A REVIEW OF THE CANADIAN LITERATURE ON GENDER AND LEARNING

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Abstract

This paper reviews the current Canadian literature related to gender and adult learning. The authors identify emphases in the published and unpublished literature, Web-based sources, and reports of major research bodies. They find that there is a growing body of knowledge in feminist theory, immigrant women, workplace education, technology and learning, and community development and adult learning. Furthermore, a great number of research projects have been situated in the community with community agendas at the forefront. Suggestions for future research within the Canadian context are provided.

Résumé:

Cet article fait une revue de la litérature Canadienne actuelle sur l'apprentissage des femmes adultes. Les auteures identifient les points qui ressortent dans la litérature publiée et non-publiée, sur les sites internautes, et dans les rapports des groupes de recherche les plus importants. Elles ont trouvé un nombre croissant de textes concernant la théorie féministe, les immigrantes, l'éducation à l'emploi, la technologie et l'apprentissage, ainsi que le développement communautaire et l'éducation aux adultes. En plus, un grand nombre de projets de recherche sont enrachinés dans la communauté avec des agendas qui leur sont pertinents. En ce qui a trait à l'avenir, elles suggèrent des avenues de recherche particulières pour le contexte Canadien.

Introduction

This paper provides a review of the current literature on gender and learning with a particular emphasis on the Canadian context. In Canada, interest in gender and learning is coming to the fore, most notably through its inclusion in a list of federally commissioned reports on learning. Adult educators in Canada have had an interest not only in gender (*Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 1994; MacKeracher, 2004; Miles, 1989) but in the interlocking issues of race, class, and gender (Nesbit, 2005).

The paper draws from a literature review commissioned by the Canadian Council on Learning (CCL) to establish a baseline for further federally sponsored

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research on learning. The resulting report on gender and learning was one of eight on themes including literacy and learning, culture and learning, French as a minority language, access and barriers to adult learning, learning communities, and social movements.

We first identify our search strategy, present five key Canadian themes arising from the search, discuss the data, and then conclude with a summary and suggestions for future research.

Search Strategy

We use gender as a sociological category of analysis, to refer to the characteristics socially assigned to each biological sex, male and female. The category of gender is linked to social constructivism, the theory that how we act and see the world as male or female is shaped by our experiences of family, society, and culture. While social norms gender both males and females, it is common for only females to be seen as gendered (Owen, 2000), thus discussions of gender and learning typically focus on women. Although there is a growing body of research on masculinities as a gendered field of inquiry in the social sciences and in development theory (Frank & Davison, 2000), this is rarely studied in adult education beyond a few specific contexts of cultural, workplace, or social exclusion (Egan, 2004; Price, 2005).

The continued dominance of the American *In a Different Voice* (Gilligan, 1982) and *Women's Ways of Knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) indicates the need for greater visibility of Canadian contributions, which often move beyond this psychological theory to show feminism in multiple theoretical forms. We include feminist research here, though we acknowledge that research on women or indeed on gender is not necessarily feminist, since feminism includes at least some political or emancipatory intent (Code, 2000). Further, feminist research continues to have low representation in the broader literature (Butterwick, Fenwick, & Mojab, 2003; Gouthro, 2002).

Our selection and analysis of the data was guided by the principles of (a) focusing on Canadian sources, wherever possible, (b) identifying sources that linked gender and learning, (c) highlighting major themes and gaps arising from the literature, and (d) providing a wide spectrum of scholarly and governmental sources, as well as the contribution of community-based educators and organizations. We examined current literature, research programs, Web sites, government initiatives, and various other publicly available sources in order to articulate the principal issues and remaining research themes that need to be investigated. In some cases, to situate the work within a broader theoretical base, we bring in sources from outside Canada. We do not include the vast literature on literacy and gender, which was reviewed by another research team for the CCL (Quigley et al., 2005). No archival or primary data were included because of time and financial restraints.

To identify the areas to research, we drew upon the team leader's 10 years of experience in the field of adult education, as well as relevant reference publications, including the *International Encyclopedia of Adult Education* (English, 2005b) and the *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories* (Code, 2000). We limited our search to the last 10 years, except in cases where older sources seemed germane. The ProQuest and CSA

Illumina/Sage databases were assets, since they contain a comprehensive selection of mainstream international scholarly journals on gender, feminist theory, and education. Of interest is that, in the last five years, 22% of the articles in *Studies in the Education of Adults* were focused on gender, and 35% in *Adult Education Quarterly*. To ensure a more direct Canadian focus, we reviewed the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) online database of funded academic research; relevant federal and provincial government departmental Web sites; the *Theses Canada Portal* of Library and Archives Canada; proceedings of major adult education conferences (CASAE, SCUTREA, AERC); reports of national research bodies, including A Commitment to Training and Employment for Women (ACTEW), the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW), and the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW); as well as the Web sites of provincial women's secretariats and community-based women's organizations. These sources assisted the researchers to learn from emerging research not yet published and to identify key actors and programs at the local level.

Themes in the Literature

To focus the discussion, we have limited our findings to the most prominent areas that surfaced. In reading and rereading the texts, we looked for patterns and trends assigned to the texts by different writers, especially to different forms of feminism. This was an iterative process that resulted in several themes delineated below, creating a new and emergent text about Canadian work on gender and learning. We bring attention to each of the themes and then identify areas requiring further research.

Feminist Theory

Within Canada, a number of adult educators are contributing directly to feminist theory (e.g., Gouthro, 2000, 2005; Miles, 1995), building upon insights from Marxist theory (Fenwick & Mirchandani, 2004; Ng, Staton, & Scane, 1995). They have broadened understandings of race and gender and stressed that students or practitioners who embody multiple privileged locations or categories can wield more power in classrooms and society (Butterwick, 2005a; Mojab, 2005). Categories of privilege can include: gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, class, and able-bodiedness, although, generally, social experience and policy act as though "white males have neither race nor gender" (Rocco & West, 1998, p. 171), and rarely confront their whiteness or maleness or what that means to their lives. The universal norm of white maleness is only challenged when, and if, individuals are proactive in unmasking the hidden structures that bolster that power and in challenging it. Feminism can address this in society in general or, specifically, in the classroom and educational institutions through feminist pedagogy (Butterwick, 2005a). Ng et al. (1995) believe that feminist pedagogy alone is insufficient, and just as categories of analysis must include race, gender, and class, pedagogical theories must also be open to cross-pollination from other critical theories, such as antiracist education and critical pedagogy.

In considering work and learning for work (discussed further below), feminist theorists have noted that women are routinely excluded from high quality work and segregated into gendered occupations. Cohen (2003), for instance, notes that even if training programs exist for marginalized groups—including women and youth struggling with other systems of oppression and discrimination—success is difficult, since the

programs are rarely designed from the perspectives and realities of the target groups (see also Andruske, 2001). According to Gaskell and McLaren (1987), education is part of a complex set of relationships in which school, education, and society interact to shape the experience of women.

Ng (1996) notes that feminist theory has criticized traditional analyses of work and training for ignoring the sexual division of labour and ignoring that conceptions of what comprises "skill" are not value-neutral (see also Hart, 1992). Again, women's greater responsibilities for child care and family labour works to restrict their freedom and their opportunity (Gouthro, 2005; Miles, 1989). Feminist theorists argue for the need to bring critical and feminist analyses into academia and to challenge the educational inequalities that are built into education based on corporate and commercial values and agendas (Gouthro, 2002).

Integrative feminism, as developed by Miles (1995), moves beyond categorizations of liberal, radical, and critical feminisms to promote collective efforts to counter women's invisibility, recognize a gendered world and gendered subjects, and refuse the deficiency model of women. Miles encourages the questioning of established definitions affecting not only women, the world, and humanity, but such central concepts as work and leisure, progress, development, politics, the personal, and the natural. By unmasking the power structures that support the status quo, many Canadian feminist writers, including Canadian-born Stalker (2005), are working toward collective alternatives that enable both individuals and educators to challenge and change inequalities facing women.

Canadian research on feminist theory, especially as it applies to the field of adult learning in Canada, is notable for its global perspective, its influence from Marxism, and its increasing attention to work and immigrant women.

Workplace Learning

Canadian research on specificities of work opportunities, placements, job markets, and training is complemented by analysis of issues developing from the *new economy*, a theme that has been highlighted in the SSHRC call for proposals for the Initiative on the New Economy project, through which many research programs have been funded (see, for example, the WALL network at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)/University of Toronto).

There is significant agreement that the workplace remains gendered by segregated job categories and markets, work and training opportunities, and an individual's location within employment hierarchies. Fenwick (2002a, 2004), who specializes in work and learning, observes that gendered divisions of paid and unpaid labour continue to create barriers for women to access or participate in both formal and informal learning, including training programs, vocational learning, and business development. The issues are compounded when research and policy take a gender-blind approach; if and when structural inequalities are either masked or ignored, the structural barriers produced remain hidden or unaccounted for as factors to be addressed. It is cause for concern when Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC, 2002) produces a report on skills and learning for Canadians that fails to consider gender, or even use the word *gender*, and has only one reference to *women*.

Fenwick (2004) critiques the new economy for framing structural barriers as individual ones, thereby obscuring the social constructions they create and support and framing inequities as individual barriers for individuals to overcome. These include the unequal responsibilities women continue to have in family and domestic affairs. The insinuation is that work-family conflict, and the resulting familial problems, are the responsibility of women (Fenwick, 2004). Gouthro (2000) notes that the traditional roles and social perceptions of wives and mothers have not altered as rapidly as women's roles as workers, resulting in considerable role juggling and conflict for women. This issue of conflicting roles and responsibilities, or as Hart (2002) calls it, the poverty of life affirming work, has been well-developed by Barr (2001), Gouthro (2005), and Hart (1992, 2002).

Bannerji (1997) observes that those subject to multiple barriers, such as immigrant workers and women of colour, continue to struggle to gain equal learning opportunities and commensurate employment. Gaskell (1995) is one of a growing number of researchers who has argued that research on women's work, theories of work, and statistics on women's work must be separated out by ethnicity, race, and class, and to avoid work, statistics, and theories reflecting only the realities of white, middle- or upper-class, and/or professional or managerial women's claims, needs, and experience.

Mirchandani (1999) points out that while "flexible" at-home work may be promoted as beneficial to women trying to balance home-work role conflicts, current research concludes that it is often an even more oppressive situation, with women isolated, unable to organize collectively or share their concerns and experiences, and limited to the lowest paying forms of work in this highly racialized job sector (see also Ng, 1996). Self-employed home-workers continue to face the work-family conflict (Fenwick, 2002b), with often increased domestic and family responsibilities, since women are then permanently at home instead of having work responsibilities outside the home

Lowe (2000) identifies a primary barrier to women's learning in the workplace: their being underemployed relative to skills, education, and experience. Lowe notes that, in the tradition of women as lesser men, low-skill jobs are most likely to be held by women (and youth), who report that they have skills and education that make them overqualified for such positions. Similarly, Gaskell (1995) points out that skills most commonly ascribed to women, such as being good listeners, are given little value and cast as part of a feminine personality rather than a learned tool. McFarland notes that a lack of sponsorship is the greatest impediment to training for women and that the government is the largest sponsor of such training; therefore, if the government cuts sponsorship for training programs, there are very few other avenues for women to access training (McFarland, 1999).

Immigrant Women

Given that Canada is an immigrant nation, it is not surprising that there is a growing body of work examining the social contexts for immigrant women in Canada (e.g., Brigham & Walsh, 2005; Mirchandani, 2004; Mojab, 2000). While areas of this work may focus on specific immigrant populations or social contexts, such as garment workers or at-home workers, there is a growing acknowledgement that race, class, and gender are interconnecting social axes. Each of these categories plays a role in the social location of

all women (and, indeed, all men), but the negative weight they can bear is often compounded for immigrant women and visible minorities.

Mirchandani (2004), a specialist in immigrant women, work, and learning, notes that immigrant women tend to hold a unique position within the labour market, and not one to be envied. Ng (1996) agrees, observing that immigrants, in general, hold a poor and worsening position in the labour market compared to native-born workers, and immigrant women hold a more tenuous and more segregated niche in that market than even immigrant men. Ng has demonstrated how gender and race/ethnicity are combined and are mobilized to "produce" immigrant women as both a specific class location and a specific labour market category (p. 13). At the same time, Canada needs immigrants to fuel the economy, but also needs immigrants in better labour market positions to buttress this—Omeaning that settlement work, such as language services and foreign-educated worker certification, need to be improved (Mirchandani, 2004). Aboriginal scholars, such as Graveline (1994, 2005), point out the irony that the only group with a more precarious relationship to quality work is the only real non-immigrant population—Aboriginal women.

Maitra and Shan (2005) identify a need for workplace learning tailored to immigrant populations, yet note that the knowledge these women already possess is frequently unrecognized. While immigration policy emphasizes attracting skilled new Canadians, the experience immigrant women face is a devaluing of their skills and potential. Slade, Luo, and Schugurensky (2005) agree: These women employ a range of informal learning strategies in an attempt to improve their employment opportunities.

Ciccarelli (1999) focuses on a particular dimension of immigrant women and work. Her research on English as a second language (ESL) has critiqued existing policies and services as lacking in accessibility and substantial benefit to would-be learners. She observes that ESL policies—and, subsequently, classes—become tools for "anglodominance" and inculcating Canadian norms (see also Walter, 2003), thereby embodying covert racist discourses in their design and implementation. While both men and women are subject to such discourses, women, particularly women of colour, are subject to the accumulative effects of racism and sexism, relegating them to the poorest quality work with the fewest options and the greatest potential for being exploited (Ciccarelli, 1999).

Technology and Distance Learning

Research in the areas of technology and distance learning is influenced by Canada's vast geography, dispersed population, and responsiveness to global trends. Researchers increasingly consider what role and effect technology may have in learning and how gender affects access and comfort level (Butterwick & Jubas, 2005). Butterwick and Liptrot (2003) note that technology and the flexibility offered by distance education have the potential to offer important support to women learners. This, of course, presumes that access to technology itself will not be a barrier, although access differs widely depending on whether a woman is in a position to use a personal home computer or can reasonably access computers and the Internet at educational institutions or public institutions, such as libraries; or whether she has more limited access to community sites, such as Internet cafés, community centres, or dedicated training centres.

According to Gouthro (2004) and Home (1998), the most common (potential) benefit allocated to distance education is that it allows women to schedule their learning times, thereby easing some of the burden of multifaceted life-work roles of student, worker, wife, and mother. As women continue to be primarily responsible for home and family work, they are more likely than men to drop out because of non-academic reasons (Hart, 2002).

Home (1998) notes that traditional institutional accommodations designed to offer flexibility, such as part-time studies or evening classes, may be insufficient for women who are responsible for familial arrangements. She adds that while such support has a substantial impact on female retention and women's access to higher education, the reality is that most support mechanisms are not directed to the actual issues of balancing family and work. In such cases, distance education was determined to be the only university support that reduced women's vulnerability to role conflict and dropping out.

Sumner (2000) draws attention to the irony that, while distance education is the one institutional support that may allow women to reconcile life-work roles sufficiently to remain in education, distance education has also been criticized for serving the needs of the system and the institution as opposed to serving learners' real needs. She points out that the potential positive benefits of technology and distance education are by no means guaranteed, and that distance educators must make value choices to ensure that learning serves the lifeworld.

Moreover, Acker and Oatley (1993) and Gouthro (2004) observe that the uses of technology and distance education technologies sometimes appear to be apolitical and to be ways of circumventing gender issues. Acker and Oatley warn that the dominant image of technology is that it is masculine as both an endeavour and a field, and that women opt out of it. While distance education often allows for much-needed flexibility around studies, English and Lander (2000) note that issues of power around gender and culture particularly in situations where the distances being covered cross international boundaries—must be acknowledged, considered, and addressed. It is significant that, whereas periodicals such as the Canadian Journal of Distance Education published a number of articles on women, gender, and distance education in the early 1990s, only one article (i.e., Gillis, Jackson, Braid, MacDonald, & MacQuarrie, 2000) on this topic can be found post-2000. There is a move away from this research to broader issues of technology (Butterwick & Jubas, 2005).

Community-Based Research

A particular strength of Canadians is an interest in community-based research in gender. Researchers have contributed significantly to both local and global adult education research through groups such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), and through specific UNESCO (1997) conferences such as CONFINTEA V in Hamburg, Germany.

Miles' (1996, 1998, 2002) studies of women, social movements, and globalization have furthered the international knowledge base. English's (2004a, 2004b, 2005c) post-colonial perspective on identity in international development work has contributed to an understanding of women who work globally, as has the work of Walter (2004) on Thai women, Gouthro's (2004) research on Jamaican women, Mojab's (1998) work on Muslim women, and Ryan and English's (2004) research on Grenadian women. While focused internationally, this research supports gender and learning studies at all levels and needs to be continued.

Adult education research that focuses on the local community, and that generates knowledge from the grassroots up, has also been strong in Canada. Research into learning and power in local women's organizations (English, 2005a, 2006), economic issues affecting women's learning at the grassroots level (Andruske, 2001; Butterwick, 1996, 2002, 2003b), the use of theatre to assist in community education (Butterwick, 2003a; Butterwick & Selman, 2003) and the use of arts and crafts in community adult education (Clover, 2001; Clover & Markle, 2003; Stalker, 2003) demonstrates the rich activity in this thematic area and highlights potential for further exploration.

Discussion of Aspects of Research in Canada

It became clear in the review process that research on gender and learning in Canada originates in specific contexts and needs to be nurtured in specific ways. In this section, we address some of the contexts and needs that are priorities to Canadian researchers, with a view to moving this review of literature to a level where we can suggest areas for further research.

The Community as Educator and Researcher

At the community level in Canada, there is a high degree of activity in formal and informal learning in women's organizations and centres, in both urban and rural areas. Many of these programs have relied heavily on federal funding from Status of Women Canada and other relevant departments depending on the primary clientele, such as Service Canada for employment preparedness training, Industry Canada for trades training, and Citizenship and Immigration for new Canadians. Currently, this funding is project-based, and individual organizations have extreme difficulty in obtaining funds (see also Standing Committee on the Status of Women Canada, 2006). Support from regional levels of governments is tenuous or has disappeared in a number of regions. The corporate sector and a few private foundations that have identified women's learning as a priority also contribute financially to a range of projects.

Of particular concern is funding to support research and advocacy work for community-based Aboriginal women, since it helps them maintain their Aboriginal identity (Status of Women Canada, 2000). There is much to be learned from the disparate activities of community-based organizations, and there are opportunities to engage in action research.

The research shows that there is a noticeable gap in the area of rural women's learning. Despite an emphasis on rural communities' role in the knowledge-based economy, there is little mention of women's participation in this process. This obscures the critical contribution of women to the survival of rural communities through such initiatives as organic farming (Sumner, 2005). Transitional or re-entry training provided by local women's organizations facilitates community economic development (Lord & Martell, 2004). This is particularly the case for rural areas where few alternate educational opportunities exist (Manicom, Rhymes, Armour, & Parsons, 2005). Women's

organizations have limited access to funding to conduct action research. Further, the short life cycle of project-driven programming has an impact not only on researchers' abilities to analyze these processes critically, but on educators' abilities to create stable programming and build upon best practices; to do this, more consistent and generous funding is needed. There is an opportunity for researchers to be more active in this area to influence policy and practice in rural development. It is worth noting that the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC, 2005a) has identified research related to rural women and, by extension, their learning and use of technology as key priorities, since much of the current research is urban-based.

Support for Interdisciplinary Research

A second research area to be encouraged in Canada is interdisciplinary work on gender and learning. Collaborations that investigate the social underpinnings and structures of sites of learning can add to adult education research and theory in this country. Gouthro (2002), for instance, uses critical theories, especially Habermas, to critique academic labour in Canada; English (2005a) has engaged with post-structural theories to highlight women's work in Canadian non-profit organizations, and with (2005c) post-colonial theory to examine female adult educators in international development. Chapman (2003) has also used post-structural theories in adult education autobiographical writing. Butterwick and Dawson (2005) use the work of sociologists Stephen Ball and the Canadian Dorothy Smith (1987) to examine the production of academic labour.

Within the field of adult education, a number of researchers are crossing into history and women's studies simultaneously. One has to think only of the Canadian historical work on Betty Murray (Harris, 1998), the YWCA (Buchanan, 1997), the Women's Institutes (Cox, 1997), the Women's Christian Temperance Union and activism (Lander, 2000), and the Antigonish Movement (Neal, 1998) to realize that this is fertile ground for learning more about how gender has affected us historically (see also Stalker, 1998; Welton, 1992).

Support for Knowledge Dissemination and Application

An area of concern is the lack of intentional academic/policy collaboration in Canada with regard to women and learning. Cruikshank (2005; see also Priegert-Coulter, 1996), when speaking of lifelong learning and policy, emphasizes the importance of researchers becoming further involved with policy research centres, such as the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA). CCPA is currently working with Simon Fraser University on the Economic Security Project, which is funded through SSHRC's CURA program and includes a focus on women and learning (Butterwick, 2005b). In light of government funding cutbacks to many sites of community-based learning, from literacy to women's learning programs in women's centres, the need for participation at the policy level is apparent.

Along with collaboration, there is a need for dissemination of the knowledge that is produced. The extant research is not well-coordinated or -systematized, and there is no centralized dissemination portal for this research. Canadians are not alone in experiencing this. American adult educators Hayes and Flannery (2000) note that there was (and is) "a prevailing lack of information and understanding about adult women's learning and education" (p. xi). Like us, they also found that "the relevant information

about adult women's learning that does exist is scattered across a wide variety of sources" (p. xii).

We found that Canadian research results typically reside on faculty's personal Web pages or on community organizations' and funders' sites. SSHRC (2005b), as part of its commitment to move to a knowledge council, promotes broader dissemination and recommends that SSHRC-funded research be available in open-access journals and on Web sites. Since much of the research on women and learning, particularly at the community level, is scattered, and since organizations such as CCLOW are no longer active, there is a renewed need for a coordinated approach to collect and disseminate this work. Women's resource centres play a key role in this important area of knowledge gathering and dissemination, but need the resource support to fulfill their role.

Summary Comments

In this review, we have identified Canadian researchers' attention to the areas of feminist theory, immigrant women, technology and learning, workplace learning, and community development and adult education. We have observed a strong growing body of Canadian work in these areas and see indications that research in these areas will continue to grow. We look forward to the deepening of knowledge in such areas so that gender and learning is more fully understood.

One of our observations is that there is a clear strength in the literature with regard to how gender and learning research has been done. We note that a great number of research projects have been situated in the community, with community agendas at the forefront. The voices of women have been recorded as researchers work within a qualitative framework to understand women and learning. In our view, the recent trend to more collaborative and concentrated research programs in Canada is a trend that has facilitated invaluable work, particularly on immigrant women.

Yet, we can see that there still are a number of challenges in the Canadian knowledge base on gender and learning. One significant issue, in our view, is the apparent depoliticization of the term *gender*, to the point where it was difficult for us to identify gender as a primary and meaningful category of analysis in many government reports and Web sites, as well as in journal articles and funding categories. Therefore, we encourage the deliberate use of *gender* and the careful consideration of how it is being used when research agendas are established.

More research is needed on First Nations peoples, issues around disability, rural women, and communities. We fear that there is a danger of their continued exclusion from research agendas and funding initiatives because many of these issues are not seen to connect directly to encouraging employment. The precarious situation that women's organizations face from the ongoing erosion of public funding is placing much of this vital work in jeopardy.

Consistent with many of these researchers' commitment to the community and to civil society, is their emphasis on linking research to the political agenda. Yet, in our review of the sources, we found few, if any, linkages between Canadian researchers and policy-makers. Given that research relating to women is so heavily dependent upon federal funds, lobbying must continue to ensure sustained public support for research on gender and learning. The provision of a well-maintained and centralized Web site for

Canada would both assist researchers and enhance access to knowledge on women and learning.

We observe that the majority of published research on women and learning in Canada is qualitative in nature and involves community-based organizations. Such collaboration seems to be a strength in the research, in that it has produced rich data that furthers gender and learning. More action research projects that collect both qualitative and quantitative data would be an asset.

The research shows that Canadian contributions to the international literature on gender and learning have been sustained. Along with our international colleagues, we have multiple researchers working in varied areas of this sphere; we share concerns about immigration, gender inequality, global economics, and technology. Collectively, we have produced a significant body of work that is generally accessible and helpful in its range, depth, and scope. What is needed now is attention to deepening and systematizing that information so that we have a broader view of what is happening globally and how attention to gender and learning can be increased.

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