discarded and/or reconstituted. Community relationships are the currency of both social and economic entrepreneurship. Community relationships also scaffold the complex and complementary administrative, geographical, economic, functional and social spaces and places that constitute a region. Finally, this conclusion positions my particular conception of learning as regional engagement, and also my understanding of the dilemmas and potentially transformative strategies attending the promotion of education in rural communities.

REFERENCES

- Australian National Training Authority 1994, *Towards a skilled Australia: A national strategy for vocational education and training*. Author. Brisbane, Qld.
- Australian National Training Authority 1998, *A bridge to the future: Australia's national strategy for vocational education and training 1998-2003*. Author. Brisbane.
- Australian National Training Authority 2001, *Australian Quality Training Framework*. Author. Melbourne, Vic. Retrieved October 31, 2001, from <http://www.anta.gov.au>
- Australian Qualifications Framework Advisory Board 1998, *Australian Qualifications Framework: Implementation handbook*. Author. Carlton, Vic.
- Barcan, R. & Buchanan, I. eds. 1999, *Imagining Australian space: Cultural studies and spatial inquiry*. The University of Western Australia Press. Nedlands, WA.
- Beare, H. 2002, Towards a learning community. In Technology Colleges Trust, *Vision 2020 – Second international online conference, 13-26 October and 24 November-7 December, 2002*. Retrieved November 22, 2002, from <http://www.cybertext.net.au/tct2002/keynote/beare.htm>
- Bhabha, H. K. 1994, *The location of culture*. Routledge. London and New York.
- Danaher, P. A., Coombes, P. N., Danaher, G. R. & Anteliz, E. A. 2000, Life imprisonment or learning for life: Re-opening the social control-social capital debate about lifelong learning. *Re-Open*, 1(1), pp. 1-14 (<http://www.edca.cqu.edu.au/lit/reopen/current.html>).
- Danaher, P. A., Danaher, G. R. & Moriarty, B. J. 2003, Space invaders and pedagogical innovators: Regional educational understandings from Australian occupational Travellers. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 18(3), pp. 164-169.
- Falk, I. & Mulford, W. 2001, Enabling leadership: A new community leadership model. In *Learning to manage change: Developing regional communities for a local-global millennium*, ed. I. Falk. National Centre for Vocational Education Research. Leabrook, SA.
- Field, J. 1999, Schooling, networks and the labour market: Exploring participation in lifelong learning in Northern Ireland. *British Educational Research Journal*, 25(4), pp. 501-506.
- Field, J. 2003, *Social capital*. Routledge. London.

Garbutcheon Singh, M. J. & Harreveld, R. E., with Hunt, N. 1997, *Virtual flexibility: Adult literacy & new technologies in remote communities*. Report commissioned by the Queensland Adult English Language, Literacy and Numeracy (QAELLN) Council. Research Centre for Open and Distance Learning, Central Queensland University. Rockhampton, Qld.

Gee, J. P. 1996a, *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. Taylor & Francis. London.

Gee, J. P. 1996b, Literacy and social minds. In *The literacy lexicon*, eds. G. Bull & M. Anstey. Prentice Hall. Sydney, NSW.

Griffith, D. A. 2002, Chalk or cheese? Distinguishing between access disadvantage and geographic classifications in Australia. Paper presented at the 11th biennial conference of the Australian Population Association, Sydney.

Harreveld, R. E. 1999, Mutual obligation: (Not) a challenge for community. *Write-On*, pp. 6-14.

Harreveld, R. E. 2002, Brokering changes: A study of power and identity through discourses. PhD thesis, Central Queensland University.

Lambert, P. 1997, Learning down on the farm: Rural literacy issues. *Literacy Now*, 3, pp. 1-2.

Luke, A., Herschell, P. & Bahr, M. 2000, *Sustainable local literacies: Using technology to support adult literacy tutors and volunteers in isolated sites*. Report commissioned by the Queensland Adult English Language, Literacy and Numeracy (QAELLN) Council. Graduate School of Education, The University of Queensland. Brisbane, Qld.

McConachie, J. & Simpson, J. 2003, Social entrepreneurship: An Australian university transforms a regional community through diversity and innovation. *Queensland Journal of Educational Research*, 19(2), pp. 100-118.

Mercer, C. 1997, Mapping regional cultures. In *Mapping regional cultures: Discourses in social contexts*, eds. W. Mules & H. Miller. Rural Social and Economic Research Centre, Central Queensland University. Rockhampton, Qld.

Rowe, D. 1997, Imagine no metropolis: The regional renaissance. In *Mapping regional cultures: Discourses in social contexts*, eds. W. Mules & H. Miller. Rural Social and Economic Research Centre, Central Queensland University. Rockhampton.

Smith, D. 1999, How has social capital fared in Kennett's Victoria? *Social Alternatives*, 4(2), pp. 28-36.

Soja, E. W. 1996, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Blackwell Publishers. Cambridge, MA.

Usher, R. & Edwards, R. 2000, *Globalisation and pedagogy: Space, place and identity*. Routledge. Suffolk, UK.

van Dijk, T. A. 1998, *Ideology*. Sage. London.

Watson, M., Nicholson, L. & Sharpin, E. 2001, *Review of research: Vocational education and training literacy and numeracy*. National Centre for Vocational Education and Research. Leabrook, SA.

Wenger, E. 1998, *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK.

West-Burnham, J. 2002, Education, leadership and the community. In Technology Colleges Trust, *Vision 2020 – Second international online conference, 13-26 October and 24 November-7 December, 2002*. Retrieved November 23, 2002, from <http://www.cybertext.net.au/tcf2002/keynote/printable/west-burnham%20%20printable.htm>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank P. A. Danaher, Phyllida Coombes, Geoff Danaher and Emilio A. Anteliz (2000) for their insightful reopening of the social control–social capital debate within the context of lifelong learning which has informed the interpretations emerging in this article.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

R. E. (Bobby) Harreveld is Senior Lecturer and Research Fellow in the Learning, Evaluation, Innovation and Development Centre in the Division of Teaching and Learning Services at the Rockhampton campus of Central Queensland University, Australia. She is co-editor of journal theme issues about vocational education and multiliteracies. Email: b.harreveld@cqu.edu.au