Lifelong Learning Book Series 25

Maria Slowey
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Inequality, Innovation and Reform in Higher Education

Challenges of Migration and Ageing Populations

Springer

Lifelong Learning Book Series

Volume 25

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Aims & Scope

Competing visions and paradigms for lifelong learning co-exist at national as well as international levels. The fact that one 'official' discourse may be dominant at any one time does not mean that other ways of thinking about learning throughout the life course have disappeared. They are alive and well in a range of critical traditions and perspectives that retain their power to engage and persuade.

In this series, contributors critically analyse issues in lifelong learning that have important implications for policy and practice in different parts of the world. Evidence, ideas and the polity can mobilise political thinking in new directions, as policy makers search for the new 'big idea'. In turbulent times, ideas for better connecting system worlds and life worlds in the pursuit of broader and more just forms of meritocracy can focus compellingly on learning as a lifelong process which links, rather than separates, the older and younger generations and incorporates the realities of working lives.

The series aims to engage scholars, practitioners, policy-makers and professionals with contemporary research and practice, and to provoke fresh thinking and innovation in lifelong learning. Each volume is firmly based on high quality scholarship and a keen awareness of both emergent and enduring issues in practice and policy. We welcome work from a range of disciplines and, in particular, inter- and multi-disciplinary research which approaches contemporary and emerging global and local challenges in innovative ways. Through advocacy of broad, diverse and inclusive approaches to learning throughout the life course, the series aspires to be a leading resource for researchers and practitioners who seek to rethink lifelong learning to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 21st Century.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/6227

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Editors

Inequality, Innovation and Reform in Higher Education

Challenges of Migration and Ageing Populations

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Series Editors' Note

The **Lifelong Learning Book Series** was launched in 2004 and by 2019 had published 24 volumes on topics of international significance. In this latest phase in the life of the series, we aim to engage our expanding international readership in 'Rethinking Lifelong Learning for the 21st Century'. Lifelong learning debates are renewed when scholars bring fresh perspectives and critical analyses of emergent and enduring issues in lifelong learning that have important implications for policy and practice around the globe.

In selecting books for the Lifelong Learning Book Series, we recognise that competing visions and paradigms for lifelong learning co-exist at national as well as international levels. The fact that one 'official' discourse may be dominant at any one time does not mean that other ways of thinking about learning throughout the life course have disappeared. They are alive and well in a range of critical traditions and perspectives that retain their power to engage and persuade. Evidence, ideas and the polity can mobilise political thinking in new directions, as policy-makers search for the new 'big idea'. In turbulent times, ideas for better connecting system worlds and lifeworlds can focus compellingly on learning as a lifelong process which links, rather than separates, the older and younger generations and incorporates the realities of working lives.

In *Inequality, Innovation and Reform in Higher Education: Challenges of Migration and Ageing Populations*, the editors and contributors address the implications for lifelong learning of two major twenty-first-century phenomena. Both migration and the ageing of the population create challenges for the way in which we think about learning across the life course and the role that higher education can play in meeting these challenges. This rethinking in turn produces opportunities for innovation and reform. The contributors to this volume explore these challenges and opportunities across 12 countries, each of which presents a complex of contextual factors, which demands a cross-disciplinary and intersectional approach to understanding the dynamics and implications of complex socio-democratic change. The resulting collection is consequently much more than a survey of practice across contexts. It presents an active engagement with migration and ageing populations in a range of settings which acknowledges the need to account for the multiple layers

of influence on provision from systemic features and economic factors through policy to institutional characteristics and pedagogic practice. Within this, individuals and communities trace intricate educational pathways across a convoluted and dynamic terrain. For higher education to meet the diverse aspirations and needs of these learners requires a deep commitment to inclusion and constant critical reflection on the accessibility, principles and practices of our institutions.

Throughout the collection, it is recognised that migration and the changing age profile of populations are intertwined, and both interact with the emergence of new forms of employment, expanding modes of educational provision and broader conceptions of well-being. This volume offers both insight and a conceptual model to navigate this complexity. In its scope, analytic rigour, international perspective and critical commitment to inclusivity and equality, the volume is an important and timely addition to the Lifelong Learning Book Series.

UCL, Institute of Education UCL
London, UK
October 2019

Karen Evans
Andrew Brown

Contents

Part I New Demographics and Lifelong Learning

1 Implications of Migration and Ageing Populations for Inclusion and Equality in Higher Education and Lifelong Learning 3
Maria Slowey, Hans G. Schuetze, and Tanya Zubrzycki

Part II Contemporary Patterns of Migration and Higher Education: Opportunities for New Lifelong Learners?

2 Escher's Staircase: Higher Education and Migration in Australia. 25
Mary Leahy, John Polesel, and Shelley Gillis

3 Migration and Higher Education in Germany. 39
Andrä Wolter

4 The Impact of Recent Demographic Changes and Migration Patterns on Education in Puerto Rico. 59
María de los Ángeles Ortiz-Reyes and Liz Sepúlveda-Arroyo

5 New Patterns of Migration and Higher Education in Ireland: What Are the Implications? 71
Daniel Faas

6 New Challenges in Higher Education Policies in Sweden 87
Camilla Thunborg and Agnieszka Bron

7 Higher Education and Demographic Changes in Mexico 101
Germán Álvarez-Mendiola and Brenda Pérez-Colunga

8 Migration and Linguistic Diversity in Higher Education: Implications for Language Teaching Practice and Policy 119
Jennifer Bruen and Niamh Kelly

9 New Students, New Institutions: Challenges for Academic Legitimation and Social Sustainability of Intercultural Universities in Mexico 131
Sylvie Didou Aupetit

10 Lifelong Learning in Multicultural Brazil: Challenges for Higher Education 145
Ana Ivenicki

11 Student Demographic Change and Pedagogical Issues in Higher Education 159
Martha Cleveland-Innes

Part III Ageing Populations and Changing Life Course Patterns: Implications for Higher Education and 'Longlife' Learners

12 Acquiring Higher Levels of Education as an Adult Learner: Implications for Active Ageing 177
Richard Desjardins

13 The Role of Higher Education in an Ageing Society: The Distinctive Case of Japan 191
Hidehiro Nakajima

14 Older Adults, Social Inequalities and Higher Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand 207
Brian Findsen

15 Adult Workers as Learners in the USA Higher Education Landscape 221
Carol Kasworm

16 Implications of New Life Course Patterns for Higher Education and Workforce Dynamics in Ireland 237
Maria Slowey and Tanya Zubrzycki

17 Older Adult Learners: An Opportunity for Universities 251
Walter Archer and William (Bill) J. Kops

18 Blurring Boundaries: Exploring the Potential for 'Big Data' to Address Inequalities in Lifewide Learning Engagement 265
Catherine Lido, Kate Reid, and Mike Osborne

Part IV Reflections and Outlooks

19 Mobility and Migration: Freedom and Threat? 287
Pavel Zgaga

20 Learning, Education and Active Ageing: A Key Policy Agenda for Higher Education 299
David Istance

21 Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: New Frontiers – Old Barriers 313
Hans G. Schuetze and Maria Slowey

Index 325

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Contributors

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Part I
New Demographics and Lifelong Learning

Chapter 1
Implications of Migration and Ageing Populations for Inclusion and Equality in Higher Education and Lifelong Learning

Maria Slowey, Hans G. Schuetze, and Tanya Zubrzycki

1.1 Setting the Scene: Migration, Ageing Populations and Higher Education

Climate change, and its potentially catastrophic effects, may form the dominating world challenge of the twenty-first century. However, also of social and economic importance is the impact of a new demographics emerging from the interaction of two major global developments. First, high levels of internal and cross-border mass migration, stimulated by climate change, violence and disparities in wealth and social stability within and between different countries, and between the global South and North. Second, the phenomenon of increasing longevity and rapidly ageing populations, especially in the developed world.

This book explores the central role that socially engaged higher education might potentially play in helping address these challenges, enhancing lifelong learning opportunities and facilitating more positive outcomes for both individuals and societies. As the UN evaluates progress in relation to achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2019a) and the OECD maps increasing levels of educational attainment – while also highlighting persisting inequalities (OECD 2018a) – it becomes important to investigate the extent to which higher education systems are in fact responding to the societal challenges associated with contemporary socio-demographic upheavals.

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Even in richer parts of the world, significant inequalities exist in terms of access to higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. Moreover, and potentially even more importantly in terms of the wider democratic purposes of higher education, 'purpose and processes are inextricably linked–the means must be consistent with the ends, and the ends are defined by democratic culture' (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2011, p. 17). It is these twin aims of seeking to enhance democratic culture while simultaneously widening access for individuals to lifelong learning opportunities which provide the backdrop for this book.

Specifically, we set out to explore the implications of two large scale global demographic trends – namely migration and ageing populations. The manner in which these issues are tackled by higher education policy and by institutions are, we propose, of considerable significance for the future wellbeing of societies. The core concerns can be viewed as two sides of a coin: on the one side, many global regions and countries are experiencing unprecedented levels of immigration as millions of people relocate – whether by choice or for survival. On the other side, with increasing longevity – particularly in the richer parts of the world – many countries are experiencing significant ageing of their populations.

There are important interconnections between these contemporary patterns of migration and ageing populations which are rarely drawn in the context of higher education and lifelong learning. Our aim is to make a contribution towards building a greater understanding of these interconnections, based on expert analysis from different parts of the world. Additionally, we also seek to bring different disciplines to bear on the issues – acknowledging as Brennan and Naidoo (2008) point out that 'while there is an extensive research literature on social justice and equity in the social sciences, in general this is not fully engaged with by higher education researchers' (p. 298).

Factors such as global inequalities, war, poverty and climate change are leading to mass migrations of people across many regions of the globe – a scale of mobility unprecedented since the second world war (IOM 2017). Education clearly has an important role to play. For obvious reasons the focus of policy attention is primarily on schools and the education of children. However, as will be discussed below, young and older adult migrants not only need initial education and vocational training – including, for many, acquisition of the language of host countries – but also access to higher level knowledge and skills. For some, this may involve helping them to demonstrate and have certified knowledge and competencies already acquired in their home countries, for others it may be the opportunity to further develop their education and training.

Simultaneously with the mass movement of people across the world – particularly from the global South to the global North – the world's population is growing older. This is especially the case in the developed regions, with North America, many European countries and Japan being prime examples (the so-called 'longevity dividend'). In Germany, for example, despite the arrival of 1.2 million refugees between 2015 and 2017 – mostly young adults – it is projected that by 2050 two in five Germans will be over 60 years of age, and the country would have shrunk from 82 million to 75 million (The Economist 2017).

The populations of many developing regions are also ageing – with the case of China being particularly striking and resulting in changes in 2015 to the long standing 'one-child' policy. Increasing longevity is a welcome development, reflecting improvements in nutrition, public health and education. The richer countries of the global North have had many decades of gradual improvements in average lifespans. However, for the poorer regions of the developing world of the global South the pace of change has been far more rapid, leading to a situation which has been characterized as countries becoming old before getting rich (Bloom et al. 2011, p. 32). Furthermore, while progress has been made in closing the longevity gap between countries, life expectancy at birth in the least developed countries is still estimated to be 7.4 years less than the global average in 2019 (UN 2019b).

As will be further discussed below, there is a growing body of work which explores the implications of providing lifelong learning opportunities for individuals across *all stages* of life. In the specific case of higher education, addressing issues of inclusion and equality of access for the social groups under consideration carries major implications for innovation and reform in policy and practice at a number of levels – institutional, national and international.

In a previous book (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a) we explored how the topic of lifelong learning in a higher education context had been interpreted across a range of countries and international organizations including OECD, UNESCO and the EU. The timing meant that the context of economic austerity measures resulting from the 2008 financial crisis formed part of the backdrop. Since then, austerity policies in many countries continued with systemic reductions in public expenditure based on dominant neoliberal economic arguments (Pritchard and Slowey 2017).

Migration and ageing populations are distinct phenomena. However, they intersect in a number of important ways. First, at the macro level, richer, ageing countries are destinations for most people who seek to move from their home country or region – whether by choice or driven by necessity, or some combination of both. Indeed, as the population of many OECD countries age, it becomes not only a humanitarian issue, but also a pragmatic policy objective to look to immigrants as a major pool of potentially qualified workers. Second, at the level of educational systems and institutions, both migrants and older adults face significant barriers in gaining access to higher education. If levels of inequality are to be addressed, the underrepresentation of these groups poses challenges for innovation and reform in higher education and the wider lifelong learning landscape.

These interconnections were initially discussed in the context of an international conference on Higher Education Reform hosted in 2016 by the Higher Education Research Centre, Dublin City University. In this introductory chapter we set the scene for individual contributions covering 12 countries as well as some more general perspectives and outlooks. In the first part (1.2) we outline the migration side of the 'demographic coin' in terms of the global context of migration patterns and the reasons why these are of interest from our perspective of inclusion in higher education and lifelong learning. The second part (1.3) shifts the focus to the other side of the coin, exploring patterns of ageing populations as people are living longer and, once women's education and standards of living increase to certain levels, many

choose to have fewer children. In the third part (1.4) we outline a conceptual framework which summarizes our intersectional approach to understanding the implications of these complex socio-demographic changes for higher education and lifelong learning. This in turn leads to the final part (1.5) where we outline the structure of the book.

1.2 Migration – The Global Context

In 2017, an estimated 258 million people, approximately 3.4% of the global population, were international migrants living in a country other than a place of their birth, with three regions accounting for the bulk of this total – Asia (c. 80 million); Europe (c. 78 million); and Northern America (c. 58 million) (UN 2017, pp. 4–5).

Importantly, these numbers do not include those who migrate *within* their countries of birth where, in fact, most migration takes place, raising a set of additional issues with the relatively recent construction of nation states, and also contestations (up to the level of war) at 'borderlands'. Adding to the complexity of the topic, mobility within a country or region with a variety of different languages presents different issues from mobility within a relatively mono-linguistic area.

All this leads to complexity in definitions of who actually is a 'migrant'? The Council of Europe, for example, defines migrants as 'people who move from their country of usual residence or nationality to another country', adding that the reasons can be economic, educational, as well as to flee from natural disasters, escape persecution, 'human rights abuses, threats to life of physical integrity, war and civil unrest' (Ktistakis 2013, p. 9).

At the international level, there is no universally accepted definition for 'migrant', according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM 2019). Reflecting the large numbers of internal migrants globally, IOM has developed a definition for its own purposes, with 'migrant' as

> An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students. (p.130)

Since 1951 the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees offers special protection and rights to asylum seekers and refugees, in recognition that such people represent particularly vulnerable groups of migrants (UN 1951). The geographic scope of the original Convention was subsequently extended in the 1967 Protocol (UN 2017).

Article 22 ('Public Education') of the Convention obliges the signatory states to

> accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education … [and] with respect to education other than elementary education and, in

> particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships. (United Nations General Assembly 1951)

The UN Refugee Agency defines a refugee as 'a person forced to flee their country because of violence or persecution' (UNHCR 2018a). Seeking sanctuary in another country and applying for asylum to become recognized as a refugee leads to the certain rights such as legal protection and material assistance (ibid.). In 2018, more than two-thirds of all refugees worldwide (67%) came from Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia (UNHCR 2019, p. 3). The same report highlights that those over 18 years old constituted about a half of the global refugee population, with associated educational needs particular to this 'post school' age group.

Because of the high numbers of people migrating globally, the issue of integration (economic and sociocultural), including opening access to education for the migrant populations, has become an important topic on the political agenda of many countries (Huddleston et al. 2015; OECD 2018b). Policy debates in these countries emphasize the importance of facilitating access to vocational and higher education opportunities for immigrant and refugee students beyond the school age. Yet, while in 2016 the rate of enrolment in tertiary education across the world stood at around 36%, for refugees this proportion was just 1% (UNHCR 2018b, p. 19). Thus, despite some improvement in numbers due to scholarships and other programmes, access to university and other forms of tertiary education remained out of reach for almost all (99%) refugees. In addition to the standard barriers adults face in returning to study (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a), many adult migrants will have to learn the language of the host country. Furthermore, the formal initial education of some will have been limited due to low transition rates from primary to secondary education in many countries of the global South. Girls are particularly at risk in some countries, where relatively low educational attainment is a direct consequence of a lack of safe school environments. Some steps have been made in opening opportunities for higher education through, for example, scholarship schemes offered in 37 host countries in 2016 as part of an UNHCR higher education programme – and, while the numbers were limited it represented an increase of almost 90% compared to 2015 (UNHCR 2018b, p. 19).

In some respects the issue of access to higher education also tends to be predominantly viewed as an outcome – effectively a performance indicator of the formal school system, or as a pathway for young people to labour market and economic integration. With some notable exceptions, issues concerning opportunities for access to higher education for adult learners with a migrant background, or as a means of social and cultural integration of recently arrived (adult) migrants remain under-researched.

De Wit and Altbach draw attention to the fact that

> the challenge for academic communities in Europe and elsewhere is to increase access of these refugees to higher education.… by offering more study places and scholarships for students, visiting scholarship positions to academics, and other measures. (2016, p. 117)

In a European context, Morland and Skjerven (2015) call for a comprehensive approach to evaluating and recognizing refugees' qualifications, including the establishment of a European Qualifications Passport for Refugees – as 'an important step for refugees, universities, the labour market, and society as a whole' (p. 121). From a policy perspective, a UN Refugee Agency report highlights that only substantial and long-term funding treated as an 'investment in sustainable development' would enable governments to respond to the challenges of education for refugees (UNHCR 2018b, p. 24).

In an attempt to assess the scale of the issues involved, a Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) based on integration policies across eight policy areas (includng education, labour market mobility, political participation and the like) in 38 countries was developed with the support of the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and other relevant organizations (Huddleston et al. 2015)[1]. Examples of the policy indicators or their descriptions relevant for the further and higher education of adult migrants include:

- educational guidance at all levels of compulsory and non-compulsory education;
- equality of access to higher education, vocational training and study grants depending on individuals' residential status;
- recognition of academic and professional qualifications acquired abroad;
- validation of skills/competencies acquired abroad;
- generic language training; job bridging courses;
- job specific language training;
- training required of public employment service staff on specific needs of migrants.

The MIPEX project also aimed to identify integration outcomes and contextual factors that can affect these outcomes, and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies. The analysis points to immigrants usually enjoying more equal rights and opportunities in larger and wealthier countries/regions (specifically, Western Europe and countries with long standing traditions of immigration such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States). At the same time, Sweden, Portugal and New Zealand ranked as the top three countries with favourable and inclusive integration policies.

At the time of the study, the number of non-EU citizens among EU residents was estimated at nearly 20 million, or c. 4% of the total. Individuals with relatively lower levels of formal educational qualifications comprised 37% of non-EU immigrants aged 18–64, while around 25% had a higher education qualification. The authors make the case that, while the number of non-EU newcomers remained relatively stable between 2008–2013 (due to a decrease in labour migration and higher number of recognized international protection beneficiaries), the employment context has changed since the economic crisis in 2008 and the resulting austerity measures. The employment rate of non-EU citizens aged 20–64 dropped on

[1] Website for full MIPEX 2015 results is http://www.mipex.eu/. Data cited in the following discussion is taken from Huddlestone et al. 2015, Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015; Policy Indicators List and Questionnaire (http://www.mipex.eu/methodology); and, International Key Findings (http://www.mipex.eu/download-pdf).

average six points to 56.5% by 2014; at the same time, their risk of being in poverty or social exclusion increased by four points to 49%, which is twice the rate of EU citizens. Importantly, from our perspective on inequality, higher education and lifelong learning, women and those with relatively lower levels of formal educational qualifications were found to be at particular risk of being categorized as NEET (not in employment, education or training), while overall one third of working-age non-EU citizens were in this category.

Finally, in relation to labour market policies, MIPEX found that most countries provided the immigrants with basic information about jobs and work-related training opportunities and, while most were in paid employment after 10 or more years, these jobs were often at levels for which people were overqualified and/or below the poverty line.

All the countries covered in this book are signatories to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention (UN General Assembly 1951). However, as the following chapters show (and is also evident in the MIPEX results), significant national variations exist in relation to matters such as criteria for permanent residency and citizenship, policies aimed at family reunion and integration of newly arriving family members, and eligibility and access to higher education and lifelong learning. Variations may also exist in the situation of those who are first or second-generation immigrants, adding to lack of uniformity in definitions of who constitutes a student with a migration background.

As discussed in several chapters in this book, cultural issues are central to any discussion of migration and education: a continuum can be drawn between policy responses which emphasize integration on the one hand, and diversity on the other. Either way, there is a need for cultural competencies, at both individual and collective levels, in order to manage cultural diversity and minimize misunderstandings which may emerge from identity issues (UNESCO 2009).

In this context, language is evidently important with multilingual approaches in both formal and non-formal education helping to enhance the relevance of education and to expand educational opportunities for marginalized groups including migrant populations. Increasingly, the concept of cultural intelligence is explored in various contexts in the literature, including educational, as a way to allow cultural diversity to flourish and to promote intercultural competence (Goh 2012). There are many definitions of cultural intelligence. For the purposes of this book it can be defined as 'a *system* of interacting knowledge and skills, linked by cultural metacognition, that allows people to adapt to, select, and shape the cultural aspects of their environment' (Thomas et al. 2008, p. 127).

There is, of course, nothing new with respect to international mobility and intercultural issues in higher education. In the Western tradition, universities

> have always been global institutions; they functioned in a common language (Latin) and served an international clientele of students. In fact, universities have come full-circle from the Medieval Ages as being centers of international learning, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries rising as nation-state universities pursuing national interests, and now again as international centers of scholarship. . . (Nerad and Trzyna 2008, p. 300)

In the classic enlightenment tradition, universities have been not just places attracting scholars from other countries, but also a haven for refugees, students and

faculty members who had to leave their own countries because they were not given a chance to pursue their studies or research for the reasons such as gender, race or religious belief.

Marie Sklodowska Curie represents such an outstanding example: born in Warsaw in 1867 and not allowed to pursue university studies in Poland because she was a woman, she immigrated to France and enrolled at the University of Paris. Based on her research on radioactivity and discovering two new elements, Polonium (named after her home country) and Radium, she received the Nobel prize in physics, the first woman ever to receive this prestigious award, and later a second Nobel prize, this time in chemistry.

Another example of academic migration, was the mass exodus of Jewish and liberal scientists in the twentieth century who were forced into exile by Nazi Germany. Thousands of academics went to the United States where they made significant contributions especially to the development of some emerging disciplinary fields such as nuclear physics, psychology, economics and sociology. Six of these refugee scholars received Nobel prizes (in physics and chemistry). Others, such as the sociologists Hannah Arendt, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and the philosopher Herbert Marcuse became most influential in their fields (Bentwich 1953; Coser 1984; Fermi 1968).

More recently, especially during the tumultuous years of the 'Cultural Revolution' and the decade thereafter, many young Chinese left to study abroad as China did not have sufficient numbers of higher education institutions nor qualified academic teachers. As many of these young scientists and academics stayed in their host countries rather than returning to the mother country where opportunities were lacking for academic work and careers, they became part of a sizeable worldwide Chinese knowledge diaspora which is now a factor of global importance in promoting transnational scientific and business networks, and a source of China's competitive quest for recruiting experienced scholars to create their own brand of 'world-class' universities (Welch and Hao 2013).

Over recent decades, levels of international mobility of students and faculty, recruitment of international students and engagement in exchange programmes such as ERASMUS in Europe, are taken as indicators of quality in many league tables. Additionally, in some systems, the fees paid by non-national students provide a valuable source of income for universities and other institutions of higher education. In this push for recruitment, the challenges facing international students can be overlooked as they are citizens of one nation but residing in another – 'being outsiders, mobile students have ambiguous meanings for the country of education. Struggling to manage global people flows they never fully control, national governments flip between the benefits and the dangers (as they see it) of international students' (Marginson 2012, p. 500).

The focus of this book is on a rather different aspect of internationalization and inclusion – namely, access to higher level education and training for newly arrived immigrants (whatever their official status may be) as well as those with a first or second-generation immigrant background. In this regard, Détourbe and Goastellec (2018) highlight three ways in which refugees constitute a distinctive subgroup in

relation to access to higher education. In the first place, depending on national policies refugees often occupy a unique status, which can lead them to having a complex combination of access rights to higher education as both 'domestic' and 'international' students. Secondly, as such migration is forced, or in some way unchosen, it is consequently unplanned so their displacement can undermine typical social reproduction patterns. Thirdly, as refugees depend heavily on the social policies of the host country after their arrival, their opportunities for gaining access to higher education are conditioned by the ways in which immigration and welfare policies intersect with higher education policies. The case made by Détourbe and Goastellec for more research investigating the interaction of these factors informs aspects of the discussion in Part II of this book.

Turning to another side of the new demographics, at a time when substantial numbers of (mainly younger) people are migrating from one region or country to another, the populations of many of the 'host' countries are ageing as people live longer and birth rates decline. We now turn our attention to consideration of the implications for higher education policies and practices arising from an ageing population – particularly evident in the developed countries of the global North.

1.3 Ageing Populations – Global Trends

Addressing the demographic trends of ageing populations tends to be dominated by discussions of problems – health, pensions and the like. However, arguably

> the problem of population aging is more a function of rigid and outmoded policies and institutions than a problem of demographic change per se.… [requiring] behavioral responses (including greater female labor force participation) and policy reforms (including an increase in the legal age of retirement). (Bloom et al. 2011, p. 29)

Central amongst these 'rigid and outmoded policies' are issues of supporting lifelong learning at all stages of people's lives to help them to develop the knowledge and skills required for inclusion in contemporary societies (Slowey and Zubrzycki 2018). The concept of lifelong learning has a long history of promulgation by international organizations such as UNESCO and OECD in the 1970s, and subsequently by individual countries. In its early manifestation it comprised

> a mix of social justice objectives relating to participation and inclusion – including the provision of second chance opportunities for people to return to education as adult students. Educational opportunity was seen as the foundation for participation in social and civic life, and therefore of critical importance in fostering a vibrant democracy, as well as preparation for employment. (Slowey and Schuetze 2012b, p. 7)

These original principles were contested by neoliberal agendas in the 1990s, viewing lifelong learning primarily as a mechanism for developing 'human capital' and associated skills and knowledge perceived to be required for 'knowledge-based' economies. While the concept of lifelong learning 'featured prominently in national

and international educational policy discourse, the implications of this concept for *higher education* remained underdeveloped' (Slowey and Schuetze 2012b, p. 4).

Writing almost a decade ago, we identified two factors as contributing to this 'underdevelopment' and slow pace of change. First, a recognition that lifelong learning systems require complex processes of articulation and coordination between institutions and providers, each of which have their own interests, missions, resource bases and status positions. Second, a conflict between several, mainly two ideal-type models of lifelong learning derived from different underpinning principles – one model drawing mainly on traditions of social justice and equity, and the other based mainly on a more economic, human capital perspective (Schuetze and Casey 2006).

In this context, what are the implications for lifelong learning as many more people live to older ages? As discussed above, increased longevity and falling fertility rates are contributing to 'population ageing' as a global phenomenon, with people over 65 years old comprising the fastest-growing age group (UN 2019b). Thus, 'by 2050, one in six people in the world will be over age 65 (16%), up from one in 11 in 2019 (9%)', while in Europe and North America one in four persons could be aged 65 or more by 2050 (p. 2). While increasing longevity is a welcome development for individuals and societies, policy discussions are often couched in terms of 'challenges'. For example, the latter UN Report highlights 'the potential impact of population ageing on the labour market and economic performance as well as the fiscal pressures that many countries will face in the coming decades as they seek to build and maintain public systems of health care, pensions and social protection for older persons' (ibid.). Similarly, in Europe, the changing demographic is identified as one of its main challenges facing the region (EU-OSHA 2016). Simultaneously, there is a momentum to assure human rights in older age, including the right to education and to work with calls for 'more robust international instruments at all levels' (Kalache and Blewitt 2011, p. 89), while the World Health Organization aims to connect ageing and urbanization through the development of a convention on Age Friendly Cities (WHO 2007).

With people living longer and countries extending the retirement ages, more people in their 60s and 70s are potentially able – and may have to – work longer, contributing to the economy as a result of the 'improvements in health and functioning along with shifting of employment from jobs that need strength to jobs needing knowledge' (Christensen et al. 2009, p. 1205). This calls for further development of systems to support the emerging life course patterns and includes addressing the upskilling, reskilling and other learning needs of the individuals planning for, or already facing longer working lives. It becomes a policy issue in reconciling the interests of the individuals who may wish (or need to) work beyond the traditional retirement age with other stakeholders involved including education providers, employers and various NGOs.

Existing evidence points to the need to support individuals of all ages, including before and after the traditional retirement age, with formal and non-formal education opportunities, in order to enhance their potential in the labour market and facilitate other forms of participation in society (Findsen and Formosa 2011; Cantillon

and Vasquez del Aguila 2011). Higher education providers, both public and private, can play an important role in supporting lifelong learning and the development of new knowledge, skills and competencies over the working life, as well as creating an environment in which the continuing acquisition of new knowledge and skills is seen as both socially desirable and possible.

The disadvantages experienced by individuals with lower levels of formal educational attainment in relation to labour market participation are well documented. Report on key findings from the 2012 Survey of Adult Skills (OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies, or PIAAC) highlights that individuals with lower skill levels are 'unlikely to engage in education and training on their own initiative and tend to receive less employer-sponsored training', with great variation between countries in establishing systems that combine quality initial education with 'opportunities and incentives for the entire population to continue to develop proficiency in reading and numeracy skills after the completion of initial education and training, whether outside work or at the workplace' (OECD 2013, p. 32). At the same time, PIAAC survey data show significant proportions of adult population even in advanced industrialized countries with low levels of proficiency in key foundation skills such as literacy, numeracy, problem solving and information-processing.

Further detailed analysis of PIAAC data shows employer-sponsored training growing at a faster rate than that of public or non-profit provision carrying significant implications for public policy as the individuals with highest levels of previous education, or with higher levels of basic skills are found most likely to benefit from employer support – thus potentially exacerbating, rather than reducing, socio-economic inequalities (Desjardins 2017).

Unless redressed through broader educational and social policies and targeted government support for adult learning, inequality in general is likely to continue to grow, and potentially result in intergenerational inequalities. Public policy can address inequalities by supporting adults with lower levels of key foundation skills with initiatives aimed at developing such skills. Empirical research highlights a particular need for a discussion around the gender implications, as the situation facing women is especially challenging in terms of the earnings gap, pension coverage and caring responsibilities. In many developed countries, one of the most obvious demographic changes in higher education in recent decades has been the increasing level of women's participation in higher education. To some commentators, this might suggest that the challenge of gender equality has been 'solved'. However, traditional patterns of sex distribution by disciplines, areas of work and pay rates remain strong: women are excluded from opportunities of their choice for education and employment in many parts of the world, while in others, the implications of dramatically new life course patterns for both women and men are largely uncharted territories (Schuller 2019).

Bringing together the implications of two major trends of migration and ageing for higher education, this book deliberately strays into such 'uncharted territories'. Such an analysis requires an intersectional approach, which provides the overarching conceptual framework for this book as we outline in the next part.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The issues raised in the above discussion involve complex interactions between large-scale social, economic and demographic forces. As the contributors to this book make clear, migration (both within and between countries) and population trends form significant factors shaping opportunities for access to higher education. Yet it is important that these are not viewed in isolation but in the context of other social factors including socio-economic, gender, educational, national and cultural backgrounds. This intersectionality is well illustrated by Andrä Wolter (Chap. 3) in his detailed examination of empirical data in Germany which shows how the differences between sub-groups with or without a migration background, but with the same social or educational status are very small. Importantly therefore, the main disparities in participation rates are, as he points out, less the result of migration backgrounds but primarily due to the varying social composition of groups.

Taking account of the complexity of these issues thus requires an intersectional approach. Any attempt to represent such intricate relationships in diagrammatic form inevitably involves a degree of oversimplification. With this limitation in mind, the conceptual framework for the contributions in this book is outlined in Fig. 1.1.

On the outer circle lie the major stakeholders that play a large role in shaping opportunities for inclusion and participation in higher education and lifelong learning. While numerous stakeholders are involved, for our purposes here we highlight four as of particular importance.

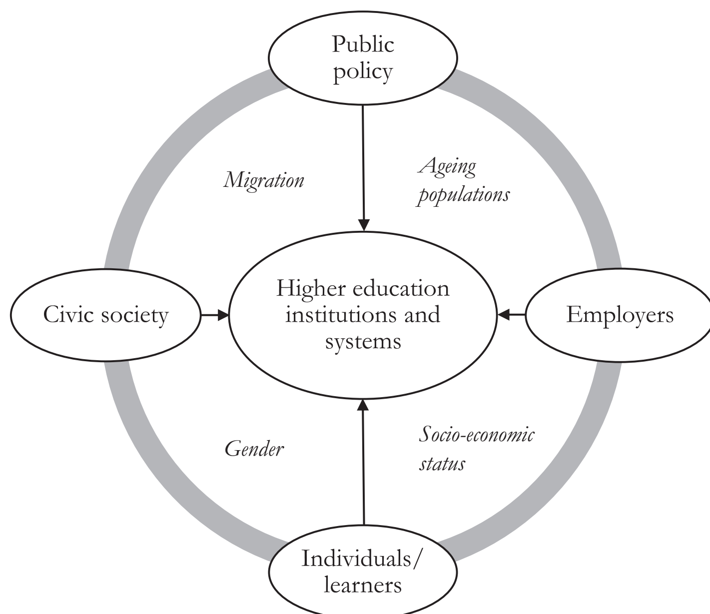

Fig. 1.1 Conceptual framework: key stakeholders and socio-demographic factors impacting on higher education institutions and systems

- First, public policy: steering priorities, forms of provision and funding at national and international levels.
- Second, employers, professional bodies and trades unions: private and public with interests in employability, skills and knowledge of graduates.
- Third, civic society: social movements and NGOs representing the interests of different social groups including immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees, indigenous groups, women and older adults.
- Fourth, individuals: school leavers and adults as potential learners at various stages over the entire life course.

At the next level, moving from the outer circle to the inner quadrants of Fig. 1.1, lie four key social factors which, interacting with each other in complex ways, underpin the contributions in this book.

- Migration;
- Ageing populations;
- Gender; and
- Socio-economic inequalities.

All of the above shape the conditions within which higher education operates – both at system and institutional levels. Thus, providers are placed in the central circle as they respond to these demands and pressures by seeking to widen or – whether by design or default – restrict opportunities for access and inclusion to higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. In some systems, for example in binary, demarcation in lines of responsibility and mission are evident. In others, the policy framework is more diffuse. Despite evidence of isomorphic trends at a global level (Meyer et al. 2007), the growth of mass systems means that contemporary higher education institutions and systems are also more diverse, comprising both universities and a wide range of other types of tertiary/post-compulsory education and training institutions. Additionally, they can be predominantly: public and private (both non-profit and for-profit); research intensive or teaching focused; local community-orientated or globally-orientated; elite or open. The campus-based, full-time residential format may remain the 'brand' image for a small number of elite institutions, but forms of provision are also highly diverse including part-time, online and blended learning programmes. Additionally, as mentioned above, participation in employer provided training by far outstrips adult learning with other providers.

1.5 Structure of Book

The contributors to this book are scholars of higher education and lifelong learning based in twelve countries from Europe (Germany, Ireland, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom), the Americas (Brazil, Canada, Mexico and the USA), Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Eleven of these twelve countries were included in two

previous books on the topic of lifelong learning in higher education, providing some continuity in analyzing directions of change over two decades (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a; Schuetze and Slowey 2000).

We make no claim that these countries are globally representative – they are mainly from the rich, developed and ageing world comprising, from a migration perspective, predominantly 'receiving countries'. However, there are also a number of perspectives from 'sending' countries and regions with different demographic profiles, such as Puerto Rico and Mexico. Furthermore, categorizations are in flux with changing socio-demographic, economic, and political forces. The case of Ireland is illustrative here as an example of a country which transformed rapidly from one of traditionally high birth rates, coupled with decades of high levels of emigration, to one which, in recent years, has transformed to becoming a country of net immigration with an ageing population. In a different way, the case of Puerto Rico challenges over-simplified categorizations of migration and ageing. Puerto Rico, a territory of the USA and predominantly Spanish speaking, has significantly high levels of emigration to other parts of the USA, which, in recent years, come from the younger, better educated sections of the population.

The chapters in the book are organized into three Parts.

The contributions in **Part II. Contemporary patterns of migration and higher education: opportunities for new lifelong learners?** address the challenges posed for higher education by contemporary patterns of migration from social responsibility, educational, analytical and national perspectives. While some contributions include reflections on the situation of the 'classic' internationally mobile student, the main focus is on issues of equality, access, educational engagement and curricular response to those who are forced from their home countries due to violence, famine and/or extreme poverty. Part II commences with an exploration of the context and role of higher education in Australia as a country with a long history of immigration but, in the current environment, with an increasingly harsh negative attitude as discussed by Mary Leahy, John Polesel and Shelley Gillis (Chap. 2). Differences in the experiences between those who are first and second generation immigrants can be significant, as are those between permanent and temporary migration. The case of Germany is particularly interesting as the European country which experiences one of the largest waves of migration in a short space of time in recent years. This is explored with Andrä Wolter's (Chap. 3) detailed statistical analysis of patterns in Germany, augmented by a conceptual contribution to discussions of migration and higher education. He distinguishes between three main groups of potential students – domestic (those from families with a migration background); international (students arriving for specific study periods) and refugees (those fleeing violence) – highlighting associated changes in discourse from, for example, 'foreigners' to 'migrants', and in policy responses along a continuum from 'integration' on one end, to 'diversity' on the other.

A contrasting situation discussed by María de los Ángeles Ortiz-Reyes and Liz Sepúlveda-Arroyo (Chap. 4) is the case of higher education in Puerto Rico: as a territory of the USA it has high levels of what might formally be termed internal migration, however the first language is different, it has distinctive culture, and also

shows interaction between migration, ageing populations and gender (as more men than women emigrate). Ireland is another small state with a long tradition of emigration, which, in recent years, has transformed to becoming a country of net immigration and is discussed by Daniel Faas (Chap. 5). Sweden also is a country which moved rapidly from a relatively mono-cultural society to a highly diverse one. While not underestimating the challenges involved, Camilla Thunborg and Agnieszka Bron (Chap. 6) point to a range of innovative activities aimed at reaching out to various migrant groups and supporting access to higher education opportunities. Here, as for several decades a leader in opening access to higher education for adult learners on a flexible basis, the case of Sweden illustrates the potential interconnections in approaches to meeting the needs of the major groups we are considering in this book. Mexico is a country with a young population, high levels of poverty and internal migration with resulting challenges for participation in all levels of education. In Chap. 7, Germán Álvarez-Mendiola and Brenda Pérez-Colunga use empirical data to discuss the situation in relation to higher education, drawing out issues of access and outcomes for both younger people as well as the adult population.

The subsequent chapters in **Part II** focus more explicitly on consideration of educational matters, including the curriculum, forms of provision and continuum of approaches from 'integration' to 'diversity'. Many migrant students face significant challenges studying in the language of their 'host' country. As Jennifer Bruen and Niamh Kelly (Chap. 8) highlight, this is not a simple technical matter, but requires support and development if higher education academics are to be equipped to address issues of culture and diversity in 'mainstream' programmes and institutions. A quite different approach to diversity is to develop dedicated provision and/or institutions. Sylvie Didou Aupetit (Chap. 9) analyzes the advantages, but also the potential pitfalls, of this approach as illustrated by the interesting example from Mexico, where Intercultural Universities were established with a view to supporting greater access for indigenous people. In meeting certain needs of local provision and the like, does this also lead to challenges in status and potentially coming to be viewed as 'second class' institutions? Ana Ivenicki (Chap. 10) also takes up the theme of intercultural education, in the case of implications for higher education in Brazil, while Martha Cleveland-Innes (Chap. 11) explores the implications for professional development of academic staff in terms of pedagogic approaches to working with non-traditional learners in higher education.

In **Part III. Ageing populations and changing life course patterns: implications for higher education and 'longlife' learners**, the focus shifts to the other side of the demographic coin and consideration of the ways in which higher education responds, or not, to educational needs of adults of *all* ages and stages. The wider context of adult learning is set by Richard Desjardins (Chap. 12) who, drawing on PIAAC (the OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies) data shows levels of engagement by adults in education and training across OECD countries to be increasing. However, as a growing proportion of this relates to employment, without proactive policy intervention there is a danger of educational inequalities being exacerbated rather than reduced.

As one of the countries to first confront the phenomenon of an ageing population, the case of Japan is particularly interesting. As discussed by Hidehiro Nakajima (Chap. 13), despite ageing being high on the policy agenda, Japanese higher education has been rather slow to respond to the educational needs of this growing segment of the population. In a similar vein, Brian Findsen (Chap. 14) investigates issues of inequality in relation to access opportunities to higher education for older adults in New Zealand, where many barriers remain, particularly for Māori peoples.

The next two chapters focus on implications of changing life course and working patterns for higher education and lifelong learning. This issue of learning while working is addressed in the more specific context of higher education in the USA by Carol Kasworm (Chap. 15) who investigates the scale, and also the complexities in practice, of meeting the needs of adults who are workers and also students. Many older people – whether by choice or necessity – face working beyond traditional ages of retirement. Maria Slowey and Tanya Zubrzycki (Chap. 16) use the case of Ireland to draw out implications of working over longer lifespans for higher education and lifelong learning policy and practice.

Higher education is evidently just one part of an array of lifelong learning opportunities. The final two chapters in this Part take this wider perspective. Walter Archer and Bill Kops (Chap. 17) describe a range of innovative initiatives in the Canadian context and discuss ways in which opportunities for higher level learning might perhaps better flourish outside 'mainstream' higher education institution – through, for example, the work of bodies such as U3A (University of the Third Age). Catherine Lido, Kate Reid and Mike Osborne (Chap. 18) discuss the potential which innovative methodologies utilizing 'big data' might offer to help better understand complex pathways to lifelong and lifewide learning.

In the final section **Part IV. Reflections and Outlooks,** Pavel Zgaga (Chap. 19) and David Istance (Chap. 20) stand back from the detail to offer more general reflections on the implications for higher education of our two major themes of the new demographics: migration and ageing. Qualitatively different to other contributions, these reflections can be read as something akin to manifestos. Pavel Zgaga, who contributed to developing the vision for the ERASMUS programme in Europe, describes the pain of seeing barriers – physical and symbolic – being (re)erected in Europe with his own country, Slovenia, located at something of a European geographic cross-roads. David Istance, highlighting both the policy and the individual issues arising from ageing populations, makes the case for dedicated forms of higher education to meet the needs of these new (older) lifelong learners.

Finally, in Chap. 21 we conclude with our own wider reflections and outlooks on these matters bringing the major strands together and drawing more general implications of the new demographics for policy and practice in relation to higher education and lifelong learning.

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Part II
Contemporary Patterns of Migration and Higher Education: Opportunities for New Lifelong Learners?

Chapter 2
Escher's Staircase: Higher Education and Migration in Australia

Mary Leahy, John Polesel, and Shelley Gillis

2.1 Introduction

> With everything that Dad and Mum had gone through, the war and migrating to here, when parents work so hard to bring you here, all you have to do is open your book a couple of hours a day and study, that is the expectation, that we've got too many taxi drivers mate, that's the thing with us, you know as Arabs you are either a doctor, a lawyer or a taxi driver … (Sami 2017).

The Australian writer, actor and comedian Osamah Sami was raised with the unequivocal expectation that he would become a doctor. Parental and community pressure on Sami, his sister and his girlfriend form a key part of the film 'Ali's Wedding' (Walker 2017) and the book on which it is based (Sami 2015). It captures one of the strong narratives of the Australian migrant experience – that education offers the younger generation a pathway into professional work, bringing success and security for individuals, their families and communities. In the post-war period, migration did expand the opportunities for many young people who, like Sami, arrived in Australia as children or who were the Australian born children of immigrants and refugees. To some extent this reflected broader social and economic shifts that expanded the opportunities for other groups of Australians born outside the traditional elite.

There are, however, gaps between the immigrant success story and the lived experience. Social mobility was not achieved by all groups of migrants. The uneven success was evident even when economic conditions were most favourable in the post-war period of strong economic growth and high employment levels. Migrants

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in Australia are not a homogenous group. Differences in ethnicity and English language fluency are usually recognized, but there is often less attention paid to other factors. Differences in education levels, class in the country of origin, timing and reasons for migration, exposure to war, and levels of trauma have a significant impact on the transition into a new country.

The experience of migration is also shaped by changing social, economic and political conditions in Australia. This includes the policy landscape, particularly in the areas of immigration, employment, small business, education and welfare. Of greatest relevance are the shift towards a skills-based migration programme; the introduction of a punitive, deterrent approach to refugees; increasing differentiation in schooling; the increasing cost of tertiary education; and the growth of the international student migration pathway. The opportunities offered by education are changing. Although education, particularly at the tertiary level, can increase an individual's options, it can also entrench social and economic privilege. There is evidence that the consolidation of privilege through education is strengthening in Australia (e.g. Parker 2016).

To identify the issues, we provide an overview of the evolving nature of Australia's post-war migration and refugee programme. This is followed by a discussion of inequality and the changing role and direction of the tertiary education sector. These two sections lead into a discussion of the role tertiary education plays for migrants and refugees in Australia.

2.2 Immigration

Since 1945, more than 7.5 million migrants have arrived in Australia. By 2016, 28.4% of the Australian population was born overseas (first generation migrants) and a further 20.9% had one or both parents born overseas (second generation). This means that almost half the population are first or second generation Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017), which is high compared with many other OECD countries (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2017).

In Australia there are now two programmes for permanent migrants: (1) the Migration Program (skilled migrants and family reunion) and (2) the Humanitarian Program (refugees and people in refugee-like situations). Most new arrivals come through the Migration Program. Over the past three decades, the Humanitarian Program comprised less than 20% of the total permanent migration programme. Over the last decade the proportion has varied from seven to ten per cent (from 2005–06 to 2015–16).

As revealed by Fig. 2.1, the size of the Humanitarian Program has been relatively stable over the past 30 years, while the migration programme has grown. The significant reduction in numbers during the 1990s was a response to the recession earlier in the decade. It followed the election of the conservative Howard Government (1996–2004), which expressed hostility to immigration, particularly from Asian countries, but ultimately oversaw growth in the immigration intake.

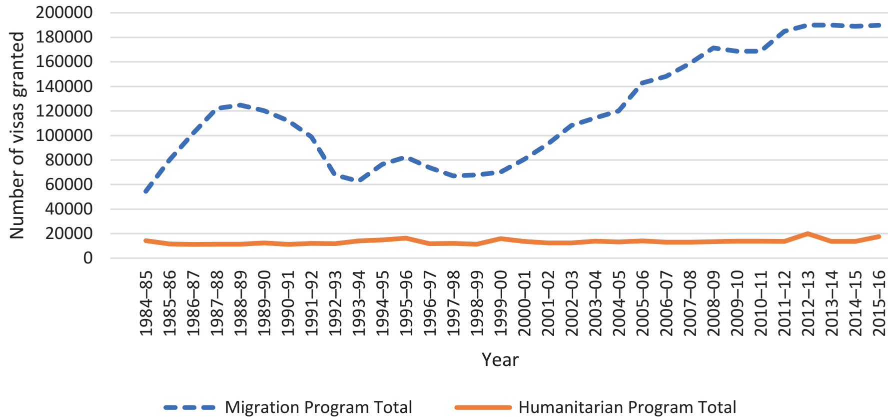

Fig. 2.1 Permanent migrants (migration and humanitarian programme visas granted), 1984–85 to 2015–16. Source: (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2017)

Over the past decade, the composition of the permanent migration programme by stream has not changed significantly. The Skill Stream comprises an average of 68% of the total programme. The next largest group is the Family Stream, which comprises an average of 30% of the total programme (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017). However, the ethnic background of immigrants has varied. Until recently, most immigrants came to Australia from the United Kingdom. This changed in 2010–11, when China became Australia's primary source of permanent migrants (through the Migration Program) (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2017). In 2016–17 the largest three source countries were India (38,845 people or 21.2% of the total intake), China (28,293 people, 15.4%) and the United Kingdom (17,038 people, 9.3%) (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017). The profile of Humanitarian Program arrivals reveals the impact of international conflicts and civil wars. In 2015–16, 58.9% of all offshore visas were granted to people from the Middle East, 29.3% to people from Asia and 11.8% to people from Africa. This includes Syrians, Iraqis, Afghanis, and people from Myanmar (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2016, 2017).

The majority of people accepted under the Humanitarian Program lodge their applications to settle in Australia offshore. However, there is an additional group of arrivals – refugees seeking to make onshore applications. Successive Australian Governments have introduced an increasingly harsh policy approach towards this group of asylum seekers, particularly those who arrive by boat. The situation of a relatively small group of people continues to be manipulated for political purposes by some politicians, successive governments and sections of the media. Asylum seekers have been demonized and dehumanized (e.g. see the account by Marr and Wilkinson 2003). The current and previous Australian Government inaccurately describes asylum seekers as 'illegal maritime arrivals'. Actions initiated or authorized by successive governments include turning unseaworthy vessels back towards Indonesia, excising outer islands from the nation as defined for immigration

purposes, and housing people in brutal offshore detention centres in Nauru and Papua New Guinea. The impact on individuals' mental and physical health and on families is devastating (e.g. Boochani 2017; Isaacs 2014; Orner 2016). The inhumanity of Government policy has been condemned within Australia and internationally, including by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2017).

As of 31 May 2017, 3128 asylum seekers were held in detention in Australia or in Australian offshore camps. A further 22,701 people are living in the community on a bridging visa (Asylum Centre Resource Centre 2017). The limited rights to employment and support associated with bridging visas exacerbate the uncertainty and increase the vulnerability of this group of people.

It is important to distinguish between permanent and temporary migrants. One of the shifts over the past 20 years has been the growing emphasis on temporary migration. There are currently more than one million temporary residents in Australia, including employer skilled migrants, working tourists, New Zealanders, international students and refugees on temporary protection visas (Mares 2016). There is potential for these different visas to be renewed for additional fixed terms. In some cases, temporary visas can also provide pathways to permanent residence. International students, for example, have the opportunity to work in Australia after graduation. The number of international students has nearly tripled from 113,000 in 1996–97 to 310,845 in 2015–16, with the steepest increase in the first decade of this century (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2017).

2.2.1 A Brief History

The policies governing different strands of the permanent and temporary immigration programmes have changed over time. Immigration was initially a state rather than national responsibility. The Australian Government took full control of immigration after World War I, introducing a large-scale migration programme after World War II. The post-World War II programme was designed to increase the size of the population for the dual purposes of stimulating economic development and bolstering defence capacity in the event of another war (Phillips et al. 2010). The then minister responsible for immigration argued that this was a matter of national interest, with Australia required to 'populate or perish'.

Initially the post-war migration programme prioritized British arrivals. Most of the 1.5 million British who migrated to Australia between 1945 and 1975 received financial support under the Assisted Passage Scheme. However, in 1947 the Australian government signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organisation for the resettlement of displaced people from European camps (Australian Government 2015). This resulted in an increasing flow of migrants and refugees from continental Europe. Initially, the focus was on migration from northern and central Europe but, over time, larger numbers of people came from Southern Europe. In the 1970s, there was a further shift with an increase in the number of

migrants and refugees from non-European backgrounds. International and internal conflicts across the world led to an influx of refugees from countries such as Uganda, Chile, Cyprus, Timor, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In 1973, the racist White Australia Policy was finally dismantled (Australian Government 2015).

After World War II the focus was on filling blue collar jobs in manufacturing, construction and agriculture. Professional and skilled migrants found it difficult to obtain recognition of their qualifications and were often only able to access relatively low-skilled jobs (e.g. Hawthorne 2003, 2005, 2015). In the 1970s, the purpose of the Australian migration programme began to change. From the early 1970s, the Australian government sought to attract skilled and professional migrants, targeting people who could help fill specific gaps in the labour market. This has grown to form the most significant component of the permanent migration programme. Skilled migrants include qualified and experienced professionals and people with extensive business experience or capital (Australian Government 2015; Tani et al. 2013).

There was another major change that ran in parallel with the shift to a skilled migration programme, and that concerned expectations about settlement. The assimilationist policies of post-war Australian governments were replaced by multiculturalism, which celebrated cultural difference. Introduced as a national policy by the Whitlam Labour Government (1972–75), multiculturalism was expanded by the conservative Fraser Government (1975–1983). Initially the policy was motivated by concerns for human rights and social justice. However, it took a more utilitarian turn in the 1990s, with the introduction of productive diversity, a policy that emphasized the economic benefit of a culturally diverse workforce and population. Multiculturalism is attacked by modern day proponents of a white Anglo-Celtic Australia. It is also challenged for maintaining the dominance of white Anglo-Celtic culture with other cultures positioned on the periphery (e.g. Hage 1998). In spite of these criticisms, multicultural policy has been continued by governments at the federal, state and local levels.

2.2.2 Study-Migration Pathway

One aspect of the skilled migration programme concerns the study-migration pathway, which emerged in the late 1990s and is continuing to grow (Gribble and Blackmore 2012). International students are often regarded as ideal migrants. In addition to an Australian qualification and work experience, they are considered to have achieved a degree of acculturation and have good English-language skills (e.g. Gribble and Blackmore 2012; Tani et al. 2013). From the student's perspective, the prospect of gaining international work experience and potentially residency are part of the appeal of studying abroad (see also Baas 2006). Although these are significant opportunities, the experience of being an international student in an Australian university can be very difficult (Marginson 2011).

The study-migration pathway was opened following changes to Australian immigration policy in 1999. International students became eligible to apply for permanent residence following graduation from courses on the Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL). An Australian qualification gave applicants bonus points. Furthermore, they were not required to return to their home country to lodge an application and the requirement for work experience was removed. The list of occupations was expanded in 2006 to include skilled work and the trades, which led to a significant growth in international students undertaking vocational qualifications (Gribble and Blackmore 2012).

Concern about the poor employment outcomes of international students led to a tightening of regulations. The level of English required was increased and the exemption from local work experience was removed. In 2008, following the global financial crisis and fears of a recession, the Government cut the skilled migration programme and focussed on employer and government sponsored skilled migrants. The MODL was replaced with the Critical Skills List (CSL) and then with the Skilled Occupations List (SOL) in 2010. The overall shift was away from a labour supply driven migration to an employer demand driven scheme. The revised scheme emphasized work experience and higher-level qualifications. Since 2010, there have been further revisions to ensure capable students are recruited into reputable courses (Gribble and Blackmore 2012).

The student-migrant pathway is not smooth. Hawthorne and To's (2014) analysis of student-migrant employment outcomes found that they were less likely to be in full-time work than their domestic counterparts. The employment outcomes of student-migrants were also weaker than other skilled migrants. Part-time non-professional work contributed to the relatively high labour-market participation rates. Two-thirds of the student migrants were working full-time one year after graduating compared with 93% of sponsored and 85% of off shore independent migrants one year after arrival. The salary level is one indicator of the level of work available to student-migrants. On average, the salaries they could attract are lower than those obtained by migrants in the family category, a group that are not selected based on skill. Student migrants achieved lower post-degree salaries than their domestic counterparts. Student migrants with permanent residence and native or near-native levels of English language were in a relatively stronger position. Employment outcomes differed depending on the level of education. Graduates of coursework master's fared worse than graduates of bachelor's degrees or PhDs. Employment outcomes also varied across field of study, with students in high demand areas more likely to secure employer sponsorship (Hawthorne and To 2014).

2.2.3 Rural and Regional Migration

Linking migration to regional development is another aspect of current Australian policy. Since 1995, the Australian Government has encouraged settlement in rural and regional areas. The focus on regional and rural resettlement is designed to

address skill shortages and to relieve pressure on urban infrastructure. In general, migrants are more likely to live in urban areas than people born in Australia. In 2011, 85% of people born overseas lived in a major urban area compared with 64% of people born in Australia. Settlement patterns vary by country of birth. The most urbanized groups of migrants were from Somalia (98%), Lebanon (97%), Macau (97%), and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (97%). Migrants from English speaking and northern European countries were less likely to live in urban areas (i.e. New Zealand – 78%, the United Kingdom – 74%, Germany – 72% and the Netherlands – 64%) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014).

Based on analysis of five socio-economic measures, Massey and Parr (2012) found that overseas and Australian born people in the non-metropolitan regions achieved similar levels for labour force participation rates, unemployment rates, median incomes, and the percentage of the employed in highly-skilled jobs. These strong outcomes were attributed to the skilled migration programme. The labour market outcomes were found to be stronger for men than for women. Compared with people born in Australia, migrants were more likely to have higher levels of education to achieve similar employment outcomes and they were also more likely to be overeducated for their job.

Changing immigration policy shapes the demographics of the migrant intake and influences the experience of settlement. However, broader social and economic trends are also important. This includes levels of inequality and the extent to which opportunities for social mobility are available to Australians who are not part of the traditional elites.

2.3 Inequality and Higher Education

In the US, the Great American Dream conveys the belief that anyone, regardless of their circumstances, can be successful if they work hard enough. The prospect of upward mobility has played a powerful role in supressing demands from low income Americans for redistributive social and economic policies (Bénabou and Ok 2001; Corak 2013; Ehrenreich 2001). Although there is no 'Great Australian Dream', the mythology of a 'fair go' – the idea that opportunity exists for all – has had a similar effect. It conveys an understanding that this country is fundamentally egalitarian, a myth that is equally potent in obscuring the perception of social and economic inequality and rendering it natural.

The egalitarian myth is not reflected in the evidence of increasing levels of inequality. Social mobility has stalled or may even be declining (Leigh 2005, 2013; Parker 2016). In this sense, Australia is part of a global trend of a widening gap between rich and poor (Picketty 2014). However, there have been periods where opportunities for social and economic mobility were stronger.

During the 1950s and the 1960s, many groups of Australians experienced improved living standards. Wages were relatively strong and improved housing affordability resulted in higher levels of home ownership. Access to education was

widened. This increased from the 1970s, when the Whitlam government expanded the tertiary education system, building new universities and removing fees. Education levels started to rise. Although class remained a strong feature of the Australian social landscape, education provided opportunities for social mobility. This included alternative pathways into higher education that were not previously available to support access to the highly selective, established universities (Chesters and Watson 2016). Alternative pathways include entry into university on the basis of a vocational qualification (e.g. Advanced Diploma), the Special Tertiary Admissions Test or professional experience. In 2010, 55% of undergraduate students accessed university through an alternative pathway (Chesters 2015b).

A number of researchers, however, have noted that the expansion of the higher education system did not, in itself, diminish differences in educational attainment. These differences are linked to the ability of wealthy parents to secure advantage for their children through the operation of selective and private schooling. There is a strong link between results from the final year of schooling (Year 12) and the socio-economic status (SES) of the school community. Chesters (2015b) found that the type of school attended was the mechanism by which parental education affected the likelihood that a young person would graduate with a high-status degree in either medicine or law. Parker (2016) argues that without interventions at the school level, low SES students will not have the high achievement and grades required to gain access to university and particularly to the most prestigious universities and courses.

Students in higher education from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to attend the less prestigious universities, which tend to be located in regional areas or were established more recently (Edwards and Coates 2011). The research intensive and highly prestigious 'Group of Eight' universities in Australia enrol the lowest percentage of students from low SES backgrounds – comprising 9.4%, compared with an average of 16.7% across all universities and 19.3% at the universities which were established after 1988 (Parker 2016, p. 17).

In theory, the higher education system in Australia is unified, with past distinctions between universities, colleges of advanced education, institutes of technology and teacher training colleges removed by decree, but in reality the stratification of universities into groups with varying levels of prestige persists. Higher education in Australia is part of a tertiary education system that also includes post-school vocational education, which forms another layer of provision. Five dual-sector universities, with different levels of prestige, span both higher and vocational education, delivering qualifications from Certificate 1 (basic vocational) to PhD (Moodie 2009).

James et al. (2008) report that the share of places for people from low SES backgrounds in universities has not changed despite the overall growth in access to higher education. They note the particularly low levels of access to and success in higher education of Indigenous Australians. Compared with their higher education peers, students in the vocational education sector are more likely to be from a low SES background. Even when vocational education students are included, the tertiary education participation rate remains lower for low SES groups.

Although the patterns are clear, researchers and commentators continue to debate the nature, extent and causes of inequality in higher education. James et al. (2008) argue that the main impact of SES is in preventing access to university rather than its effect on success in higher education or completion rates. Marginson (2016) draws attention to the limits of higher education in addressing inequality, arguing that these are set by the broader social inequalities within which higher education operates. He cautions that 'low SES students are less likely to nurture high ambitions, more likely to be deterred by cost, more likely to focus on secure and predictable employment-related paths rather than diffuse intellectual formation' (Marginson 2016, pp. 425–26). The idea of adaptive preference formation (Nussbaum 2011; Sen 2000) helps explain the factors influencing these outcomes. It demonstrates how an individual's sense of what they can do and who they can be is constrained by the experience of disadvantage and discrimination (e.g. Nussbaum 2011; Sen 2000). The impact of SES background also influences employment outcomes. For example, James et al. (2008) found that university graduates from disadvantaged backgrounds were less likely to enter professional or managerial occupations.

The level of social and economic inequality impacts on outcomes in a wide range of areas including education and health (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). As Giddens (2000) pointed out, inequality of outcome in one generation results in an inequality of opportunity for their children (see also Atkinson 2015). International comparisons of the relationship between income inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient) and intergenerational social mobility (measured by intergenerational elasticity of income) are mapped by what has been described as the 'Great Gatsby Curve' (Krueger 2012). Intergenerational mobility in terms of income is low in countries such as the US and the UK and much higher in the Nordic countries, with Australia and New Zealand towards the middle.

There is a link between intergenerational mobility and the higher education systems. Marginson (2016) states that countries with higher levels of intergenerational educational mobility (measured by the likelihood of those with and without tertiary educated parents attending tertiary education) such as the Nordic nations, tend to have greater uniformity of quality and prestige across their universities, with fewer 'elite' institutions or 'World-Class Universities'.

The globalisation of education is exacerbating the differences between universities in Australia. Marginson (2016) argues that the elite universities are able to attract international students, who provide an important source of revenue. In an earlier and smaller study, Baas (2006) found the situation was more complex with some international students choosing lower cost universities if the degree can still support an application for permanent residence. These students navigate a differentiated higher system with variations in the levels of prestige and resources attached to different types of universities.

The expansion of university access in Australia to create a high participation system (Marginson 2016) has improved access for some groups of young people. Alternative pathways into higher education have been established. However, these developments have not led to greater educational equality. Parker (2016) argues that higher education may now in fact be contributing to increasing inequality, with

Australian universities complicit in further stratifying income and wealth distribution and mitigating against intergenerational mobility.

2.4 Education and Immigration

The experience of international students in Australian universities provides important insights into the way higher education structures opportunities. International students, however, form a somewhat atypical sub-group of immigrants in Australia. Data on the educational outcomes of immigrants more broadly, including children of first and second-generation immigrants, are less accessible, although some studies have been conducted in this area (e.g. see Chesters 2015b). One of the challenges involves distinguishing between different groups of students when analysing data on educational outcomes and achievement. Students from a non-English speaking background include refugees whose education has been interrupted, and skilled migrants, with educated and affluent families. This limits the value of non-English speaking background as a proxy measure for students from recent immigrant background or as a marker of disadvantage.

In Australia, most of the research on immigration and education focuses on achievement in school rather than higher education. School based research is relevant given the role of school achievement in enabling or preventing access to university (Polesel et al. 2017). In general, the research shows that students from non-English speaking backgrounds tend to have higher achievement in secondary school and higher results in the PISA tests than their English-speaking background counterparts (Gemici et al. 2013; Marks 2010).

There is also evidence that students from migrant backgrounds (first or second generation), especially those from Asian backgrounds, achieve higher levels of education than their Australian-born counterparts (Cardak and McDonald 2004; Johnston et al. 2014; Majoribanks 2005). Chesters (2015a), in a study of Longitudinal Survey of Australian Youth (LSAY) data from 2003, confirmed that the educational achievement of migrant groups is as high or higher than that of their Australian-born counterparts and, notably, that these groups show higher levels of aspiration for higher level occupations and for entry to university.

With respect to higher education specifically, we note that in the UK, the expansion of the sector, which has taken place over three decades, has increased the participation of students from ethnic minorities, but students from low SES backgrounds continue to be underrepresented (Chesters 2015b). In Australia, Dobson et al. (1996) found that immigrant students were more likely to attend university but that there were differences between immigrant groups, with students from east Asian or eastern European backgrounds four times more likely to attend than those from Arabic, Italian, or Turkish backgrounds. Since this study, the level of skilled immigration has increased and the more established immigrant groups have become more integrated and socially mobile. This would suggest higher participation rates among some groups of migrants.

Access to education is important but qualifications alone are not sufficient. An Australian degree does not necessarily support a successful transition into skilled employment. A study of South Sundanese immigrants reported high levels of part-time and casual employment, including among those with tertiary qualifications, many in areas of identified skills shortages. Discrimination on the basis of ethnicity remains a significant problem in Australia (El-Gack and Yak 2016).

The education system cannot directly address discrimination in the labour market. It does, however, have a clear role in developing citizens' empathy, critical thinking and sense of justice to reduce discrimination in all aspects of society, including in the workplace. Furthermore, the way education systems are designed and the types of programmes offered can expand or limit educational opportunities. Parker (2016, p. 13) argues that education can either be: irrelevant to inequality; an improving force (reducing inequality); a restraining force (preventing inequality from becoming worse); or a 'worsening force' (increasing the level of inequality). He concludes that in Australia, education is a mix of restraining and worsening forces. The restraining force can be seen in the slow increase in the participation rates of low SES students, which include economically disadvantaged migrants. If these students can achieve the types of tertiary qualifications that are recognized in the labour market and if discrimination does not constrict their opportunities, then education does have the capacity to transform individuals' lives. However, the Australian education system is also entrenching inequality. Privilege can and does build over generations. University graduates with prestigious degrees will tend to earn more and have the capacity to invest in their children's education.

2.5 Conclusion

In the immigrant success story described at the start of this chapter, education is like an elevator. It provides opportunities for a rapid rise in socio-economic circumstances. The metaphor of a connecting passage captures the experience of some groups of skilled migrants, who arrive with a relative high level of educational, social and economic capital. Higher education for this group can support the transition into the Australian labour market. To some extent, this is also the experience of young people on the student-migration pathway. However, Australia's unequal school system and complex, stratified higher education sector can offer a very different experience to young people from disadvantaged migrant and refugee backgrounds. They can face something more like Eschers' staircase, an optical illusion of seemingly possible pathways but in reality, a set of wrong turns, closed doors and sudden drops.

Increasingly, the Australian Government sees education as a tool of economic policy. It is expected to support an increase in productivity, support innovation and improve the nation's competitiveness in the global economy. Higher education is also viewed as having economic value, representing a major export and an important source of revenue for universities. Australian universities can provide a

pathway for students with means but the sector is inaccessible to many others. The unique way in which Australian universities expand and entrench opportunities provides important lessons about the role of higher education in a modern economy.

The shifting relationships between Australia's immigration programme, refugee policy, tertiary education sector and economic conditions shape the migrant experience, with its mixture of hope, opportunities, illusions, successes and disappointments. Examining the trends reveals the fragile nature of the Australian 'fair go for everyone' narrative.

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Chapter 3
Migration and Higher Education in Germany

Andrä Wolter

3.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that migration is one of the most important challenges of the current demographic changes facing many European and non-European countries – with far-reaching consequences for social cohesion and policy, education systems and national labour markets. In migration research, migration is defined as a permanent or at least longer-term relocation of the center of one's life across national borders (Oltmer 2017). Recently, the current political discourse about migration in Europe, especially in the European Union (EU), has been dominated by the topic of the so-called 'flood' of refugees to Europe, of people seeking protection and asylum, in particular in the year 2015. This topic has generated a controversial debate across Europe about the integration of such a large number of migrants, and provoked rather reserved, even hostile, responses in many countries. Even more negative are the attitudes towards so-called economic (or 'poverty') migrants who come seeking better living conditions.

Migration of course is not a new phenomenon and, when seen in historical context, takes different forms with different causes. This is particularly true with respect to higher education. In higher education, the term 'international mobility' is preferred to the concept of migration. Currently, it seems that immigration is viewed critically by large numbers of the population in many European countries, perceived as a threat rather than an opportunity. In contrast, immigration of foreign students and scholars has tended to be welcomed as a component of internationalization and as an indicator of the international attractiveness of national higher education institutions. In higher education, mobility, including migration, has traditionally been

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understood as a source of enrichment and stimulus, and as a manifestation of universalism, meaning that the same academic rules and standards apply to everyone participating in academic discourses. However, as will be discussed further below, the volume and the composition of migration in higher education differs considerably from general migration.

3.1.1 Some General Definitions, Facts and Comments About Migration to Germany

Until 2005, the only legal definition was the one making distinction between German citizens and 'foreigners', and the sub-population of German citizens with a migration history could not be identified. In contrast, people with a foreign nationality living in Germany can be determined by their citizenship. Both together form the group of domestic migrants[1] including the first and the second generation. The term 'students with a migration background' has been introduced officially in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and is equivalent to the international PISA term 'immigrant students'. This term not only includes second generation students (i.e. those whose parents immigrated) but also first generation students (who themselves immigrated). Nevertheless, first generation migrants may have spent most of their lifetime in Germany, and received an upper secondary school leaving certificate in the German school system. Their nationality can be German (that means they were naturalized in the meantime), or they still have their parent's nationality. About half of these first generation students are German citizens, the remainder have a different nationality, and a few dual nationality (in which case the official statistics counts them as German citizens). This is some of the context specific to Germany for which the concept of migration (and migration background) rather than nationality has been used for this chapter.

According to the definition of migration as a permanent or at least longer relocation of the center of one's life across national borders, internationally mobile students who come only for a particular period of their life-time and for the particular purpose of studying in another country are seen as a special type of migrants.

In the field of migration research there was a paradigm shift from the concept of 'foreigners' to that of 'migrants'. Up to 10 or 15 years ago the predominant term – in Germany as in many other countries – was that of foreigners based on the concept of nationality. In contrast, the concept of migration is based on individual immigration biographies and is independent from nationality, that is, it includes migrants with either foreign or German citizenship.

[1] Basically, the term 'migrants' comprises 'immigrants' as well as 'emigrants'. In the context of this article the term 'migrants' is synonymous with 'immigrants' – unless both groups are mentioned explicitly.

To illustrate this, in 2018 about 25% of the German population had a migration background, which comes to about 20.8 million people.[2] 9.9 million have a foreign nationality, representing 12% of the German population. 10.9 million, i.e. about 52% of all people with a migration background, are German citizens. In 2018, while 36% of all migrants were born in Germany (that is why second generation), 64% belong to the first generation (they themselves immigrated into Germany). Immigration to Germany has been a nearly continuous phenomenon after the Second World War. There were massive waves of immigration to Germany especially in the 1960s and 1970s, again around 1990, and again since 2010. Every year since 1960 more than 200,000 people have migrated to Germany, in many years more than 500,000 (1963–1974, 1979–1981 and every year since 1988), and in some years (in 1992 and between 2013 and 2016) more than one million per annum.

The longstanding assertion – especially of conservative parties and associations – that Germany is not a country of immigration is nothing more than a denial of reality, a statement contrary to the evidence. Since the early 1960s there has definitely been no period without a considerable level of immigration to Germany. To get a clear picture, it is important to note that in any given year there is not only immigration to, but also considerable emigration from Germany, so that net migration is the key indicator. Because of a large amount of emigration every year, the migratory balance is much lower than the number of immigrants. In most years the balance was less than half the number of immigrants, in some years only a quarter or even less. There have also been some years with a negative migration balance, whereby emigration exceeded immigration, e.g. in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s.

In 2015, the peak of the current immigration wave, 2.1 million people came to Germany and one million left the country. So, in 2015 net migration amounted to 1.1 million people, and not only refugees. 62% of these immigrants came from non-EU countries, including refugees. About 445,000 of these applied for protection according to the Geneva Refugee Convention or the German right to political asylum. In 2016, there were more than 740,000 applications for asylum, mostly from immigrants who arrived in 2015. In the following years the number of immigrants with flight experiences declined massively. Among refugees, there is also a high degree of incoming and outgoing mobility, as well as an unreported number of people who have already left the country or are residing illegally (e.g. those who are not registered or do not have a residence permit).

On the one hand, the present composition of the German population is a result of previous waves of migration. In contrast to what is often suggested, it is difficult to identify 'indigenous Germans'. Furthermore, it is important to differentiate between several types of migration. Since World War II, the following types of immigration can be distinguished:

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[2] The following data are based on Autorengruppe Bildungsbericht (2016), Brückner (2017), and Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2016).

- escape and displacement after the Second World War;
- migration of workers during the period known as the 'economic miracle' (mainly in the 1960s and mainly from Mediterranean countries);
- the subsequent reuniting of families in the 1970s;
- migration because of political persecution in the 1980s allowed by the German constitutional guarantee of political asylum;
- migration of originally ethnic Germans (so-called 'late emigrants') from Eastern European countries, mainly in the late 1980s and early 1990s;
- migration contingents of special groups (e.g. Jews from East European countries);
- migration from Eastern Europe as a consequence of the collapse of the socialist regimes, and the civil war in the former Yugoslavia in the first part of the 1990s, with many of these migrants returning back to Yugoslavia after the end of the war;
- migration as a consequence of the EU right of free labour movement since the 1990s, especially after the accession of Eastern European countries since 2003;
- poverty migration that has occurred in all periods but that reached a peak in the last few years;
- and, finally, violence and conflict migration that has been at its height in recent years.

But on the other hand, this historical overview shows that the population with a migration background is extremely heterogeneous in its composition – with respect to the time or reason of immigration, to national origin, the cultural background or the qualification status. Some further facts may illustrate this. Until 2014 a large majority of people arriving in Germany came from other member states of the EU as a consequence of the right of free movement within the EU, and the next largest share was from other non-EU European countries. Of course, this composition changed in 2015 due to the large number of refugees. But after 2016, the annual number of refugees decreased considerably to about 200,000. Not all of them applied for asylum or a residence permit in accordance to the Geneva Refugee Convention, and many have since left the country.

Finally, a comment about the composition of migrants with permanent residence in Germany according to their qualification status (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, B 5; Engel and Wolter 2017). Often there is the expectation that migrants could diminish the need for skilled manpower. On the other hand, migrants often suffer from the image that they are a problem group in the labour market in terms of relatively low levels of education and qualifications. However, neither assumption can be completely confirmed. Rather, there is much evidence that reveals obvious polarization in the qualification structure. The proportion of migrants living in Germany who are eligible to access higher education is a little bit higher (32%) than in the population without a migration background (30%). With reference to the proportion with an academic degree the proportion is nearly the same (16 vs. 17%). So, with respect to highly qualified people there is only a

very small difference between the two groups – those with and those without a migration background. The real problems arise at a different point. The share of migrants without any school-leaving certificate or, even more important, without any formal vocational training (47%) is much larger than in the non-migrant population (21%).

So, while migrants are far from being people who failed in their educational career, the proportion of those with relatively low levels of formal qualification – or none at all – signals a social challenge. Furthermore, even among migrants with an academic qualification there is a large share of people who are not employed to a level commensurate with their formal qualifications. The key obstacle here lies in processes for gaining formal recognition of their original degree according to the German regulations – in particular for the 'regulated professions', e.g. teachers, doctors and lawyers. However, the composition of recent refugees differs in many aspects from migrants in general, including a clear stratification in their levels of qualification. The share of refugees with a high qualification – that means with an academic degree – is much lower (about 8–10%) than in the migrant population in general, while the proportion of refugees without any formal vocational qualification is much higher (between 53% and 71%) (see Engel and Wolter 2017, p. 67 for further data sources and literature).

3.2 Students with a Migration Background: Domestic Migrants, International Students and Refugees

According to the definition of migration quoted earlier, there are three groups of students with a migration background. Firstly, *domestic migrants*: students with a migration background who grew up in Germany and received an upper secondary school leaving certificate in the German school system. They may be German citizens, but with a migration history, or they have their parents' nationality. Secondly, *international students*: those who have come to Germany from abroad for part or all of their studies. Thirdly, *refugees* who come to Germany primarily to look for safety or employment, and who are interested or entitled to take up studies. In this chapter, academic mobility and migration are viewed as two sides of the same coin, with mobility seen as a special mode of migration. The available evidence about both phenomena is limited (Teichler 2015).

3.2.1 The Political and Academic Discourses

There are several political or academic discourses linked with these distinct groups of students (Neusel and Wolter 2017; Engel 2017). The significance of these discourse areas is different with respect to the three groups.

A first discourse is about the *internationalization of higher education* (Teichler 2004, 2017; Knight 2003, 2004, 2008; Altbach and Knight 2007; Altbach et al. 2009, 23 ff). Internationalization is regarded as a form of innovation and knowledge transfer, or of transferring cultural and intellectual capital. In the course of the increasing internationalization of higher education, the strategic interest of higher education institutions has grown considerably. Internationalization, according to Knight (2003), is a multi-dimensional concept embracing different levels and activities, but it explicitly emphasizes the international mobility of students (and scholars). Therefore, this discourse refers primarily to the sub-group of international students. It is a clear political intention to attract an increasing number of foreign students. Internationalization has often been regarded as a road to 'excellence' (Bloch et al. 2016), whereby the proportion of international students is seen to be something like proof of the international reputation and attractiveness of an institution. 'A university can hardly become world class without internationalization' (Postliglione and Altbach 2013, p. 11). Relatedly, the share of foreign students or scholars has often been used as a performance indicator in allocation procedures and models. Other sub-groups of domestic migrants and refugees do not seem to play any role in this discourse.

A second discourse is about the *equality of educational opportunities* for students with a migration background, referring primarily to domestic migrants. Here international students are not the subject, and refugees form at best a marginal focus of attention. In many countries, including Germany, domestic migrants are under-represented in higher education, participating to a lower extent relative to their share of the population. The available evidence indicates that these discrepancies are not primarily generated by the migration background itself, but rather by the social composition and educational background of migrant families (Stanat et al. 2010; Kristen 2014; Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016). Furthermore, selectiveness does not take place just at the stage of access to higher education, but across the complete school system (discussed further below).

A third discourse considers migrants as a *human capital resource*, in particular in the demographic context of an ageing and shrinking population. In Germany, the fear of a shortage of skilled workers, in particular a lack of highly qualified experts, is widespread and represents one of the frequently discussed political issues (although empirical evidence from labour market research on this is not as clear as is claimed). In a political labour market perspective, immigration is often viewed as a response to demographic change, with a decreasing share of those age groups that are active in the working life and form the basis of the social system in the welfare states. Basically, this is true for all groups even if the first sub-group, domestic migrants, are the focus, but international students also become more and more important (SVR 2015). The lack of qualified workers is often identified particularly in the STEM areas, and many migrants are assumed to have a special interest in STEM fields. Beyond domestic migrants, the immigration of foreign experts has been promoted and legally facilitated during the last 15 years in Germany – in the expectation that they can satisfy the need for highly qualified personnel.

A fourth discourse is about the issue of integrating migrants – the *perspective of integration*. The concept of integration is at the center of the public political debate about migrants in Germany. Integration is a multi-level concept including, at a minimum, economic, social and cultural levels. Usually language, qualification and work are regarded as the main means of successful integration. This discourse refers primarily to refugees and domestic migrants, whereas international students and scholars are not typically classified as a 'problem' group needing support.

Finally, in addition to the labour market perspective, *the diversity discourse* provides a common framework for all three groups, aiming at a more diverse composition of the student body and the nationwide provision of experts. Many higher education institutions developed and implemented concepts of diversity management in recent years, embracing not only migrants but many more groups such as women, first generation students and disabled people (Klein and Heintzmann 2012; Berthold and Leichsenring 2013; Krempkow et al. 2014; Allemann-Ghionda 2014). Within the diversity perspective, a distinction can be made between an equality of opportunity approach (quite similar to the second discourse discussed above) and an organization, management and human resources development-oriented approach, which is related to the human capital perspective. Besides other groups, migrants are seen as one of the most important populations facilitating diversity. In any case the diversity concept includes all three sub-groups of migrants.

The next sections consider the situation in relation to each of the three different categories of students with a migration background introduced at the start of this chapter, namely domestic migrants, international students, and refugees.

3.2.2 Domestic Students with a Migration Background

The predominant issue for the first sub-group, domestic students with a migration background, is their continuous under-representation in higher education (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, H 2; Kerst and Wolter 2017). The participation rate of domestic migrants has increased, but it is still lower than that of the population without a migration background. Even though the share of migrant students relative to all young people aged between 20 and 30 rose from 9% in 2005 to 15% in 2013, the disparity in their participation is persistent – compared with the proportion of students without a migration background at 23% (2013, up from 17% in 2005). The gap between both groups has remained the same even though the base has increased. The share of students from families with a higher education degree, whose parents (or at least one parent) are migrants, at 49% is nearly the same as among non-migrants (52%). But the proportion of first-generation students of lower socio-economic status is much larger among migrants than among non-migrants, where the middle status group dominates.

The main hurdles for domestic students with a migration background do not emerge at the stage of access to higher education but earlier, primarily in the school system, reflected in a considerably lower proportion of grammar school students

and school-leavers with a study entitlement. Whereas 41% of 15 year-olds from families without a migration background attend German grammar school, this share among 15 year-olds with a migration background amounts to only 26%. This disparity increases up to the level of the final school leaving qualification, in particular with respect to the formal study entitlement.[3] Whereas in 2014, 44% of all Germans in the typical age cohort obtained the general higher education entrance qualification (*Abitur*) for universities, this proportion was only 16% among migrants of the same age cohort. Their share at the level of a study entitlement for the non-university sector of higher education (*Fachhochschulen*) is a little bit larger.

But at a later stage an interesting, and rather surprising, pattern emerges. The study willingness of young people with a formal study entitlement is slightly higher among migrants than in the non-migrant population. Thus their transition quota from school to higher education is 2–4% higher than that of non-migrants. Students from Turkey and Asian countries are most likely to show above average interest in pursuing their studies. The willingness of students with a migration background to continue their studies when formally qualified to do so is confirmed by a multivariate analysis (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, p. 180). Similar to non-migrants, migrant school-leavers with better school achievements and an academic family background demonstrate higher participation in higher education than those with lower performance and non-academic backgrounds. However, in all sub-groups the study interest is higher among migrants than non-migrants. As anticipated, the willingness of young migrants to attend higher education increases with better school grades and with a higher academic status of their family – but it exceeds that of school-leavers without a migration background under all conditions.[4] Obviously, families with a migration background show high educational aspirations, partly manifested in the larger study probability and to some extent compensating for higher social selectiveness of the allocation process.

To explain the disparities between migrants and non-migrants in the participation rates, there is much evidence showing that the causality is much more complex than the data suggests. Besides migration status, there are other factors responsible for these disparities – a pattern now referred to as intersectionality. That means that there are many interaction effects between migration and other social factors such as national or cultural background, gender and, most importantly, the social or educational status of the family – as well as school achievement. The differences between sub-groups with or without a migration background, but with the same social or educational status are very small. Therefore, the main disparities in study participation are less the result of the migration background but primarily of the varying social composition of the groups.

In the course of studies, there are some differences between students with and without a migration background, even though these are small. However, the dropout

[3] Official German school statistics only record nationality, not the migration background. However, migration background is recorded in nearly all survey-based studies.

[4] There are no tuition-fees in Germany, so this aspect does not play any role for the decision to study.

rate is higher among students with a migration background, and for others it takes a longer time to graduate. There is a small difference in the final grades in favour of the non-migrants even when the influence of subjects is controlled. The proportion of students transferring to a master's or PhD programme is quite similar. After graduation, migrants are by and large faced with the same obstacles in getting employment as non-migrants. The differences between both groups are very small, e.g. in the ratio of unemployment or non-adequate employment, and depend primarily on the subject studied in higher education. The hurdles they have to overcome are lower than in the field of non-academic vocational training. Therefore, there is a lot of selection in the early stages of the educational careers of migrants, in particular in the school system, whereas higher education institutions contribute – at least partially – to the compensation of social distinctions, even if these do not completely disappear, and this effect is limited to those who survive the previous selection stages.

3.2.3 International Students

To continue with the second subgroup, namely international students, the development can be regarded as something of a success story in Germany in recent years. International students, i.e. those who come to Germany to study, tend not to perceive themselves as migrants or students with a migration background. From their perspective, the concept of migrants often carries a negative connotation in the public eye and in the media: as a 'problem' group in the educational system, as well as on the labour market. On the contrary, internationally mobile students (and scholars) tend to define themselves rather as a community of excellence, something like pioneers of international mobility and cooperation. Fifteen years ago, concern over the declining international reputation of German higher education was widespread because of a supposedly relatively small percentage of international students. The evidence does not confirm this impression, neither for that time nor in the present.

In reality, the proportion of international first-year students during the last 15 years hovered around 15% and has recently increased to nearly 20% (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016). Germany is quite an attractive target country for internationally mobile students, exceeded at master's and PhD level only by the US, the United Kingdom and France (OECD 2016, p. 474). Three sub-groups can be distinguished (Kerst and Wolter 2017): firstly, international students as 'programme students'[5]; secondly those who aspire to a first academic degree in Germany; and thirdly those who aim at an advanced degree (master or PhD). International students' share in master's and doctoral programmes has risen strongly. Around 40% are programme students, about 25–30% aim for a German

[5] Coming to Germany as a participant in a European (or an institutional) mobility or exchange programme just for a limited time (mostly one or two terms) without any intent to graduate in Germany.

bachelor's degree, and another 25–30% for a master's. Whereas the proportion (not the absolute number) of non-degree programme students is slightly decreasing, the share of participants in master's and PhD courses is growing. International doctoral students in particular are a focus group for international exchange and knowledge transfer in international or even global networks (Bilecen and Faist 2017; Schittenhelm et al. 2017).

Several reasons may explain this expanding trend in participation (Apolinarski and Poskowsky 2013). Firstly, the comparability of degrees was improved as part of the Bologna process. Secondly, there are no tuition fees in Germany except for social fees – this is one of the most important pull factors. Thirdly, the prospects on the labour market are favourable, either parallel to studying or afterwards – another pull factor. Fourthly, Germany benefits from European mobility programmes. However, in the origin of foreign students there has been a shift from Europe to Asia. European students were the largest continental group in the past, with their share decreasing from about 40 to 27%. Now students from Asian countries or the Pacific area are the largest group (at about 30%), with the largest group being students from China (about 14%).

In recent years, the number of non-German students leaving with a degree has tripled (Alichniewicz and Geis 2013, p. 4). The graduation rate, in particular at bachelor's level, is lower than the proportion of first-year German students because many international students drop out (Heublein et al. 2017); most of them continue their studies in their home country. The high dropout rate (around 40%) might be due to the particular challenges and difficulties foreign students have to face in Germany, e.g. finding accommodation, making social contacts, the different study conditions, the German language, or financial challenges. About one third of foreign students reported difficulties in fulfilling the performance requirements (Apolinarski and Poskowsky 2013). Similar results can be found for Chinese students in Germany (Zhu 2016).

The interest in international students on behalf of both public authorities and private employers has shifted significantly from an academic to a labour market perspective. In the past, international student mobility was primarily considered to be an academic matter, and these students were supposed to return to their home country after finishing their studies. Currently, a growing share of international students stay to work and live in Germany (Alichniewicz and Geis 2013). This trend is of interest for both sides: employers need highly qualified personnel, and international graduates look for and find attractive labour market opportunities. In particular, the bureaucratic hurdles of formal recognition of degrees are no longer an issue once a German degree is acquired. According to some surveys, about 60% or more of international students would like to stay and work in Germany after graduation (DAAD and DZHW 2016), other studies indicate an even larger proportion (SVR 2012). This kind of academic self-reproduction is also in the interest of German universities and other non-university research institutions (such as Max-Planck or Fraunhofer).

The actual retention rate of foreign graduates is between 40% and 55%, even for students from non-EU countries. 'Study and stay', another term for what used to be

called ‘brain gain’, seems to be the new pattern in international student mobility to Germany (Griesbeck and Heß 2016). There is thus clearly immigration to Germany via higher education (Hanganu and Heß 2014). Because of the special EU regulations for mobility between EU member countries, retention is much higher for graduates from EU countries than for Non-EU countries. At the same time, for graduates from Non-EU states the immigration or residence requirements in Germany have been made substantially easier. However, according to some recent studies, there is still a need for information and counselling on the transition from study to work, for labour market opportunities as well as the legal requirements to remain in Germany.

3.2.4 Refugees

With regard to the third sub-group, refugees, there is some recent research on the pre-qualification of these people when they arrive in Germany, but unfortunately little on their study interests. It is well known that refugees are young, with half under the age of 25, and in the last few years the majority has been male. There is also a large share of unaccompanied minors. Because in many cases the standards in their home countries (including documentation) may not be equivalent to the requirements in Germany, there are many difficulties in validating the exact level of existing qualifications. According to surveys carried out in 2015 and afterwards by the German Federal Office for Migration, the composition of refugees indicates three qualification patterns. The available data are based almost completely on individual reports (data reported in Engel and Wolter 2017; Worbs et al. 2016; Worbs and Bund 2016).

Firstly, there is a large number of refugees with very low levels of educational qualifications. Between 20% and 60% do not have any formal school qualification above primary education. More than 70% do not have any formal vocational qualification. The main reason is that there are no vocational qualification systems or institutions in their home countries comparable to the very well established German system of vocational training. Secondly, there is potentially about 20% of refugees who already have a qualification that (according to their own reporting) may possibly allow them to take up studies in higher education in Germany. And furthermore, there is a proportion of between 8% and 13% who reported that they had already finished (or at least began) their studies at this level. Thirdly, obviously there are massive differences between refugees’ home countries – varying from countries with a relatively higher levels of educational qualification such as Iran or Syria, and those with lower levels such as some South East European and African countries, or Afghanistan (especially in the case of women).

Fortunately, as a positive step, refugees can enroll in advance of being formally granted asylum status - they just need to be registered as seeking political asylum or a status in accordance with the Geneva Refugee Convention. German higher education institutions are very active in the implementation of target group specific provisions – supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) or the

Federal Government, and also some state governments (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, H 3; Borgwardt et al. 2015; Borgwardt 2017). They concentrate primarily on non-formal provisions such as language courses, programmes for guest students, welcome programmes or measures for study preparation. Currently, almost all German higher education institutions have introduced such non-formal provisions which do not lead to a degree. From a legal point of view, refugees are a special group of international students and have to fulfill the same requirements as other foreign applicants – a formal study entitlement, German language proficiency, and demonstrate a basis of funding their studies. A special review procedure has been established for refugees, however, without any documentation of their certificates showing what degrees or competencies they have. A very active institution providing a variety of mostly digital programmes is Kiron Open Higher Education, something like a non-state social start-up.

Currently, the number of participants in such non-formal provisions in Germany is rather modest, at about 5300 annually. The number of refugees applying for regular admission at higher education institutions is minimal; about 3800 refugees have enrolled in 2018, since 2016 about 9000 in total (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz [HRK] 2019). The demand for academic studies may rise in the coming years but should not be overestimated. The main obstacles for refugees are deficits in their German language competencies and a lack of funding. Access to study grants requires that refugees get formal asylum in Germany. Obviously, there is a considerable need for pre- and post-qualification measures to enable refugees to take up studies. Many of them have to process massive traumatic experiences because of their war and escape stress. Many of them are primarily interested in earning money to support their families instead of studying, even if they are formally entitled to get access to higher education in Germany. Because higher education institutions define themselves as the pillar of a global academic community and they consider international mobility and exchange to be a part of their mission, they are more open to refugees while large parts of the population behave protectively – and not only in Germany.

3.3 Scholars with a Migration Background

In the course of the increasing globalization of higher education, the strategic interest of higher education institutions in the internationalization of faculty by the appointment of foreign professors has grown considerably. Often this is not only a national policy target but also an institutional strategic objective underwritten by performance indicators. As a consequence, academic staff are ‘the key to any academic institution’s internationalization strategy’ (Postiglione and Altbach 2013, p. 11). A large-scale comparative survey conducted under the auspices of the Changing Academic Profession project (CAP) estimates the proportion of those who migrate during their studies or academic career among all professors in the

countries surveyed at 6% and the share of early life immigrants at 9% (Goastellec and Pekari 2013, p. 235). For Germany, the CAP study estates the share of scholars with a migration history at 8% (Jacob and Teichler 2011, p. 179). However, in Germany, as well as internationally, there has been very little research on this group, its composition, careers, motives, the conditions of migration, etc. (Kim 2007; Bauder 2012; Cavalli and Teichler 2015; Rumbley and de Wit 2017; Teichler 2017; Yudkevich et al. 2016) – even though the number of professors with a foreign citizenship in Germany has increased from 2006 to 2014 by 46%. Most of the research in this field has placed more emphasis on the academic exodus from Germany ('brain drain') rather than on the academic immigration to Germany ('brain gain') (Scott 2015).

When talking about professors with a migration biography, it is necessary to differentiate between two different groups referring to a distinct policy discourse:

- Firstly, there are those with a domestic migration background, who were educated entirely or mostly in Germany but have a migration history (e.g. their parents migrated to Germany). This group is primarily the subject of an equality opportunity discourse (as discussed earlier) taking into consideration that about 25% of the population with residence in Germany have a migration background but, as shown before, their participation in higher education, in particular the academic elite, is much lower.
- Secondly, those who completed their school education in a foreign country and came to Germany during their studies or at a later stage of their academic career, sometimes not until their appointment at a German university. This group is part of the discourse about the aspiration to a greater internationalization of higher education, in this case internationalization of faculty.

Both discourses show much intersection, e.g. both groups are viewed as potential human capital resources for the German labour market. Basically, there are four theoretical approaches to transnational academic mobility:

- Firstly, in the light of the internationalization, or even globalization of the labour market sector for scholars;
- Secondly, from the perspective of the increasing professional importance of transnational career paths in the context of the changing academic profession;
- Thirdly, as brain drain or brain gain (or brain circulation), depending on the direction of mobility, that represents an intellectual or human capital resource either for the national science system or the national labour market;
- Fourthly, in terms of life course and biographical research, with a focus on the individual processes of mobility and migration. The results presented here concentrated on this micro approach with an emphasis on the biographical courses and experience of professors with a migration background.

An empirical study on professors with a migration biography in Germany was carried out by the department of higher education research at the Humboldt University Berlin in cooperation with the International Center for Higher Education

Research at the University of Kassel (Neusel et al. 2014; Neusel and Wolter 2016; Engel 2017). The study was based, primarily on a survey including all professors from both groups mentioned above and, additionally, some statistical data. The survey was carried out only at higher education institutions in two federal states (Hessen and Berlin) and covered 203 professors, estimated to be one third of the statistical population in these two states. Unfortunately, migration status is not part of the official higher education statistics in Germany, only the nationality. However, according to data from the micro-census in 2013, it can be estimated that approximately 5000 professors in Germany have a migration biography, that is roughly 10%, and about half of them have a foreign nationality.

The composition of this group – professors with a migration background – is very heterogeneous with regard to two criteria, namely: the point in time of arrival, and nationality (generally Teichler and Cavalli 2015).

Firstly, with respect to the point in time of arrival in Germany, there are three main groups: (1) Those whose parents immigrated to Germany and who were born in Germany (20%) or were born abroad but came during their childhood to Germany and were educated in the local school system (15%). These are referred to as domestic migrants. (2) Those who moved to Germany either during the early stages of their academic training (study or promotion, together 23%) or during their post-doctorate phase (20%). (3) Those who were appointed directly from abroad (20%).

Secondly, concerning nationality, 70% originally had foreign citizenship, and at the time of being surveyed 50% still did, but a quarter had dual nationality. Of the professors not born in Germany, about 28% came from other German-speaking countries (Austria, Switzerland), the same proportion from other Western European countries, and another 18% from East Europe. The remaining 26% were recruited from non-European areas, among them 40% from North America; this is roughly a tenth of those not born in Germany. Nationality varies with the time of arrival in Germany.

The regional concentration on Western Europe, particularly German speaking countries, confirms the results of other comparative studies that linguistic and cultural affinities encourage international mobility and exchange (e.g. Jacob 2013). There are other characteristics of migrants compared with the non-migrants among professors in Germany: more women, more young academics, and in particular a high degree of mobility before coming to Germany. The latter verifies another result of mobility research, showing that a willingness to be mobile later is often rooted in an earlier disposition towards mobility. Nearly three quarters of professors with a migration biography worked in other countries before they were appointed in Germany.

According to Everett Lee's theory of mobility (1966), there are both pull and push forces for transnational mobility. The reasons to come to Germany – the pull factors – show that the conditions for academic work at German higher education institutions do not appear to be as poor as many critics insinuate. Professional and academic motives are predominant. Nearly 60% of the respondents underline the good perspectives for their own career, and 42% highlight the existing scholarly contacts they have in Germany. Favorable research conditions (35%) and the high reputation either of a particular institution (29%) or of higher education institutions

in Germany in general (22%) follow. Private reasons also play a decisive but subordinate role such as partnership, or family, or the quality of life. Of all respondents, 62% intend to stay in Germany. Less than 10% are determined to return to their home country (Neusel et al. 2014).

The most impressive result of the study consists of the advantages and returns of international mobility, in particular for the institutions appointing professors with a migration background. The internalization of faculty seems to have an impact on research as well as teaching. This is not unexpected due to their migration history, but over and above they prove to be something like a driving force for the further internationalization of teaching and research. This is reflected in international research activities, international publishing, networking, participation in international institutional cooperation and exchanges etc. Furthermore, there are also benefits for the style and content of teaching, e.g. knowledge and experience in distinct higher education systems and academic cultures. These scholars are also intensively involved in the promotion of graduates and junior staff as well as in teaching in general, including new innovative forms of teaching. Therefore, it can be stated that migration and international mobility creates additional academic resources and cultural capital, e.g. a higher level of academic activity.

However, as in the case of other migrants, they have had positive inclusion as well as negative exclusion experiences. Even if the majority of the respondents noticed a welcoming culture and good cooperation in the faculty, nearly one third complained that there was low interest in academic exchange with them, and sometimes rivalry or isolation. But these experiences mirror more certain peculiar patterns of the German academic culture rather than the individual migration backgrounds.

Interestingly enough, professors who have a migration biography – whatever the conditions – do not perceive themselves as migrants, although they are immigrants from a legal point of view. The majority of them associate a rather negative image with the term migration, something like a loser, underdog or marginal group. While they do not see themselves as 'academic superstars' (Altbach et al. 2009, p. 25), they tend to perceive themselves as highly qualified and as pioneers of international or even global mobility such as expatriates. Often, they develop hybrid identities: on the one hand, their national origin and their self-description as 'new' Germans; on the other hand, their self-perception as international, transnational or at least bi-national scholars. Specifically in this role as forerunners of further internationalization, scholars with a migration history generate an added value in terms of international faculty recruitment policy.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter considered four migrant groups, each of which has a different migration status: domestic students with a migration biography, international students, refugees (currently a small group in German higher education), and scholars with a migration background. A common characteristic of the international students and

scholars is that they often do not define themselves as migrants, despite the fact that legally they may belong to this group, independent of the duration of their residence in Germany. All four groups have in common that they are expected to meet the need for highly qualified experts in different sectors of the German labour market. So, from a policy perspective, these groups are primarily considered as manpower resources. They differ in how they have been affected by the controversial public debate about migration in Germany. This debate focuses primarily on refugees, and secondarily on domestic migrants, whereas international students and scholars are involved only marginally.

For all four groups, there is further potential for expanding participation in higher education. As illustrated earlier, the participation rate of domestic migrants is much lower than that of the non-migrant population. The number and proportion of international students and scholars have grown in the last years, and continue to increase. This is in accordance not only with the objectives of all higher education organizations and institutions, but also with the German policy objectives. The Federal Government and the state governments agree on the goal to internationalize German higher education, aiming for a rise in the number of international students and scholars. One of the advantages for international students studying in Germany is that there are no tuition fees, even though there are debates in some of the German states to introduce tuition fees (only) for non-EU students. Another advantage lies in the opportunities of finding jobs in the German labour market which attracts many foreign students expecting (or hoping for) 'studying and staying' in Germany. The future prospects and perspectives depend not only on the quality of German higher education and the labour market, but also on whether Germany is capable of keeping its reputation as an open society and country.

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Chapter 4
The Impact of Recent Demographic Changes and Migration Patterns on Education in Puerto Rico

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4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on a study undertaken by the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras on *The Impact of Recent Demographic Changes and Migration Patterns on Higher Education in Puerto Rico* (Ortiz-Reyes 2016). This study set out to explore current demographic and economic characteristics and migration patterns of Hispanics of Puerto Rican origin, born and living on the island of Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland, focusing on how these changes affect the vitality and financial stability of higher education institutions. At a time when policies on international migration, unstable economies, and globalization are triggering profound changes in higher education, it is essential to analyze migration tendencies to forecast challenges and propose suitable alternatives aligned to the specific political conditions of Puerto Rico within a global perspective.

Puerto Rico is the fourth largest island in the Caribbean after Cuba, Hispaniola (comprising the Dominican Republic and Haiti), and Jamaica. Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States since its military occupation in 1898 and has both Spanish and English as official languages. Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States is known as a Commonwealth: Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, but the residents of the island do not have the right to vote in national elections. Puerto Rico is represented in the U.S. Congress by a Resident Commissioner who has a voice but no vote in the House of Representatives. Nevertheless, U.S. federal and state laws apply on the island. Since 2006, the island has been undergoing a deep economic recession, increasing the number of Puerto Ricans who emigrate to the United States. In 2009 Puerto Rico's population peaked

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at 4 million, but by 2014 the population had declined to 3.5 million. U.S. Census Bureau data show that from mid-2010 to 2013, 144,000 more people left the island for the U.S. mainland than migrated to Puerto Rico, a larger gap between inward and outward migration than during the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s. Of those emigrants, 96.6% left Puerto Rico for the United States (Velázquez Estrada 2016). This increasing loss fuelled the island's first sustained population decline in its history as a U.S. territory (1.8% of the Puerto Rican population in 2015), even as the 'stateside' Puerto Rican population grew rapidly.[1] The search for better economic opportunities was the most common explanation given by island-born Puerto Ricans who relocated to the mainland from 2006 to 2015. Of these, 40% indicated job-related reasons for moving stateside, 39% gave family-related reasons, and 9% reported housing as a reason to leave Puerto Rico. Others indicated retirement (7%) and other reasons (6%) (Krogstad 2016). Among all immigrants from foreign countries who migrated over the same period, a similar proportion gave job-related reasons (41%), while 29% said they migrated for family reasons. In comparison, Mexican-born immigrants were even more likely to cite job-related reasons (62%), while 25% cited family reasons (Ibid.).

The median age of the emigrant population has been 29 years since 2011, 1.6 years less than the median age of the population that has moved to Puerto Rico, indicating that the population leaving the island is younger than those are entering the island (Velázquez-Estrada 2017).

Other socioeconomic characteristics indicate that 53% of emigrants had some post-secondary education, and 41% were out of the labour force when they migrated. Recent migrants reported 7% more income than migrants in 2014. The departure of island-born Puerto Ricans has contributed to an increase in the number of this population living stateside, from 1.3 million in 2000 to 1.4 million in 2012 (Krogstad 2016; Pew Research Center 2014). As the island population has declined, the Puerto Rican population living on the mainland has grown. The number of stateside Puerto Ricans reached a record 4.9 million in 2012, and since 2006 has exceeded the number of Puerto Ricans on the island. Meanwhile, the overall population in Puerto Rico, including both Hispanics and non-Hispanics, declined to 3.5 million in 2014. According to the United States Census Bureau population estimates, the population of Puerto Rico is projected to fall to 2.98 million by 2050 (Krogstad 2016). Considering this data, it is paramount to explore the impending effects on HE institutions on the island and the major policy reforms needed to strengthen and transform them.

[1] In this context, 'stateside' is a common term used to refer to individuals of Puerto Rican origin residing in the United States, and not the island of Puerto Rico.

4.1.1 A Closer Look into Demographic Changes and Migration Patterns

When analysing the median age of the population in Puerto Rico, we observed that due to migration processes fuelled by the recession that started in 2006, the island currently has a median age that is higher than that on the U.S. mainland (Velázquez-Estrada 2016). The number of older people living in Puerto Rico increased by 44.3% from July 2000 to July 2014 (Figueroa 2016), with projections that Puerto Ricans 75 years and older will be the largest age group within the island's population by 2020 (Junta de Planificación al Gobernador 2014). These projections pose further economic challenges due in part to the lack of timely adjustments from pension systems to mitigate the effect of demographic changes of the labour force (Figueroa 2016). The fact that younger people in the 20–29 age category are more likely to leave the island exacerbates the age imbalance. Overall, men are more likely to emigrate than women, which contributes to the continued prevalence of a predominantly female population in Puerto Rico since 2005. These migrant groups represent those of reproductive and productive age that could contribute to the pension system (Velázquez-Estrada 2016), but instead become a factor in the estimated loss of $34.4 million dollars per year in revenue for the 2009–2015 period, and a 0.86% loss in gross national product in 2015 (Alameda 2017).

On the human capital side, the study by Velázquez-Estrada (2016) compared the education levels of migrants and the population as a whole by identifying the share of working-age adults (aged 16–64) in the two groups that fall into each of four education categories: high school dropouts (those with less than a high school diploma), high school graduates with no college, those with some college, and those with a bachelor's degree or higher. Starting in the mid-2000s, we find that high school graduates with no higher education make up a greater percentage of emigrants than of the population as a whole. In 2012, for example, about 37% of emigrants had only a high school diploma, compared with about 30% for the population in Puerto Rico (Velázquez-Estrada 2016). Given particularly pervasive unemployment among younger and less-educated workers in Puerto Rico over the past several years, one would expect emigration to be high in this segment as people seek better economic opportunities on the U.S. mainland. Still, it is somewhat surprising that emigration is not steepest for the least skilled – those with less than a high school diploma, although these workers are likely to face economic constraints that might make the cost of moving prohibitive. Those with at least a high school diploma tend to have greater access to the resources needed to move. Since 2010, better-educated managers, salespeople, and professionals, in general, mainly compose the emigrants. Importantly, the estimate of teachers that left the island in 2014 was between 1000 and 4000 (León López and Dávila Román 2005).

In terms of poverty levels, data analyzed in the study *Poverty in Puerto Rico* (2016) indicates that in approximately 12 municipalities (mostly in the mountainous centre of the island) between 60% and 68% of the population was living below

the poverty line. In 2014, the proportion of the population below poverty levels in Puerto Rico was 45% with annual incomes below $11,670 for one person or $15,730 for two people. Close to 37.5% of individuals 15 years or younger were in extreme poverty and another 30% below the poverty line. Also, close to 33.8% of women in extreme poverty were living with children under 18 (Cordero-Guzmán 2016). The median income of the migrant population increased by 7% from 2014 to 2015, while the median income of people that came to Puerto Rico suffered a 4% reduction. Nevertheless, the study also indicates that there have been significant gains in educational attainment in Puerto Rico.

4.1.2 Higher Education in Puerto Rico

The University of Puerto Rico (UPR) was established on March 12, 1903, making it the first institution of higher education in the country and the most selective because of its status as the only public state university. By 2015 there were 140 higher education institutions on the island, both public and private, with only 9% of these institutions accounting for 45% of student enrolment (Calderón 2015). Private higher education in Puerto Rico depends mostly on Pell Grants and student loans, both subsidized by the U.S. Department of Education. In terms of overseeing higher education institutions, the Puerto Rico Council on Education sets out public policy on education in Puerto Rico, from preschool to post-secondary education. This agency was created by merging the General Council on Education and the Council on Higher Education. The Council funds and researches education in Puerto Rico and grants licenses to PK-12 schools, postsecondary technical institutions, and higher education institutions. The Council reported that between 2011 and 2015, higher education as a whole lost about 17,000 students, but that enrolments in private higher education institutions were on the rise, in comparison to public HEI enrolment (167,866 students in private higher education institutions in 2015 compared to 65,204 students in public higher education institutions). Post-secondary vocational or technical institutions reported a student enrolment of 48,091. In 2010, population groups of school and postsecondary education age represented 30% of the total population. Nevertheless, only 26% of this population is classified as enrolled, meaning that almost 148,000 of these individuals are not receiving a formal education (Calderón 2015, 2016). Data on academic offerings in postsecondary education by degree showed 37% technical certificates, 26% bachelor's degrees, 17% associate degrees, 15% master's degrees, 3% professional certificates, and 2% doctoral degrees. Within these offerings, 32.9% of students graduated from health-related areas, 14.9% from administration and administrative services, 8.8% graduated from professions related to personal services, 5.9% graduated with degrees related to education, and 37.6% graduated from other non-specified areas (Calderón 2016). The steep population reduction (in mostly young age groups) has caused extreme changes in the higher education institutions landscape on the island and constituted the principal motivation for this study.

4.2 Developing an Evidence Base

Important questions arise from consideration of these demographic characteristics for higher education in Puerto Rico: How has the higher education system in Puerto Rico been impacted by these demographic changes and migration patterns? Is emigration causing a 'brain drain' on the island? What are the threats and challenges these migration patterns bring to the vitality and financial health of the higher education institutions on the island? Does the higher education system in Puerto Rico face a contraction? How are academic leaders in Puerto Rico addressing these trends? What are the implications for the labour market and associated skill requirements? How is Puerto Rico preparing students for the challenges of a global market? Answers to these questions required analysis of demographic data in the context of migration patterns and challenges to Higher Education institutions, and exploration of the current efforts in the higher education field. These include investment in technology to focus on distance learning, re-education of older students, internationalization, pathways for high school students, recruitment strategies for inclusion, local institutions expanding campuses to the mainland U.S., the development of 'third mission' in universities, and suggested changes in public policy needed to transform higher education in Puerto Rico, to adapt to its current context and prepare for the future landscape.

Analysis of quantitative data supplemented by qualitative material from research interviews confirms that over 50% of higher education institutions on the island have seen a reduction in enrolments in the past 5 years. Fifteen percent of those higher education institutions has experienced a sustained loss of students, from 20% to as high as 82%. These changes in enrolment are more dramatic in medium to large institutions with decades of experience providing higher education services on the island. About 25% of institutions have experienced an increase in student enrolment. Half of these units are small and recently established. They show sustained growth, indicating effective recruitment strategies. Most of the students enrolled in these units are looking for technical programmes that provide professional certificates allowing obtaining a job in Puerto Rico or the U.S. mainland.

Emigration patterns are associated with student economic needs and the significant reduction and saturation of the job market in Puerto Rico. Consequently, student enrolment is decreasing. As there is less demand for academic services because of student loss, it causes a 'domino effect'. If there are fewer PK-12 students, there are fewer college students. Demographic tendencies from the past 7 years have shown the need to attract new students: older students, women that are heads of household, people that want to develop specific skills to obtain jobs. Fewer births in Puerto Rico and outward migration of people in their reproductive and productive years contribute to the decrease in student enrolment. On the other hand, couples who have children with disabilities must leave the island to obtain better health treatments and special education services. A high percentage of those emigrating

are professionals. Some people return, but they are mostly retired or with less education; they are an older population that contribute to the economy but do not pay income taxes (they mostly come to the island to retire).

The study also showed that higher education institutions have reduced the number of academic personnel and have had to decrease expenses. Some are working on international recruiting online through the 'Campus Puerto Rico Initiative' and student fairs outside of Puerto Rico, in countries like Panamá and places in the U.S. like Orlando and New York that have a high Hispanic population, and an increasing Puerto Rican population. Others interested in the '100,000 Strong Program' to attract foreign students are actively using data to inform decisions, and most higher education institutions are strengthening online platforms to improve contents and serve students that are outside of Puerto Rico. Traditional institutions (large to midsize) have expanded to create smaller campuses in some municipalities to provide technical degrees to non-traditional students and have been focusing on re-defining academic success. Students are taking longer to graduate, even with federal aid aimed at reducing their timelines for graduation. Some of the new strategies implemented focus on aspects like providing social support, student counselling, and infrastructure improvements.

Higher education institutions are adding specialized academic offerings in areas like nursing that have high demand in the U.S. Some students come to the institutions already focused on moving to the U.S. mainland after obtaining their degree. Collaborating with hospitals and opening educational units near hospitals to provide nursing students with the practical opportunities they were looking for has been a successful strategy used by some higher education institutions. Increasingly, US mainland institutions are receiving more students that transfer from institutions in Puerto Rico and are first-time freshmen. Looking for financial alternatives for students that are older and establishing collaborations with auxiliary agencies that provide temporary jobs to students while they study is also a new initiative among higher education institutions, as students also need those work experiences to obtain a job after graduation.

Furthermore, the study has revealed that the Statistics Institute of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rico Council on Education continually give presentations and training on demographic and academic data to higher education institutions' administrative personnel. The Census Information Center continually updates data and supports research on migration, even when most of the research conducted in this topic is by researchers from institutions outside of Puerto Rico. Collaborative efforts with researchers and academics of the Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States are on the rise. Nevertheless, more studies have to be funded and conducted on the island. The 'Early Warning System for Drop-Out Prevention' initiative is one of the strategies that the Statistics Institute of Puerto Rico is supporting. This system records student academic data longitudinally and provides indicators that can be used to provide counselling to students at risk of dropping out of school or college. There are increasingly more planning offices in different higher education institu-

tions that actively use data for decision making. The development of sustained and longitudinal data gathering systems could inform decision making in higher education institutions and tracking student success to increase retention should be a short term goal.

A paradigmatic shift is confronting Higher education institutions in Puerto Rico and throughout the world. Higher education institutions have chosen to analyze their offerings to be sustainable, innovative, and survive. In terms of public policy, Puerto Rico has the challenge of defining the new job market. It would seem to be a very complex, uncertain, and high demand environment. There is a need for more equality in regulatory processes in higher education institutions. Fair rules must be set forth, which requires a well-defined space for national higher education for all players. Policies must be revised, and a new set of Pell Grant policies adopted to cover the costs of study for older students. Higher education institutions must re-organize and establish academic and financial priorities aligned with future job market needs.

The higher education field changed considering these demographic changes, and there are important implications for the higher education institutions in Puerto Rico. The new generation of students has led higher education institutions to move towards competency and skills-based education. Students are more active in their academic processes; they want knowledge, but also practical experiences. Demographic changes, on the other hand, add complexity to higher education because institutions feel financially threatened. Institutions have been giving more attention to helping students develop their small businesses and even offering an entrepreneurship certificate. Students from all disciplines can benefit from this opportunity, developing more partnerships with the business sector, receiving practical training and the possibility of obtaining a job after graduation. Accountability has increased, and some higher education institutions have embraced the third mission to stimulate economic growth in Puerto Rico.

In terms of Research and Development (R&D), there is an agreement among higher education leaders in Puerto Rico that this should be promoted in higher education institutions, not only in public institutions but also in private universities. For some institutions, research is not profitable, yet there is a need to organize as a country and have common research goals.

Finally, the concept of ‘brain-drain’, arbitrarily used, needs a redefinition. Puerto Rico does not appear to have brain drain in an absolute sense. Some people do return, and we have great human capital. There is also a need to figure out what the new requirements are for new jobs (jobs of the future). We as a country have to create visionary academic offerings that transcend those defined by the Standard Occupational Classification Handbook.

4.3 Implications for Higher Education

Higher education, seen historically as an engine of empowerment as well as a means of cultural and economic development, is facing, along with other private and public entities, dissatisfaction, lack of relevance, and a question of public trust. Findings indicate a lack of sustained and reliable data gathering and sharing systems, which leads to action plans that are not consistent with current economic needs and future development. Puerto Rico has economic structures that do not have research and development departments or concerted development plans. Puerto Rico is 'confronting the crisis of the traditional model of university governance based on bureaucratic and collegial logic in a climate of diminishing resources for academic research' (Ortiz-Reyes 2011).

This new higher education landscape shows large traditional institutions losing students, while smaller, student-centred higher education institutions are experiencing increases in enrolment; where students are more at risk of abandoning their education and demand hands-on practical experiences; where distance learning is challenging course design and instructional practices and requires an interdisciplinary analysis in order to change old paradigms. New strategies are needed to place higher education institutions at the centre of a real education transformation that revitalizes the Puerto Rican economy and promotes demographic growth based on the needs and perspectives of different gender and age groups (Fig. 4.1).

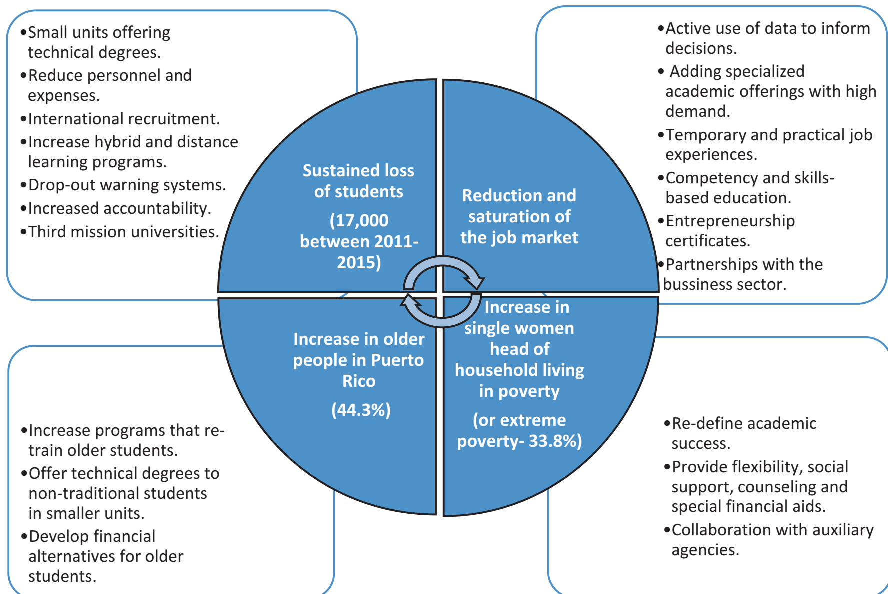

Fig. 4.1 Strategies adopted by higher education institutions to face emigration challenges

4.4 Implications for Public Policy

This chapter has made a case for the need for substantial policy changes to respond to the effects of population reduction in Puerto Rico due to migration patterns. It is vital to implement coordinated plans that strengthen and help an economy in crisis. As evidenced in this chapter, the following are some implications for public policy: (1) Higher education policies in Puerto Rico should be restructured to align with current student characteristics and needs. (2) There should be policies in place so that higher education institutions can acknowledge and favour families with more than the median number of children to allow these children to pursue higher education careers or even enrol in continuing education that better prepares them for the new employment market. (3) Agreements could result in college credits for the students who are parents or result in substantial assistance in priority areas (childcare, work-study on campus, economic incentives) to support and retain students. (4) Policies should take into account the regulation of the exponential duplication of academic offerings of higher education institutions, the number of these institutions per productive region, and the surplus of credentials misaligned with future economic development, unemployment, and underemployment levels on the island. (5) There is a need to elaborate a strategic plan with an integrated vision of Puerto Rican education from pre-K to the doctoral level that considers labour market projections and requirements in the near future.

4.5 Conclusions

The mission of higher education institutions includes educating professionals, conducting research, developing leadership, and instilling an understanding of the environmental circumstances (Ortiz-Reyes 2011). Now, more than ever, the role and mission of higher education institutions must be re-examined in the light of national and global demographic, political, social, and economic changes. The research underpinning this chapter provides a starting point for an interdisciplinary conversation about higher education institutions that includes academia, the government, the private sector, and diverse communities that have been historically excluded, as well as all other stakeholders.

Findings showed that emigration is a phenomenon that will continue and even increase. Although these demographic and migration patterns can be anticipated, there is no systematic strategy in place to deal with the impact on higher education, the labour market, and the economy. In their current configuration, most universities still follow antiquated structures with redundant academic offerings and little innovation. There is an urgent need to promote new educational and pedagogical models and innovative teaching methods. Attention should be placed on the sustained loss of students in the K to 12 sector that directly impacts higher education institutions.

Thus, K-12 pathways for success and teaching and research at higher education institutions must not ignore the radical nature of technological change and the importance of the contextual dimensions of learning and innovation within student populations, to increase enrolment and retention. Some issues highlighted by interviewees include:

- there is a gap between changes in society, research priorities, and creative and innovative approaches to student retention;
- the growing importance of e-learning experiences;
- internationalization of higher education institutions (e.g. the need for providing online academic programmes in English to attract students from other countries).

Findings also revealed that even when some institutions are beginning to offer some courses on the subject, there is little promotion of entrepreneurship, innovation, internationalization, and the third mission in higher education institutions. Student retention strategies have focused on infrastructural improvements, work-study, financial aid, practical career experiences and human resources investments (career counselling, social activities and support), but fewer strategies concentrated on gathering and analysing data to improve information systems that guide decision making. Projections for the future are infrequent, despite its need to update knowledge fields with an emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches. Transdisciplinary approaches should be considered and implemented.

Furthermore, 'Puerto Rico as a bridge' metaphor is no longer credible. People are continuing to leave the island, and if they come back, they do not do so in their productive years. Puerto Ricans belonging to what is known as the diaspora often come back after retirement. There is currently no concrete governmental-level plan to attract Puerto Ricans of productive and reproductive age, and birth rates on the island are still decreasing. Furthermore, for those who stay, higher education institutions offer very few affordable options for non-traditional and older populations that have been out of the workforce or do not have any college education. Also, there are no systematic plans to support women who are increasingly the single heads of household in Puerto Rico, who live below the poverty line and have children under 18. Gender disparities and older people are factors that should be on the future agenda.

These findings highlight the need to develop new and wider managerial and leadership skills to manage change and increasing complexity in higher education institutions. The ability of universities to develop a wide spectrum of problem-solving activities depends on the overall institutional framework (including fiscal dimensions) which allows affinity groups and other NGOs to invest in research that addresses their concerns while strengthening the third mission of the university. Besides, there are no standards or metrics for comparing Puerto Rico with other areas with similar demographics and migratory patterns, to stimulate collaboration, improve current practices, and attract international students. The potential of Puerto Rico as an education alternative for students in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe could be further analyzed and prioritized.

4.5.1 Note on Methodology

The study used a qualitative phenomenological approach over two phases. The first phase consisted of extensive research and review of documents and the literature on demographic data and migration patterns in Puerto Rico for the past 66 years, along with higher education statistics. Results guided protocol design and categories definition for the study. The second phase consisted of structured interviews with six key stakeholders from higher education institutions (private and public), and leaders from the demographics and statistics fields in Puerto Rico. Consent forms were read and signed by participants before each interview was conducted. All interviews were recorded with participant consent, transcribed, and translated from Spanish. Category and frequency data analysis was conducted.

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Chapter 5
New Patterns of Migration and Higher Education in Ireland: What Are the Implications?

Daniel Faas

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Immigration and Internationalisation Trends in Ireland

Although Ireland has always been a destination of in-migration including Celts, Normans, and British, it was the economic boom during the 1990s which brought unprecedented levels of prosperity and helped transform the country into one of net immigration by 1996 (Ruhs 2005). For the first time in its history, Ireland experienced a significant inflow of migrants – both workers and asylum seekers – from outside the European Union (EU) (Faas and Fionda 2019). For the purposes of this chapter, a migrant is defined as someone who moves from outside Ireland to Ireland (for example for employment or educational purposes) while people with a migration background are defined as the children of people who came to Ireland in recent decades and who have progressed through the Irish school system. Between 2001 and 2004, Ireland reached new peaks in non-EU immigration flows before a shift occurred toward intra-European mobility from East to West following eastern enlargement of the EU. Ireland, together with Sweden and the UK, allowed migrants from the new member states access to the labour market resulting in considerable inflows of Polish (63,276 in 2006) and Lithuanians (24,268 in 2006) (Faas and Fionda 2019). Unlike European countries with a colonial history (e.g. the UK, France) or guest-worker schemes (e.g. Germany), the reasons why different groups of people migrated to Ireland were different. For example, longitudinal research conducted by Krings et al. (2013) on Polish migrants highlights the multi-faceted reasons why Polish migrants chose Ireland as a destination. In addition to economic reasons the study found that Polish migrants, particularly those of younger

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generation and highly educated, saw possibilities for self-development and lifestyle choices as part of their migration journey. At the beginning of the economic downturn in Ireland, in 2008, there was a general expectation that most migrants would return to their countries of origin. Instead, the number of non-Irish nationals increased by 115,475, or 27%, between Census 2006 and Census 2016 (CSO 2016). The proportion of the population who were non-Irish nationals has increased significantly from 6% in 2001 to 12.2% in 2011 before falling back slightly to 11.6% in 2016 mainly due to a rise in the number of those with dual Irish nationality. The increase was particularly marked among Eastern European nationals.

Between 2008 and 2015, Ireland became a net emigration country in the wake of the economic recession where unemployment peaked at a rate of over 15%. In 2016, for the first time since 2009, Ireland returned to a net inward migration country (see Fig. 5.1). The Central Statistics Office noted that between April 2015 and April 2019, the number of immigrants has increased by nearly 30% from 69,300 to 88,600 while the number of emigrants declined over the same period from 80,900 to 54,900. Between April 2017 and April 2018, Irish nationals experienced net inward migration for the first time since 2009 rising to +100 in 2018 from −3400 the previous year, while net inward migration among non-Irish nationals has already been growing since April 2015 (CSO 2016, 2018). The latest Census data, collected in April 2016, show particularly large increases among Romanians, Brazilians and Spanish (CSO 2017). The number of Brazilians, for example, has trebled over the past 10 years in Ireland, to 13,640 in 2016 (CSO 2017). Unlike the previous wave of

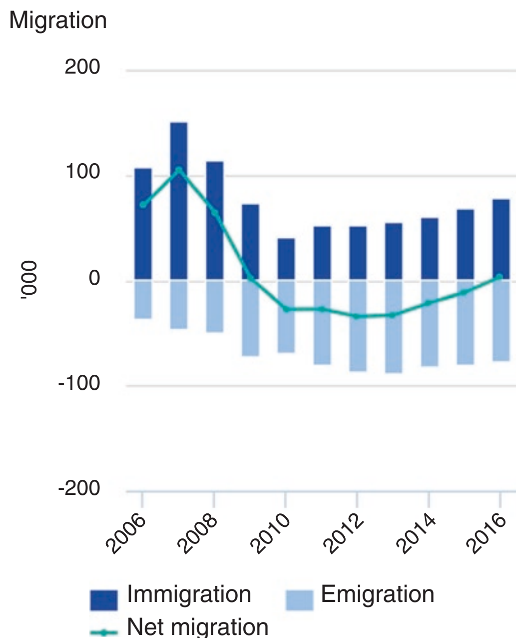

Fig. 5.1 Immigration and emigration phases in the Republic of Ireland, 2006–2016. (Source: Central Statistics Office 2016)

Brazilian economic migrants to the small town of Gort in the West of Ireland, the current wave of young middle-class Brazilians to Dublin migrates for English language learning purposes (Fanning 2018). Unlike EU migrants, those from outside the EU do not have the same rights to live and work within EU member states, and therefore do not enjoy the free movement of the Polish or other Eastern European groups in Ireland. In the case of many young Brazilians, they currently arrive on an 8-month visa, renewable once, which also allows them to work during their studies.

In terms of educational levels, research in an Irish context found that the biggest gap in English reading skills was amongst students with an Eastern European migration background and that their parents had the lowest proficiency in the English language. Since the parents were not proficient in English, the research found that they were less likely to engage with their child's academic work or engage with cultural activities such as reading in English (Foley 2017, p.14). As a result of the parents' limited cultural capital in terms of English language proficiency, there was a direct negative impact on their child's academic achievement, as indicated by their low reading scores (McGinnity et al. 2015). Research has also indicated that collectively, migrants in Ireland are a highly-educated group with high parental educational aspirations when compared to other migrant-receiving societies such as Germany or the United States, with the proportion of degree holders exceeding that of the domestic population (Darmody and Smyth 2018; Barrett and Duffy 2008). However, they appear less likely to access jobs that entirely reflect their educational levels, and appear to be earning less than comparable natives. Collectively, in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2015, students with a migration background in Ireland scored only marginally lower than their Irish peers (OECD 2016), whereas in most other OECD countries immigrant students score significantly lower. The most recently arrived migrants from Eastern Europe are found to have the lowest educational attainment levels. While migrant students are over-represented in the Leaving Certificate programme that allows for university access, they are likely to be placed in lower level classes compared to their Irish peers[1] (Smyth et al. 2009).

As reflected in the Census results, there has been a significant growth in the diversity of the population in Ireland. By 2016, the Top 10 non-Irish nationalities in Ireland were: Polish, British, Lithuanian, Romanian, Latvian, Brazilian, Spanish, Italian, French and German. This is then followed by Americans (US), Indians and Chinese. Previous work by the author with colleagues (Faas et al. 2016) showed that proportion of those who were not Catholic increased due to growing numbers of people with 'no religion' (138,264 in 2002 compared with 269,111 in 2011) accompanied by an increase in the number of migrants with different belief systems (up from 89,223 in 2002 to 216,401 in 2011). The number of Catholics reached the

[1] The core Junior Certificate subjects Irish, English and Maths can be studied at higher, ordinary or foundation level. All other subjects can be studied at higher or ordinary level, with the exception of Civic, Social and Political Education which is set at a common level. If a student studies a subject at ordinary or foundation level for the Junior Certificate it generally means they cannot study this subject at higher level for the Leaving Certificate.

lowest point in 2011 (3,861,335), representing 84% of the population. A number of primary school-aged children (14,769 or 3%) were recorded as belonging to 'no religion, atheists or agnostics' categories with 6% belonging to a minority faith background (Faas et al. 2016).

The government of Ireland responded to increasing diversity in 2005 by publishing the 'National Action Plan Against Racism', a document which adopted an intercultural approach to future integration policies across several areas. Interculturalism aims to help people 'become personally enriched by meeting and experiencing other cultures' as well as 'engage with each other and learn from each other' (Smyth et al. 2009, p. 16). Within education, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment published intercultural guidelines for both primary and secondary schools in 2006, followed by an Intercultural Education Strategy in 2010. These policy documents aim to guide schools in best practice for implementing intercultural education and developing respect for diversity within schools. Most recently, the Migrant Integration Strategy 2017–2020 outlined several areas within education that will be monitored and improved with the aim that 'migrants and particularly their children benefit from the education system' (Department of Justice and Equality 2016, p. 10).

While many European states have adopted a number of different official policies to deal with migration-related diversity such as assimilation, integration, interculturalism, or multiculturalism (Gray 2006; Mac Éinrí 2007), the debate about cultural diversity, including what the appropriate educational response should be, is still very much in its infancy in Ireland (Devine 2011). Thus immigration has posed a number of challenges for Irish schools and universities, which have had little prior experience of dealing with diversity. These developments in Ireland reflect wider debates about the impact of increased ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity on traditional conceptions of citizenship and national identity, and how educational policies and curricula should respond to these challenges (O'Connor and Faas 2012; Faas and Ross 2012).

Despite some progress in providing targeted support for migrant children in Irish primary and secondary schools in the form of additional English-language provision, the economic downturn between 2008 and 2013 resulted in significant cuts in the education sector that have also reduced initiatives supporting linguistic and sociocultural inclusion of migrant students. These cuts led to the discontinuation of Integrate Ireland Language and Training, which was established to meet the language and training needs of children from diverse cultural and educational backgrounds, particularly in secondary schools (see Faas et al. 2015). At higher education level, universities saw their budgets cut significantly. For example, in 2008, Ireland's oldest university (Trinity College Dublin) received approximately 60% of its budget from the State whereas today that amount stands at just 40%. As a result, higher education institutions are being asked more than ever to find non-exchequer revenue and they do so in the form of increasing numbers of non-EU students (Trinity College Dublin 2014), philanthropic and alumni engagement. In terms of support services for students with a migration background including non-EU students, in recent years, universities have provided targeted information and counselling to that

group often as part of orientation weeks (e.g. how to register with the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service, how to enrol in English language support modules, work opportunities in Ireland while studying, how to navigate the university academically and socially).

5.1.2 Diversity in the Irish Education System

Schooling in Ireland is compulsory from the age of six until 16. Around 96% of primary schools are denominational in their intake and management, with 90% of all primary schools under Catholic patronage (McGarry 2017). An alternative option for parents is provided by new multidenominational Community National and Educate Together schools. Gaelscoileanna, which teach through the medium of the Irish language, are also an interesting option. There has been a growing demand for alternative schools, as the proportion of the population who do not belong to the Catholic faith has increased. A considerable body of research focuses on migrant students' experiences in Ireland and in the education system (see Devine 2011; Darmody et al. 2011; Kitching 2011; Curry et al. 2011; Faas et al. 2015). Many of these studies point towards the external influences that shape migrant students' educational experiences including their lived experience, structural factors and education policy, while acknowledging the contributory family and child-related factors (Faas et al. 2018, p.487). Ireland has seen a threefold increase in the number of migrant pupils over the past two decades, with pupils in Irish schools coming from over 160 countries and for over 70% English is not their first language (Department of Education and Skills 2011). Children of immigrants and non-nationals now account for roughly 10% of the primary school level population (between 4 and 12 years of age) and about 8% of the post-primary school level population (between 12 and 18 years of age). There is however a difference in the distribution of these students across schools at primary and post-primary levels. At post-primary (secondary) level, the vast majority of schools (90%) have so-called newcomer students, but many of them have a rather small proportion of between 2% and 9%. At primary level, over 40% of schools have no newcomers at all, but those that do, tend to have a greater proportion of newcomer students (Faas and Fionda 2019, p.611). Irish universities need to be prepared to manage cultural diversity as a result of (a) higher numbers of students with a migration background progressing through the Irish school system and into tertiary education, and (b) simultaneous direct recruitment of non-EU applicants to Ireland.

Entry into third-level education in the Republic of Ireland is generally high, so among young adults (those aged 25–34), 41.6% have attained third-level degrees – the second highest level in the EU after Cyprus, and substantially ahead of the average of 29.1% (CSO 2008). The Higher Education Authority, which leads the strategic development of the Irish higher education system, has continually prioritised improved equity of access to higher education, and considerable progress has been made in the last three decades: participation in higher education has risen from

approximately 20% of the relevant age cohort in 1980, to 44% in 1998 and to 52% in 2011 (HEA 2015). The National Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education 2015–2019 states that the population of new entrants to higher education should be broadly representative of the general population in terms of socio-economic mix, disability status, gender, migrant population and so forth (HEA 2015). In 2008, the National Office for Equity of Access to Higher Education launched a new access plan to higher education in Ireland setting a national target of 72% entry to higher education by 2020. Based on the principle that no group should have participation rates in higher education that are less than three-quarters of the national average, the plan sets a target that all socio-economic groups will have entry rates of at least 54% by 2020 (HEA 2008). Besides English language skills and recognition of international qualifications, one particular barrier to access for many migrants in Ireland is the fees charged to non-EU nationals in universities and institutes of technology which can be up to three times higher for non-EU students compared to EU/Irish students. In many institutions, the fee structure is also based on the residency principle with students having to have resided three out of the previous 5 years to qualify for EU fees.

5.2 Cultural Diversity in Higher Education: The Case of Trinity College Dublin

There are seven universities in the Republic of Ireland as well as 14 Institutes of Technology, all of which have targets to deliver in terms of widening access to higher education. The National Access Plan (HEA 2015) aims to increase participation in higher education for: entrants from socio-economic groups that have low participation in higher education; mature student entrants; students with disabilities; part-time/flexible learners; further education award holders; and Irish Travellers. Interestingly, national policy steering through the HEA does not explicitly refer to students with a migration background or migrants and therefore does not set specific targets to higher education institutions – though several higher education institutions have clear targets how to increase participation from students with a migration background, as shown further below. It should be noted, however, that these targets generally relate to fee-paying international students rather than those from third countries now living in Ireland who cannot afford fees and who therefore have limited access to higher education, notably asylum seekers and refugees. There are a number of successful alternative access routes for widening participation groups at national level in Ireland such as the Higher Education Access Route (HEAR) for students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, and the Disability Access Route to Education (DARE). Qualifying applicants may obtain a reduction in Leaving Certificate (A-level) points required to access a particular undergraduate degree programme. At local level, universities have their own access programmes such as the Trinity Access Programme (TAP) for young adults and

mature students. For example, at Trinity College Dublin, 25.2% of new entrants (719 out of a total of 2855 new students) in 2016/17 came through alternative admission routes including HEAR (251 students), DARE (277 students) and TAP (191 students) (Martin 2018). In relation to the proportion of EU/non-EU undergraduate students, there was an increase from 7.3% in 2012/13 (11,340 EU and 833 non-EU) to 11.5% by 2016/17 (11,415 EU and 1324 non-EU). At postgraduate level, the proportion of EU/non-EU students increased from 13.0% in 2012/13 (3956 EU and 516 non-EU) to 24.4% by 2016/17 (3929 EU and 962 non-EU). Overall, in 2016/17, Trinity had over 4700 non-Irish students (26.7% of its 17,630 total number of students), from over 120 countries around the world, with 43% of its academic staff also having an international background. The university's goal, by 2019, is to increase its share of non-EU students from 7.8% in 2012 to 18% (Trinity College Dublin 2014). Nationwide, in 2016/17, there were 225,628 students at higher education institutions (43,569 new entrants in first-year), which is an increase of over 5% over the past 5 years due to increasing internationalisation and globalisation of the higher education sector (such as increasing non-EU student recruitment) as well as transitions of larger cohorts of Irish students from second to third level (HEA 2018).

Given this increasing internationalisation and globalization, it is important for Irish universities like Trinity College Dublin to engage with the challenges and opportunities presented by greater cultural diversity among students and staff. Attending to the significance of cultural diversity in all its forms helps the whole university community be more sensitive and appreciative of cultural difference, and more respectful and responsive to the needs and experiences of fellow students and staff in this regard. It also offers students opportunities to become more enlightened about different cultures; to become more aware about their own cultural identities; and to develop competence in communicating across cultures, a twenty-first century skill valued in the workplace and often highlighted as a graduate attribute (Trinity College Dublin 2018a). The following sections highlight some of the initiatives underway at university level in Ireland to respond to this increasing cultural diversity.

5.2.1 Examples of Good Practice

In 2017, a Cultural Diversity Working Group at Trinity College Dublin conducted an 'asset-mapping' exercise to identify existing good practices within the university. This covered five themes: Student Experience, Education, Staff, Campus Culture and Structures. The exercise uncovered several positive and promising initiatives, a selection of which are discussed below. At a structural level, Trinity College Dublin had already established the post of Director of Diversity and Inclusion and approved its first Diversity and Inclusion Strategy and Diversity Statement. Various albeit limited staff training opportunities exist, including Equality, Diversity and Inclusion training (in-person), an online training for all staff partaking in recruitment panels, and a pilot of intercultural awareness training which was conducted in 2015. In the

revised undergraduate curriculum, as part of the Trinity Education project, there are new specifications of graduate attributes, such as global citizenship and effective communication (see Trinity College Dublin 2018a). In terms of campus culture, emerging engagement by catering services is noted including serving halal chicken throughout university outlets, and there are also a number of research initiatives relevant to cultural diversity across subject disciplines. Students, particularly international students, have access to a Global Room space, Global Room student ambassadors and cross-cultural events programmes. There is a Student Union Ethnic Minorities Officer and Committee, and the new student orientations held at the start of each academic year have integrated a cultural awareness component since 2017–2018.

5.2.2 Cultural Diversity Challenges

Despite examples of good practice, considerable challenges remain not just at Trinity College Dublin but across the higher education sector in Ireland more broadly. While we see an ever-increasing number of staff and students from non-EU backgrounds in Irish universities, and a variety of benchmarks are in place to monitor internationalisation, to date there has been little systematic attempt to build in cultural diversity in the curriculum (see also discussion by Jennifer Bruen and Niamh Kelly, Chap. 8, in this volume). A good deal of university teaching and practical examples in Ireland is still rooted in more parochial local, regional and national traditions. While there are good reasons for retaining a local-national perspective, it should be more actively and systematically explored how modules can bring in not just a European but also a global non-European perspective, and how the local-national dimension interacts and relates to the global. Arguably, this may be easier in the humanities and social sciences compared to STEM subjects. Systematically embedding an intercultural and global dimension into university curricula also ensures that teaching is more authentic and relevant for non-Irish and Irish students alike in light of changing student demographics.

Two International Education Strategies have been launched in Ireland thus far – the first ranging from 2010–2015 and the second from 2016–2020 (DES 2010, 2016) focusing on building global partnerships among higher education institutions, making Irish universities globally competitive, establishing competitive visa, labour market and immigration policies, and increasing outward mobility among staff and students for instance under the Erasmus programme. In 2010/2011, 20,995 international students attended Irish higher education institutions. This increased by 58% to 33,118 in 2014/2015. The increase over the period was primarily driven by increases in the non-EU student cohort, which increased by 85% from 11,604 to 21,440 compared to a 25% increase in the EU student cohort (DES 2016). A growth target of 33% in the higher education sector will result in an increase in international

students in higher education institutions from 33,118 in 2014/2015 to approximately 44,000 by the end of the 2019/2020 academic year. Outside the higher education institutions, figures indicate around 106,000 students in high-quality English Language Training (ELT) organisations – a 10% increase on 2010 estimates (Study Travel Magazine 2013). These reports also indicate 29% growth in student weeks in the sector between 2010 and 2014, suggesting that more students are staying in Ireland for longer periods. A growth target of 25% in the ELT sector will result in an increase in ELT students from 106,000 in 2014/2015 to 132,500 by the end of 2019/2020 academic year (DES 2016).

Growing internationalisation as well as increasing cultural, ethnic and religious diversity across Irish higher education institutions has both didactical and pedagogical implications that have yet to be better understood and addressed. For example, learning patterns, teaching methods and classroom cultures differ greatly between students coming to Ireland from the United States versus those coming from India or China. This presents challenges that academic staff need to be aware of when designing module outlines and assessments. While it may well be the norm in North America to present in front of a larger audience, this may not necessarily be the case in parts of Asia. Staff need to be more aware and trained that such cultural and didactical differences exist, and how best to respond to the challenges arising from this diversity in a lecture theatre or seminar group. While there is some training in cultural diversity for those sitting on interview and recruitment panels, this is both insufficient and only applies to a smaller number of mainly senior staff. Teacher training classes how to operate in a cross-cultural environment are needed for both senior and junior staff. Equally, there should be more intercultural awareness training and dialogue built into orientation weeks to prepare incoming students how to interact with a globally culturally diverse community.

There is a large body of literature on the distinctions, similarities and conflicts between internationalization and globalization in the higher education context (see Marginson and van der Wende 2007; Altbach and Levy 2006; Scott 1998).

> Not all universities are (particularly) international, but all are subject to the same processes of globalisation - partly as objects, victims even, of these processes, but partly as subjects, or key agents, of globalisation. (Scott 1998, p. 122)

This includes increasing mobility of academics and students, global university rankings, global branding and marketing, joint and dual degree programmes between higher education institutions. But globalisation and internationalisation vary from university to university, from one higher education system to another meaning that the national context still matters (Marginson and van der Wende 2007). Though higher education institutions often see themselves as objects of globalisation, they are also its agents (Scott 1998). Research universities are intensively linked within and between the global cities that constitute the major nodes of a networked world (Castells 2001, McCarney 2005 cited in Marginson and van der Wende 2007, p.7). Students are increasingly global market commodities where institutions compete for the brightest highly mobile students.

> Globalisation [which entered the discussion in Europe from 2000 onwards] was and is understood primarily in terms of the growing pressures of global economic competition while internationalisation continued to be synonymous with a more cooperative approach to higher education, or at least to carry less political or ideological baggage. This distinctive and contrasting use of the terms persists in many policy circles in Europe (Marginson and van der Wende 2007, p. 11).

However, as the authors point out, such a normative distinction may obscure from view both the differences between the two processes and the manner in which they feed each other. Internationalisation (as the term inter-national implies) ‘can involve as few as two units, whereas globalisation takes in many nations and is a dynamic process drawing the local, national and global dimensions more closely together’ (Marginson and van der Wende 2007, p. 11, Marginson and Rhoades 2002). Globalisation may therefore be viewed as more transformative compared to internationalisation. Scott (1998 cited in Marginson and van der Wende 2007, p.12) suggests that globalisation transcends national identities and carries the potential to be actively hostile to nation-states. In some respects globalisation in higher education is an alternative to the old internationalisation, even a rival to it. Yet they do not necessarily exclude each other. ‘One difference between globalisation and internationalisation is whether national systems become more integrated as suggested by globalisation, or more interconnected as with internationalisation’ (Beerkens 2004 cited in Marginson and van der Wende 2007, p. 12). By extension, Europeanisation in higher education could then be viewed as a form of globalisation on a regional scale. Trinity College Dublin, which was recently admitted into the League of European Research Universities (LERU), is one such research-intensive global university in Ireland that has not only forged international connections (for instance through the Erasmus programme) but has become globally integrated through setting up a range of dual and joint degree programmes with like-minded institutions outside of Europe.

The Cultural Diversity Working Group at Trinity College Dublin noted in this context that only a limited number of staff in service roles are from ethnic minority backgrounds. In terms of the educational experience, recent success in international recruitment (following government cutbacks) may have the unintended consequence that students may be in classrooms only with peers from their home culture or institution. Moreover, assignments and reading lists could better reflect the needs and academic interests of students from different cultural backgrounds. It was also noted that additional support is needed for academic staff in managing culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms and for administrative staff in effective cross-cultural communication. There is also insufficient transparency in presentation of menus to accommodate cultural and religious (and also dietary) diversity. And finally, from a structural point of view, there is a need to tailor admissions and related information to the needs of a more diverse body of applicants and their families. There may also be a need to adjust systems to accommodate differences in naming practices in different cultures, including some cultures only use one name or multiple names, but the Irish systems are oriented towards Western naming conventions.

5.3 What Can Irish Higher Education Institutions Learn from Other Education Sectors?

Findings from a previous review of the literature by Faas et al. (2015) summarized below, show that supportive and caring educational institutions are settings designed to provide pedagogical and academic support to students (Hersi 2011). Practically, in line with inclusive education, it also means using diverse strategies and working at many different levels on whole-class tasks, often without adequate resourcing and sharing specialist skills (Corbett 2001). The provision of formal (e.g. learning support) and informal (e.g. extracurricular) support tends to have a positive impact on students' social and academic development (Fertig 2012). Previous studies suggest that efforts by staff to create a supportive climate are likely to prevent bullying and encourage student engagement (Eliot et al. 2010). In addition, supportive schools contribute significantly to the health and well-being of children through participation and empowerment (Konu and Rimpela 2002; Osterman 2000). A number of studies have shown that successful participation in academic life is associated with school composition, and that, in addition to peer group dynamics, the sociocultural context of the educational institution matters (Faas 2016). Where the proportion of students from a lower socio-economic background is high, migrant students are found to have fewer targeted supports available to them (Cebolla-Boado 2007; Rangvid 2007).

In the post-primary (secondary) sector in Ireland, a postal survey of school principals showed that 28% were 'to a great extent' prepared to cater for an increased diversity among the student body; 51% 'to some extent' and approximately 20% reported being challenged by having migrants among their student body (Faas et al. 2015). No such survey exists in the Irish higher education sector. There are a number of different support measures in place in Irish schools for all students who need them, irrespective of their background, including class tutors and year heads, assistance from guidance counsellors and other personnel at school. In some cases, migrant students were expected to utilise the support systems already in place. As the number of migrant children in schools continued to increase, schools devised ways of catering for the needs of the new arrivals. A variety of approaches has been adopted, including a mentoring system whereby another student was asked to look after the 'newcomer' and a pastoral care team (available to all students). Another widely used approach was the support from a teacher who, in some cases, was given a post of responsibility to look after newly-arrived migrant students. Of particular note is that student mentors or 'buddies' were used in a number of schools to provide informal support for migrant students. Similar buddy and mentoring systems are also in place in Irish higher education institutions to help exchange and other international students integrate with local students on an academic and social level. Senior students will be teamed up with new entrants, especially those with a migration background, to assist with their transition (see Faas et al. 2015, p.457f.).

Schools with a proactive approach to migrant inclusion, good leadership and a whole school stance on student support are more likely to meet the challenges rather

than schools where staff are resistant to change and report limited interaction with parents. Although secondary schools were also relatively unprepared for the arrival of students from other cultural and ethnic backgrounds, 'they devised a variety of approaches and included special clauses regarding tolerance and anti-racial harassment in their school policies. Interestingly, the measures put in place by schools did not vary depending on the number of migrants in each school. This could be explained by the fact that the number of migrant students in Irish secondary schools is still quite small' (Faas et al. 2015, p.460). A majority of principals in Irish secondary schools felt that pre-service education does not adequately prepare teachers for teaching in a newly multicultural classroom and expressed their dissatisfaction with in-service education, and nearly all principals felt that more in-service education in intercultural education was needed (see Faas et al. 2015). 'Regardless of diversification of practical approaches to the concept of inclusion, a fully inclusive approach as advocated by Booth et al. (2000) would require establishing inclusive values, organising support for diversity, producing an inclusive school development plan and reviewing it on a regular basis to ensure enhancement' (Faas et al. 2015, p.461). However, these findings were largely based on 2008 data of the Adapting to Diversity study conducted by the Economic and Social Research Institute and there have not been more recent large-scale studies purposefully looking at migrants in Ireland.

5.4 Conclusions

The Irish example indicates that ongoing investment in education is necessary at all levels. This includes adequate staff training, offering continuous professional development programmes how to operate successfully in increasingly culturally diverse classrooms. Nurturing earlier levels of education lays the foundation to advance to higher education (see McGorman and Sugrue 2007). Educational institutions need to show clear leadership on cultural diversity issues – within the university community, and within wider Irish society. By striving to be more inclusive in relation to cultural diversity, universities and other educational institutions will be stronger and richer institutions and communities.

The Cultural Diversity Working Group at Trinity College Dublin (Trinity College Dublin 2018b) identified several priority areas where action could be taken: (1) the university academic community should reflect more on how to accommodate the interests and experience of a more diverse student body in teaching and assessment; (2) that services with a specific remit to support students in times of stress and difficulty should consider how to make their offering more responsive to the needs of students from diverse cultural backgrounds; (3) that universities develop communal social spaces not linked to alcohol and accessible within and beyond library opening hours; (4) that university catering further its efforts to respond to cultural diversity and to promote awareness of same; (5) that consideration be given to the Commissioning by the university of a work of art for prominent location as symbol

of commitment, engagement, invitation in relation to cultural diversity; (6) that attention be given to developing appropriate non-Christian faith facilities on campus and addressing religious diversity more generally; (7) that resources be invested into capacity-building, particularly intercultural awareness training, so that staff and students are equipped to communicate flexibly across cultures; and (8) that universities actively consider how to improve the quality of data about ethnic and cultural diversity in the academic community (staff and students). The latter would allow an institution to see for example the exam success and graduation rates of migrant (international) students rather than just overall figures or those coming through access programmes.

Above all, in future mission statements and strategic plans, higher education institutions in Ireland and further afield must make cultural diversity a core theme with specific actions/targets as well as being embedded throughout the development of other actions. This will clearly signal commitment and priority of this issue, internally and to the wider world. There is a lot of scope to expand intercultural awareness training among higher education staff and leaders to equip them with the intercultural and pedagogical skills needed (including different didactical and assessments techniques) to teach third-level students from different cultural backgrounds and learning traditions.

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Chapter 6
New Challenges in Higher Education Policies in Sweden

Camilla Thunborg and Agnieszka Bron

6.1 Introduction

During 2014 and 2015, 240,000 migrants sought asylum in Sweden, which is seen as exceptional in a Swedish perspective (Migrationsverket 2017). As a consequence, the political debate the last couple of years has focused on how to integrate newcomers into the labour market and society. Higher education is seen as a means for making migrants with higher educational levels employable. The policy of employability is however not new. It has been part of a neo-liberal agenda of European higher education policy since the beginning of this millennium, and the idea that higher education should be efficient in providing the competencies needed for the labour market was already part of higher education policies during the 1960's (Rubenson 1994). Sweden is, however, also known for its ongoing educational reforms and regulations for equality (ibid.), claiming an 'education for all'. Since the 1990's, Swedish education has balanced between the agenda of equality and employability. We will in this chapter argue that this is still a challenge for higher education policies today, but in a more complex way.

Like the rest of Europe, Sweden is facing an ageing population. Another challenge for higher education policies thereby seems to balance between wanting students to start to study in higher education as early as possible to contribute to the national economy, and at the same time seeing higher education as a place for lifelong learning by giving equal access to young as well as mature students.

In this chapter, we will discuss these recent challenges in relation to higher education policies on equality and employability. We will start with a brief description of Sweden's higher education system.

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6.2 The Swedish Higher Education System

The Swedish higher education is an open and integrated system organized into professional programmes, general academic programmes and freestanding courses. Professional programmes lead to Professional Diplomas for physicians, nurses, teachers etc.; general academic programmes lead to either a bachelor's or a master's degree, which follows the Bologna process (UKÄ 2015). The aim of the freestanding courses is to give students an opportunity to combine different subject matters of interest into a bachelor's or master's, but also to provide a possibility to study one or more shorter courses for those who do not have the opportunity to study a whole programme. The organization of programmes and freestanding courses is decentralized under a common legal framework, which means that there is a wide variety of programmes and courses available within the same system (UKÄ 2015).

We have previously described higher education in Sweden as a 'drop-in/drop-out system', where most students complete a programme and graduate, some students drop-out, some drop-in again, and some return for a new degree. From that perspective, the system seems to be an arena for lifelong learning (Thunborg and Bron 2012), where young and mature students study together.

Sweden has, according to the Swedish Authority for Higher Education (UKÄ), 31 public higher education institutions, universities and university colleges that cover 90% of the student population, and seven independent education providers permitted to offer higher education programmes and courses.[1] The university colleges are recruiting students locally and regionally whilst the universities are recruiting nationally and internationally (UKÄ 2017a).

The higher education system in Sweden is mostly financed by the state and is free at the point of delivery to students. Over 80% of the funding comes from the government, with the rest coming from private sources (ibid.) Altogether, the total cost of the higher education sector in 2016 was 79.4 billion SEK, which amounts to 1.82% of the GNP (ibid). Nearly 70 billion SEK was spent on financing education and research, whereas 9.6 million SEK went to funding study loans and grants for students. Sweden provides study loans and grants for in total 12 semesters, for every student, starting at the highest age of 57 (ibid.).

In the 2016/2017 academic year, 343,209 students were studying in first and second cycle education, 49% of the students were new higher education entrants (UKÄ 2016, p. 23) Over the last decade, students' participation in professional and general academic programmes increased, while their participation in freestanding courses decreased (UKÄ 2017b). About 80% of the students with a diploma were integrated in the labour market 1 year after graduation (this figure comprises 87% of students who have a professional qualification and 72% with either a bachelor's or a master's degree).

[1] Technical, medical and theological education is provided at some of the universities, but not all. There are some special technical and medical universities as well as some university colleges for Art, Dance, Theatre Theology etc.

In the academic year starting in 2016, according to national statistics, 43% of the Swedish population between 20 and 64 years of age had started to study in higher education, whereas 27% had already studied for 3 years or more (SCB 2019). A political goal is that 50% of the population should have a higher education qualification. Between 43% and 45% of 24-year-olds have enrolled in higher education over the last decade, which is an increase in relation to previous generations. The percentage of those completing their studies is also increasing and was, during the academic year 2013/14, 82%.

The participation in higher education is, however, not equally distributed. There is an increasing gap between women and men, where 60% of students in higher education are women and 40% are men. Students having parents with lower levels of formal education are still underrepresented in higher education (about 20% compared to 42% from parents with higher levels of formal education) and this has been a stable trend for those born between 1981 and 1991. The gap between students born outside Sweden, or who have parents born outside Sweden, and inborn Swedes is decreasing. According to UKÄ (2017a), 44% of those with a Swedish background and 42% of those with a migrant background started to study at the age of 25, but there are still differences between ethnic groups. We have previously noted that about 80% of the population with an Iranian background were enrolled in higher education, compared with only 16% of those with a Somali background (Thunborg and Bron 2012). One reason for this could be that the populations from, for example, Iran and Iraq have higher levels of formal education from their home countries than Somalis. In a previous study, we have suggested that migrants having parents with higher levels of formal education expect their children to enrol in higher education to regain the social status that they have lost by migrating (Bron et al. 2014). According to UKÄ (2017b), students born in Sweden with parents born abroad, or those who migrated before school age (i.e., 7 years of age) enrol in higher education more than those who migrated after school age (between the ages of 7 and 18). There are also differences concerning age. Looking at the statistics, 11.8% of the newly admitted students in the academic year 2016 were over the age of 35, 11.6% of them were returning students and only 0.1% were admitted for the first time (UKÄ 2016, p. 10). Interestingly enough, the migration has had an effect on the percentage of the population with a university degree, as many of the migrants already have a higher education diploma from their home countries.

In the following section, we will outline the policies concerning equality and employability in relation to migration and an ageing population.

6.3 Policies for Equality and Employability

The Swedish higher education system is characterized by a long tradition of balancing the agenda for human capital and efficiency on the one hand and equality on the other (Rubenson 1994). Rubenson (ibid.) discusses three generations of Swedish policies for recurrent education and higher education from the 1960’s to the 1990’s.

The first period focuses on reforms to entrance requirements (1960's–1970's), the second on the effectiveness of the higher education system (1980's) and the third on a marketization of adult and higher education in general (1990's).

6.3.1 Policies for Equality

In Sweden, there has long been a tradition of implementing reforms for widening access to higher education that is related to the Social Democrats' dominance in government, whose explicit aim has been to give equal access to higher education for different groups, thereby enhancing social mobility. The first generation of policies for equality (Rubenson 1994) in the 1960's and 1970's consisted of reforms to financial assistance and loans for study, the establishment of freestanding courses, and the implementation of a special access route called 25:4 (designed for people over 25 who lack upper secondary education and have at least 4 years of work experience).

During the 1970's and beyond, there was a debate concerning widening of participation in education throughout the Western world as a consequence of the ineffectual educational reforms of the 1960s. There was, however, a divide in the debate between those who advocated educational policies for equality of opportunity, and those who advocated educational policies for equality of results (Bron-Wojciechowska 1989). By equality of educational opportunity, it is meant to develop a system in which opportunities are open for all, starting with lower levels of education and ending with higher levels.

Others argued that school must provide individualized support to ensure the results to be equal at least as the basic levels of achievement. Such a statement comes close to the concept of equality of results, which Coleman (1966), Jencks et al. (1972), and Bell (1977) among others have argumented. This does not mean that everybody should get the same kind of education, but equivalent (Kupisiewicz 1982). Therefore, equality of results means equality of educational treatment (Bron-Wojciechowska 1989). Thus, to enhance equality of educational opportunity has been easier to reach than the equality of educational results, i.e. outcomes (Tyler 1977).

These two approaches to educational policy, i.e. using equality of opportunity and equality of results separately or/and treating them as depending of each other, contributed to many theoretical debates among educational sociologists and educational philosophers. Nevertheless, the first goal of widening participation and opening access to higher education was more or less achieved already in the 1990s in the Nordic countries and in the UK. Widening participation and open access to higher education can be seen as following the line of equality of opportunity in education.

The second generation of policies shifted, according to Rubenson (1994), towards the efficiency of higher education institutions. In the beginning of the 1990s, all post-secondary education was integrated into a single higher education system, and university college reform increased the number of higher education

institutions. The Swedish Scholastic Aptitude (SSA) test (högskoleprovet), previously only designed for special groups of students, was also widened to serve as a second chance for all. Based on the Higher Education Act (1992), a proposition from the government stated that higher education institutions should start widening access. Consequently, the number of students doubled from the beginning of the 1990's to the beginning of the new millennium. Moreover, higher education institutions were also spread geographically. Even if this period was not seen as an explicit period of enhancing equality, it seems to have been the period where the system expanded more than ever and thereby also widened participation, and in that way enhanced equality of opportunity as a consequence.

The third generation of education policies relates, according to Rubenson (1994), to the marketization of education in general, and quality of education in particular. This type of education policies influenced the policy of equality negatively. Consequently, the mature students' access to higher education was limited. The higher education policies were informed by the national economic argument that lowering the age of enrolment in higher education serves national benefits. Accordingly, there was an explicit agenda to encourage students to enrol directly after upper secondary education and the access route 25:4 was terminated in 2008. The liberal minister of education at that time, Jan Björklund, suggested that the SSA test favoured mature students and should be less weight in the access process to higher education (Finansdepartementet 2011).

As a consequence of this, the number of 19 and 20-year-old students increased during the first years of the new millennium, but interestingly the number of 19-year-olds is now decreasing again. In a recent public report, new admission rules have been suggested for simplifying access to higher education. Two main routes have been suggested: one – to help students lacking upper secondary education or having qualification from another country into higher education, and the other – as a straight path for students in upper secondary education, which should be seen as the main route (SOU 2017).

The inquiry's points of departure are that upper-secondary school is to remain the main route into higher education, that there should be more routes into higher education, and that the system should make lifelong learning possible. The admissions regulations must not exclude anyone who has the potential to complete higher education, they must ensure that only candidates who have the necessary knowledge for a study programme are considered eligible, and those who are best equipped to complete the course or study programme shall be admitted when a selection is needed (SOU 2017).

In the current debate, the Swedish Minister for higher education and research, the Social Democrat Helene Hellmark Knutsson, is driving an agenda of a higher education for all, which not only means a return to equality of educational opportunity, but also introducing again the idea of equality of results. This means that higher education institutions are not only responsible for widening access, but also for students' participation and results (Promemoria 2017).

> …Universities and University colleges should instead of actively enhancing and widening access to higher education, actively enhancing a widened participation. To enhance a widened participation consists of both enhancing recruitment and enhance a broad participation among those who have been enrolled, by giving the students a good entrance and support during the whole educational programme or through increased geographical access. This means that the university and university colleges have to enhance that people from different parts of the country, despite differences in gender, gender identity or expression, ethnical identity, religion or other beliefs, disabilities, sexual preferences, age or social background should seek, enrol and complete an educational programme (Promemoria 2017, p. 1, translated by the authors).

Accordingly, there is a proposal to change the Higher Education Act during 2018.

To sum up, the policies for equality in higher education have changed in relation to the different political majorities over the three generations described by Rubenson (1994). During the first years of this millennium, after a period of declining access for students lacking upper secondary education and mature students, the policies are now forcing an agenda of equality for all. However, recent policies also seem to mean a shift in focus from an agenda of equality of educational opportunity to one of equality of both opportunity and results (cf. Bron-Wojciechowska 1989). This means to not only have open access to higher education as before, but also ensure to give equal 'treatment' and support to those who are enrolled, so that they can eventually manage to earn their higher education degrees on a satisfactory level.

6.3.2 Policies of Employability

The Swedish higher education system is, in accordance with other countries in Europe, also influenced by the policy of employability, which relates to a neo-liberal market agenda based on the idea that national governments are no longer able to manage issues of employment because of a globalized market (Brown et al. 2002). It means a shift in responsibility from the labour market and society in creating good work opportunities towards the individual (Fejes 2010) in gaining the right competencies for being able to get, maintain, and change employment (Clarke 2008). Higher education institutions are also responsible for supplying the competencies needed in the labour market (Rothwell and Rothwell 2016). Swedish policies regarding employability are based on a competence perspective of employability, which means that they focus on providing the competencies needed in the labour market (Yorke 2006). However, according to Clarke (2008), there seems to be a shift from having the right knowledge and skills for doing the job towards having the right personal skills and attributes for getting the job.

Most of the policy documents concerning higher education and employability address the 'matching' problem, i.e., how to handle the relationship between the demands of the labour market and the supply of graduates (Nilsson 2016). In a Green Paper from the Ministry of Higher Education, it is stated that the supply of higher education programmes should be related to both students' demands and the needs of the labour market (Utbildningsdepartementet 2012). In 2014, the Swedish

conservative coalition government set up a committee to investigate whether the supply of educational programmes was well matched to the demands for quality from the students, the labour market and society (Utbildningsdepartementet 2014). One year later, the Government Official Report was ready and was titled: *Högre utbildning under 20 år [Higher Education over the last 20 Years]* (SOU 2015a, b). In this report, it was suggested that all higher education institutions should create arenas for regular and systematic cooperation with labour market representatives, concerning the suitability of educational programmes. Furthermore, it was stated that such arenas should be designed with regard to each higher education institution's unique profile. In another public report titled *Education for the Future Labour Market* (SOU 2015a, b, p. 90), it was stated that there will be many different demands of the labour market in the future, and that the solution is to handle the matching problem between education and the labour market. The report states that the education system cannot provide the solution to every problem, but that education policy should make the transition between different levels in the educational system more flexible. Even though the matching problem is further discussed in the report, it is suggested in a forthcoming book (Eklund and Pettersson 2017) that higher education is not enhancing employability enough. The authors claim in a debate article that students are not choosing the 'right' educational programmes in accordance with labour market needs because higher education is not valued enough in the labour market (Dagens samhälle 2017). They further suggest that, if there was an increased divide in incomes favouring graduates from the 'right' educational programmes, students' choices would change as a consequence.

Returning to Rubenson's (1994) discussion about the three generations of higher education policies, the policy for employability is to a large extent related to the third generation. It explicitly focuses on the matching problem – that students do not choose the right educational programmes for the labour market. However, the education policies to tackle employability do not address the differences in choices related to social class and ethnicity, as well as the negative social consequences of a socially segregated labour market. One challenge for higher education in Sweden is still how to integrate the policies of equality and employability, which becomes extremely important in the shifting landscape of migration. How is it possible to create equal opportunities for migrants with higher levels of formal education, to make them equally employable on the Swedish labour market? The next section focuses on these types of interventions.

6.4 Migration

Most of the migrants that came to Sweden in 2014 and 2015 were from Afghanistan, Eritrea and Syria. In 2016, new legislation was introduced to close the boarders, restrict permanent residence permission and restrict possibilities for family reunion (Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17; Regeringens proposition 2016/17). The political agenda today is to enhance the employability of all migrants, and there is legislation

related to the integration of migrants in the labour market. From a Green paper (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet 2017, p. 1) it is stated that:

> The Agency for Employment (Arbetsförmedlingen) should strengthen their activities to ensure that all newcomers in the Establishment programme are offered access to highly qualitative interventions to gradually be integrated in the labour market…. Gender equality should be considered in these processes (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet 2017, p. 1, Authors translation).

From the Green Paper, the policies for the integration of migrants in the labour market relate both to the policy of employability and the policy of equality. In a recent proposal for new legislation, the *Establishment of migrants in the labour market and society*, it is argued that the establishment programme for migrants should be harmonized with the legislation for employment in general (Proposition 2016/17:175). The purpose of this is also to actively try to decrease the unemployment rates for migrants by making individual integration plans and follow up activities for getting migrants either into education or into employment.

One part of the 'Establishment programme' is called *'The Short Path'* (Korta vägen). This is an individual programme where each individual is obligated to have an establishment plan consisting of participation in complementary education and/or vocational education, higher education, internship and employment. From 1 January 2018 the programme outlined in the new legislation is being implemented. This programme has consequences for higher education institutions, namely designing special introductory and complementary courses for migrants for getting a Swedish diploma (Arbetsförmedlingen 2018).

Over the last decade, higher education institutions have been involved in another programme titled *'The Fast Track'* (Snabbspåret) for validating foreign qualifications. This type of programme was established before 2014 and allowed migrants with professional or vocational degrees from their home country to complement and validate their degrees in order to receive a Swedish diploma. The validation process was combined with higher education studies, special language studies and internships, which were organized through different parties in the labour market (professional organizations, unions and higher education, and/or vocational education institutions). There have been programmes for physicians, pharmacists, nurses, social workers, teachers, pre-school teachers, chefs, entrepreneurs and others. These programmes have been evaluated in 2016 and 2017 by the Agency for Employment (Arbetsförmedlingen 2017, 2018).

The political agenda for enhancing the employability of migrants in the Swedish labour market are supposed to harmonize the situation of unemployed migrants with that of all unemployed people in Sweden, while also making special arrangements for migrants to integrate into Swedish society as quickly as possible. In the new legislation, there is a shift in responsibility from the state and labour market towards the individual.

6.5 The Ageing Population

In August 2017, the Swedish population totalled 10,081,396, which is an increase of 1.4% from the previous year. Demographic projections forecast an increase of 100,000 people per year, which means that the 2026 population will be more than 11 million – mainly because of on an ageing population. The population in the 20 to 64 age group is growing at the rate of half a million, or 9%, per year, while the 65+ age group is growing by approximately 300,000, or 16%, per year (SCB 2017). This is, of course, interesting from socio-economic and healthcare perspectives (Creative Health Inquiry 2017; SCB 2010, 2016). There is also a discussion about extending the retirement age to 69, which appears to have effects on the possibilities and preferences of people to change career during their working lives.

In the recent policy debate on higher education, the issue of the ageing population was not addressed. The idea that higher education should be a place for lifelong learning has been posed in different policy documents. Higher education is now used as a place for lifelong learning, where students have the possibility to apply for study loans and financial assistance up to the age of 57, including for the freestanding courses, already established during the 1960s for mature students (CSN 2018). In the discussions about higher education so far, there has been a contradiction between higher education as a vehicle for lifelong learning, helping people to start to study and return later in life for a new degree, and the national economic argument, posing that students should start to study as early as possible to benefit the labour market and society. In this contradiction, the policies for the ageing population of Sweden and the consequences for higher education are going to be important future challenges.

6.6 The Future Challenges for Higher Education?

In this chapter, we have outlined the recent policies for higher education, focusing on equality and employability retrospectively. These two types of policy seem to have been the two most important in the political debate about the role of higher education over the last decade, during which three different political majorities in the Swedish government – Social Democrats before 2006, a coalition between Conservatives, Liberals and Christian Democrats during 2006–2014, and a coalition between Social Democrats and the Green Party since 2014 – have been trying to balance the agenda of equality and employability.

This shift in political power is also visible in various policy documents. When turning back to Rubenson's (1994) analysis of the three generations of policy for recurrent and higher education, the agenda of equality relates to the first generation, while the employability agenda relates to the third. We therefore draw the conclusion that present policy is a combination of those two agendas, rather than a new

one. The second generation of policy related to efficiency seems to have merged into the others.

From the perspective of equality, higher education is supposed to be an institution for all. The shift from enhancing the equality of educational opportunity towards equality of both opportunity and results could be seen as part of that argument (Bron-Wojciechowska 1989). This is, in itself, a challenge for higher education as it is not only focusing on giving students access to higher education, but also to provide unlimited support for individual students' completion which could risk the quality of higher education as a consequence (cf. Carlhed 2017).

From the perspective of employability, which also strongly affects the higher education policy debate, higher education should provide the right competencies needed in the labour market. The matching problem on the labour market and how to influence students to make the right decisions is also a challenge in itself (Nilsson 2016). Higher education institutions already work with counselling and student support services, but it is not clear to what extent they should work with providing personal attributes and social networking that is seen as part of the employability agenda rather than other skills required within higher education as such.

In recent years, the challenges of migration have given rise to different reforms in higher education. The focus has been how to use higher education as a means for migrant employability through 'The Fast Track' and 'The Short Path'. The consequences of the ageing population have not explicitly been part of the higher education policy discussion so far. Maybe this is because mature adults already have access to higher education. The challenges of migration and an ageing population, however, seem to have been handled from a short-term rather than long-term perspective when it comes to higher education policies. The reforms for migrants relate to the integration of those already here, not addressing the new waves of migration over the coming years. In the debate about the ageing population, extending the retirement age is a way of handling a practical financial problem, but other challenges of an ageing population are not mentioned with regard to higher education.

The policies of equality and employability could be seen as both compatible with and contradictory to each other. As a political ideal, the integrated argument could be: if higher education becomes an arena for equality of opportunity and results, and to enhance competencies and skills for employability, it also becomes the means for a more equal labour market and society.

However, existing research shows the opposite, that higher education is not facilitating this outcome. There are differences in students' choices, results and employability, which are related to social and ethnic background. In a previous analysis of national statistics, we found that students from underrepresented groups in higher education were more likely to choose professional programmes in the public sector, where there are high needs of a workforce. Those having parents with lower levels of formal education were overrepresented in lower prestige educational programmes, and students with an international background were overrepresented in professional programmes within the health care sector. Students having parents with high levels of formal education were overrepresented in higher prestige programmes, and made more individualistic choices in higher education. One

conclusion of this analysis is that higher education is contributing to a segregated labour market (Thunborg and Bron 2018).

Carlhed (2017) revealed a similar pattern in a quantitative study based on 16,000 students, where two enrolment patterns in higher education were identified: a coherent intensive pattern and a scattered extensive pattern. The coherent intensive pattern is mostly present in professional programmes at university colleges, where students study the whole programme without a break; this pattern is followed by a disproportionately large number of students with parents with lower levels of formal education. Students following a scattered extensive pattern, studying longer, more than one subject and taking breaks from their studies tended to have parents with higher levels of formal education. One conclusion from this is that students from underrepresented groups seem to be the most willing to handle the matching problem, while students from more traditional backgrounds instead seem to use higher education as a place for lifelong learning.

Social and ethnic background also influence graduates' opportunities on the labour market after higher education. In a recently finished research project (EMPLOY), we found that students from underrepresented groups in higher education struggled with not being the 'right type', not being good enough in the Swedish language, and not being able to follow the 'right path' for getting the same positions as their Swedish study mates. One conclusion is, therefore, that there are contradictions between equality and employability, but the differences with regard to social and ethnic background seem to be hidden behind an agenda of integrating equality and employability.

Higher education institutions are thus facing huge challenges: they should not only provide equal opportunities, but also equal results for all students, and they should not only be responsible for giving students knowledge and skills regarded as important in the higher education culture, but also enhance their employability. There is a risk then, that higher education institutions could become responsible for ensuring the equal employability of all students, even if they are unable to become responsible for the employment of students on the labour market. If successful, the employability agenda, with its shift in responsibility from the labour market towards the individual, is a way of saying that the individual is responsible if he/she does not find employment, despite all the possibilities created through higher education.

As we described earlier in this chapter, higher education is used as a drop-in/drop-out system – a system for lifelong learning (Thunborg and Bron 2012). Even if unequally distributed, it is important to suggest that, despite the different higher education policies relating to equality and employability, higher education is an arena for lifelong learning, and not only an arena for enhancing employability on the labour mark. In a previous research project (RANLHE), students with a non-Swedish ethnic background regarded higher education as a free zone, a place free from prejudice in society, whilst students having parents with lower levels of formal education regarded it as a battlefield – a place of struggle where they felt like outsiders (Bron et al. 2014). Maybe the biggest challenge for higher education is to become a free zone for being able to create a space of learning for all.

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Chapter 7
Higher Education and Demographic Changes in Mexico

Germán Álvarez-Mendiola and Brenda Pérez-Colunga

7.1 Introduction

The Mexican population is ageing: by 2030 life expectancy at birth will rise to 77 years, accompanied by growth of the youth population but a gradual decline in the infant population (CONAPO 2012).

For the Mexican educational system, these changes will mean less demographic pressure on primary education. Given the decline of the population at basic school age, it was possible to meet practically 100% of the demand for basic education around 2015 (Ordorica 2015). If the completion rates at this level improve and, concomitantly, the absorption by and progress to the next level, the potential demand for higher education will increase significantly. In the coming decades, the proportional expansion of the group of young people from 19 to 25 years old with high school level completed will also imply an increase in the demand for higher education and, therefore, the presence of a greater number of adults in universities and other institutions of higher education. The resulting scenario will place great pressure on access to higher education, with a need for more funding, new institutions, greater capacity, more professors and, especially, providing access to underserved sectors of the population, which form the base of 'non-traditional' students.

Almost all the demand at this educational level is currently being met thanks to policies for broadening coverage through institutional diversification. Nevertheless, if conditions leading to inequality persist, the growth of the system could create greater inequity in access to higher education. This will exacerbate the differences between higher education for the elite and for broad contingents of the population,

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which presumably have fewer academic resources given the potentially low quality of their prior education and disadvantage in respect of cultural capital.

Given that context, this chapter provides a general overview of the recent changes in Mexico's demographic dynamics and their implications for higher education. Next, we present some features of student heterogeneity, in terms of economic background, the presence of adults in higher education institutions, and the participation of indigenous population at this educational level. Thirdly, we discuss the implications that changes in international migration patterns have on the Mexican educational system, especially those caused by the tightening of immigration policies in the United States, and the increase in the proportion of Mexican migrants to other countries, especially to United States. Finally, we highlight the need for a system of higher education that responds to demographic changes, with equity as the guiding principle of policy and practice reforms. This implies the expansion of the higher education system to enrol students, both in existing institutions and in new types of university and vocational institutions, the diversification of the educational offerings, the development of educational models adjusted to the interests and needs of adult students, the establishment of scholarship programmes, the implementation of academic counselling programmes to overcome the possible training gaps of these students, and the development of programmes for the expeditious recognition of studies undertaken abroad by Mexican students deported from the United States.

7.2 Context: Changes in Demographic Dynamics

The population of Mexico is ageing and what has been called the 'demographic dividend' (that is the relative youth of the population) is ending. Accelerated population growth during the first half of the twentieth century created a 'classic' population pyramid with a wide base. According to Beade (2012), in 2010 for every 30 older adults there were 100 children. By 2035, according to estimates, this proportion will be equalized. But by 2050 the proportion will revert to 162.8 seniors per 100 children. Consequently, in a short amount of time these children will become the economically active population but will be outnumbered by older adults who, in traditional labour and educational environments, are no longer considered economically active.

That said, the demographic dividend is unlikely to bring the advantages initially attributed to it. Let us remember that, as Sánchez (2016) says, the demographic dividend depends on such factors as investment in prior education, the incorporation of young people of productive age into the workforce, and the conditions that jobs offer workers. In the case of Mexico, none of these three factors have occurred to the needed extent. That is, little has been invested in job-related training and the labour market has not seen the emergence of conditions that would allow for the stability of jobs or facilitate saving (Sánchez 2016). Consequently, a large number of young people either cannot get a job or only find unstable ones.

7.3 Implications of Demographic Changes for Higher Education in Mexico

7.3.1 Educational Characteristics of the Mexican Population

In general, the population of Mexico has low levels of schooling. For instance, the expected period in education of the population from ages 5 to 39 in Mexico is 14.6 years, the lowest number of OECD countries where the average is 17.4. It is even lower than that of other equivalent countries in terms of economic development, such as Argentina, which reaches 18.1 years of schooling and Brazil at 16.0 years (OECD 2016). Though advances have been made over time in Mexico, today approximately 35% of people aged 15 and older have not completed basic education, which in Mexico comprises preschool, primary and lower secondary level schooling (Table 7.1).

As opportunities for basic education increased in recent decades, younger people have higher levels of education than adults. Thus, for example, between 2000 and 2015, the average period of schooling for those aged 15 to 29 increased from 8.7 to 10.4 years, while for adults aged 30 to 44 this number increased from 8.1 to 9.9. Years of schooling for people between the ages of 45 and 59 rose from 5.8 to 8.6, and from 3.4 to 5.5 for seniors. If we consider gender, we can see that women aged between 15 and 29 slightly exceed men, but with each older age group, women tend to have less education than men (Table 7.2).

The demand for upper secondary and higher education in Mexico will continue to be low in comparison to other countries in Latin America. Nonetheless, it is very

Table 7.1 Population of 15 years and older without basic education

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Total	31,158,916	33,416,104	33,338,910	33,720,185	31,900,157	30,331,242
% of total population	62.8	57.2	53.1	45.7	40.7	35.0

Source: From 1990 to 2000, data from INEGI 2004 (with data from Census of Population and Housing). From 2005 to 2010, data from INEA 2015 (with data from Census of Population and Housing); SEP 2010; INEGI 2015; and SEP 2015

Table 7.2 Average years of schooling of the 15 and older population, by age group and sex

	2000			2015		
Age group	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
15–29	8.6	8.5	8.7	10.3	10.5	10.4
30–44	8.4	7.6	8.1	9.9	9.8	9.9
45–59	6.2	5.1	5.8	9.0	8.2	8.6
60 and over	3.7	3.1	3.4	6.0	5.0	5.5
Average	7.7	7.2	7.5	9.3	9.01	9.2

Source: INEGI (2015)

likely that Mexico will experience increased pressure on its systems of upper secondary and higher education, since not only will there be more young people who may wish to further pursue education but there may also be more adults trying to enter those educational levels.

7.3.2 Enrolment and Gross Enrolment Ratio

In the near future, the higher education system will receive a significant influx as a result of the increase in enrolment and graduation rates of primary and secondary education. This will be expressed in the increase of the gross enrolment rate of higher education. In 1990, barely 13.5% of young people aged 20–24 were participating in higher education, but by 2015 that number had jumped to 32%. In 2030 the rate of gross enrolment will likely be around 45% (Fig. 7.1).

Despite this progress, the gross enrolment rate of higher education continues to be low in comparison to that of other countries. In Fig. 7.2, we can observe that Mexico has the lowest enrolment rate of developed countries – barely above 30%. Fig. 7.3 shows that even Latin American countries with smaller economies and lower levels of economic development (such as Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia) have higher participation rates of higher education.

In 2012, the federal government set out to reach 40% coverage in higher education (from 3.2 million students to 4.4 million) by 2018 (SEP 2013), a goal that has not been fully achieved as the number of students in 2017 was just 4.2 million

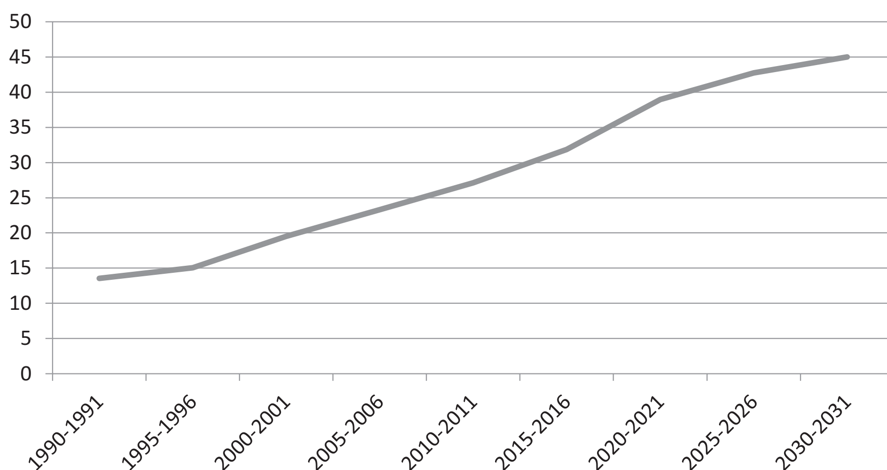

Fig. 7.1 Gross enrolment rates in higher education (% population aged 20–24). (Source: CONAPO 2012 and SEP 2017)

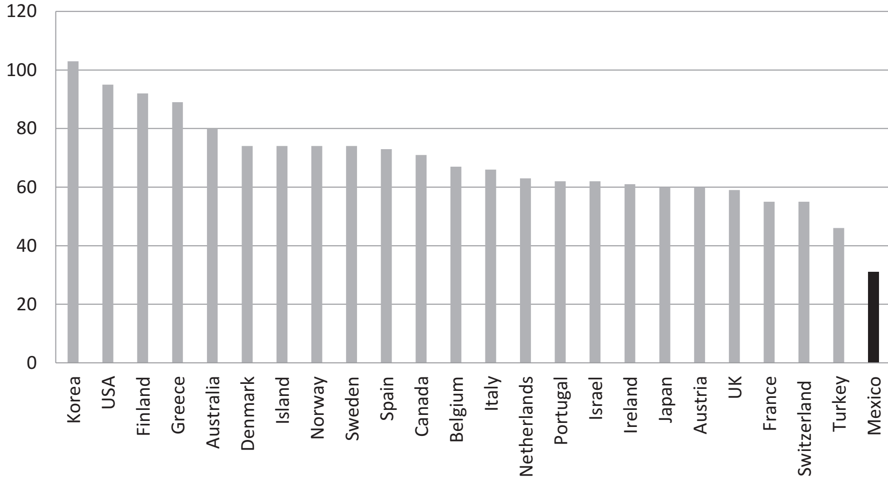

Fig. 7.2 Gross enrolment in higher education (% population aged 19–23). Selected countries
Data from 2009 or 2010, depending on the availability. Data of Mexico for 2010
Source: Mendoza 2012, based on UNESCO, Institute for Statistics, Data Centre, Tertiary Indicators)

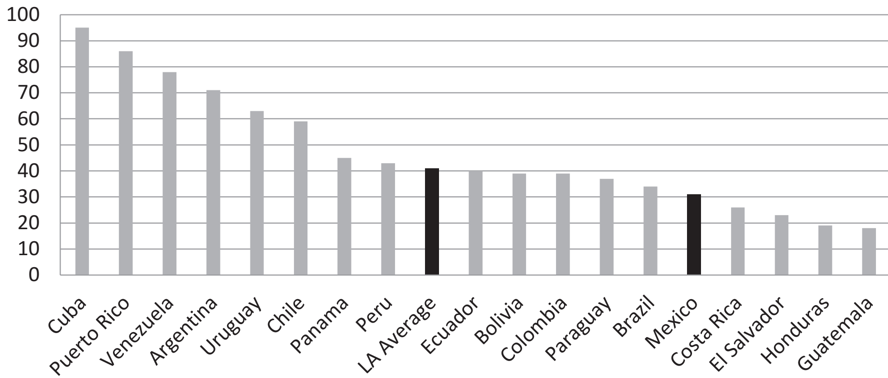

Fig. 7.3 Gross coverage rate of higher education (% population aged 19–23). Selected Latin American countries
Data from 2009 or 2010, depending on availability. Data from Mexico for 2010
Source: Mendoza 2012, based on UNESCO, Institute for Statistics, Data Centre, Tertiary Indicators

(ANUIES 2017). The growth in demand for higher education will continue to challenge the system's capacity to admit and serve students as well as provide the funding necessary to manage this expansion.

7.3.3 Students Who Work: The Demographic 'Dividend'

Mexico is the only OECD country in which the population of young people aged 15–29 spends more time working than studying (OECD 2014). Mexican youth spend 6.4 years working (one more than the OECD average of 5.4 years) and 5.3 in education (two less than the OECD average of 7.3 years) (ibid.).

There is a great risk that young people will become separated from both education and the labour market: in 2012, about 65% of the population of this age group did not participate in education and 22% did not work nor were enrolled in any type of education or training. In the near future, the youth population will spend 3.3 years without working or participating in an educational programme, which contrasts with the OECD average of 2.3 years (OECD 2014). A youth population with little education and a scant presence in the working world eliminates the theoretical advantages of the demographic dividend.

The proportion of young Mexicans who do not work or study has repercussions on the availability and quality of human capital in the country. This represents a serious problem that compromises the hypothetical advantages of the 'demographic bonus' because neither the future labour force will be sufficiently formed, nor will young adults have jobs for a productive entry to the economy and a dignified life, full of opportunities. In the near future, the scenario of young adult population with relatively low levels of education and limited employment opportunities represents a risk for the support of a society that is ageing and, consequently, will have greater and more expensive health needs.

7.4 Features of Student Heterogeneity

The student population is very heterogeneous and, therefore, together with the classic criteria related to the social and economic origin of the students, there are various analytical criteria to differentiate it. Rama (2007), for example, proposes that students are differentiated by their prior educational trajectories and the types of higher education institutions (HEIs) in which they study; their social and geographic background; their age and gender; and also, their ethnic, cultural, religious, and economic diversity. Usually, other differences considered are marriage status, employment status, position as clients or consumers, and the type of educational programme studied, whether on-site or distance.

In this chapter, we will sketch only some features of student diversity in Mexico, beginning with a brief analysis of the participation of different income deciles in

higher education to highlight the scant participation of the low-income population. Next, we will analyze the presence of adults in higher education, especially women – whose numbers, though still small, grow quite dynamically. Finally, we will briefly discuss the presence of indigenous students in higher education.

7.4.1 Students by Income Decile: Unequal Participation

For the poorest students in Mexico, there is little possibility of entering higher education. Research shows that the educational system is stratified according to students' socioeconomic condition, manifested as enormous inequality in moving from one level to the next as well as in the distribution of students into options of differing quality and prestige even at the same level (Solís 2013). Students from brackets with less income are less likely to enter a higher level of education: 60% of children in basic education come from the first four income deciles (the lowest levels of income), but in upper secondary only 40% come from these sectors, and 21% in higher education.The poorest students in Mexican higher education come from schools that do not meet sufficient conditions and criteria for quality operation, and that some authors have called the "precarious education circuit" (Casillas et al. 2015). These students often fail to pass admissions exams, though many of them still manage to enrol, as higher education institutions will continue accepting students as long as space permits. This reinforces the system's tendency toward segmentation based on differences in institutional performance, which are associated with students' social and economic background (Silva 2012).

Inequality has an enormous impact on higher education: as mentioned earlier, little more than 21% of students belong to the first four income deciles (the least income), compared to 78.4% of young people in the 9th and 10th deciles (the greatest income). In other words, the rich segments of the population are almost four times more likely to enter university than the poor segments (Tuirán 2011).

In spite of this significant inequality, the presence of those from low-income backgrounds has been growing steadily, representing 10% of enrolment in 1992, and 21% in 2010 (Table 7.3). This tendency is expected to continue, though slowly: the Federal Government's calculations indicate that close to 31% of enrolment will be composed of low-income youth in 2020 (Tuirán 2012).

This progress hardly indicates that equal opportunity has been achieved in access to higher education. On the contrary, given the poverty and inequality in Mexico, an enormous proportion of Mexico's inhabitants are excluded in a variety of ways from the fruits of social and economic progress. This can be seen from educational lags and high non-completion rates, which makes entrance into the labour market even more precarious and reinforces patterns of low productivity and low income – factors that condemn millions to poverty.

Table 7.3 Mexico. Percentage of students in higher education by family income level

	1992	2010
Low income (deciles I to IV)	10	21
Middle income (deciles V to VIII)	44	48
High income (deciles IX and X)	46	31
Total	100	100

Source: Tuirán (2012)

7.4.2 Adult Students: A Population on the Rise in Mexican Higher Education

More and more students in higher education come from the 24 and older age group, which itself represents an ever more significant percentage of the country's total population. A number of factors have stimulated such demand, including the creation of new educational offerings to broaden enrolment (new majors, 'executive' modalities for the rapid completion of programmes of study, and distance or online programmes); the labour market's growing demand for higher education degrees; and an emerging perception of the importance of participating in and completing a university or equivalent programme.

The percentage of the adult population in total enrolment has only grown slightly, from 22% in 2011 to 24% in 2016, but it nonetheless demonstrates a renewed dynamism. Within the 25% growth in total enrolment in higher education between 2011 and 2016, there were 64% more students aged 40 and older, and 44% growth in the 30- to 39-year age group (Table 7.4).

In spite of the growth of the adult population in higher education, no programmes serve them specifically, except in some private higher education institutions that have designed academic models for that purpose. Adult students tend to prefer conventional options, but they have increasingly found the means to begin or return to higher education in open or distance (online) options. In fact, 26% of adult students chose open or distance offerings in 2000, but 35% did so in 2015 (ANUIES 2015). This growth forms part of a general trend of expanding enrolment in such programmes, thanks to many university institutions offering online programmes. An important example is the launch of the Higher Education at a Distance Programme (ESAD) in 2009, transformed in 2012 into the Open and Distance University of Mexico (UnAdMexico), which has more than 100,000 registered students (ANUIES 2016). This institution was not created to specifically serve adult students, but the large majority of its students are more than 24 years old.

Table 7.4 Mexico. Total enrolment in higher education, by age group

Age group	2011–2012	2016–2017	Growth
18–23	2,556,539	3,142,701	23%
	78%	77%	
24–29	492,694	614,839	25%
	15%	15%	
30–39	157,900	227,729	44%
	5%	6%	
40 years and older	67,506	110,870	64%
	2%	3%	
Total	3,274,639	4.096.139	25%
	100%	100%	

2–3 year technical degree; normal education (for teachers); bachelor's degree (universities and technical institutes)
Source: ANUIES (2011, 2016)

7.4.3 *Adult Women in Higher Education*

Women are less well-represented than men in the adult student population, but their proportion has a faster rate of growth (Table 7.5): the number of adult male students grew 108.5% compared to 135% for the number of women; furthermore, the percentage of women in total adult enrolment has grown while that of men has declined.

At the same time, women's performance is superior to men's, since in the 2016–2017 school year the female graduation rate was 53% compared to 47% for men. On the other hand, adult women are concentrated in majors culturally associated with the female gender, such as pedagogy, psychology, and nursing, though they have also entered areas not so defined, such as administration and law, as well as areas that used to be considered 'masculine', such as engineering.

The participation of women in higher education reflects general societal changes. Today, women are more active in the labour market, the media, and politics than before. Nevertheless, gender gaps in Mexico are still very wide and have grown even more so in the last 4 years: 'the level of women's participation in the economy and of economic opportunities provided to women' fell from 54% to 51%, the index of 'health and survival' dropped from 98% to 97.7%, and 'political empowerment' fell from 28.1% to 27.6%. 'Access to education' was the only area that remained the same: at 99.6% compared to the previous year. During the past 11 years, Mexico has closed less than 6% of its total gender gap (WEF 2017).

Table 7.5 Mexico. Adult students in higher education by gender. 2010 and 2017

	2010–2011	2016–2017	Growth
Male	248,759	518,737	109%
	57%	54%	
Female	184,719	434,701	135%
	43%	46%	
Total	433,478	953,438	120%
	100%	100%	

2–3 year technical degree; normal education (for teachers); bachelor's degree (universities and technical institutes)
Source: ANUIES (2011, 2016)

7.4.4 The Indigenous Population

In its Constitution, Mexico recognizes itself as a multicultural nation, founded on its indigenous population. The indigenous are the original inhabitants, grouped into peoples that assume an ethnic identity based on their own culture, language, traditions and institutions. The National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) estimates that there are more than 25 million self-described indigenous people. Of that total, 7.4 million people over 3 years of age speak an indigenous language (CDI 2015). The indigenous population problems and challenges relate to poverty, nutrition, housing, education, health, justice, and discrimination. In 2014, 73.2% of this group (18.3 million people) were living in poverty, of which, 31.8% (eight million people) were in extreme poverty (CONEVAL 2017). The indigenous population is marginalized and subject to exploitation, in stark contrast to their importance in the historical formation of Mexico and the richness of indigenous cultural diversity.

The linguistic variety of the indigenous population has posed challenges in various spheres of social, economic, political, and educational life, with 68 registered linguistic groups and 364 known linguistic variations. These languages are officially recognized as national languages but their official use is very limited. In terms of education, 1.5 million indigenous people aged 15 and older are illiterate, amounting to 26.8% of the indigenous population. Thus, the average amount of schooling of this population is 5.1 years, which does not even represent full primary education. Selectivity is a great problem in the indigenous population, beginning with the reduced educational offering in its communities from basic levels onward, which, according to some authors tends to operate under precarious conditions (Casillas et al. 2015). Additionally, only 17.2% of the 18 to 24 age group of indigenous population are enrolled in upper secondary and higher education (INEE 2013). It is unknown precisely how many indigenous students are enrolled in higher education, but in 2003 Schmelkes (2003) estimated that they represented no more than 1% of the student body.

For many years, the presence of indigenous students was ignored. Today they have gained visibility, but we still lack a reliable sense of the size of the population that could serve as the basis for applying specific educational policies, both to create

demand among indigenous groups and to adjust the offering to their sociocultural and educational characteristics.

Intercultural Universities first founded in 2003, have opened a new door for students of indigenous background, with the goal of narrowing both the institutional coverage gap and the intercultural gap (Dietz 2014, see also Chap. 9 by Sylvie Didou Aupetit in this volume). Today, there are 11 intercultural universities and a large intercultural programme at the Universidad Veracruzana (University of Veracruz). These universities enrol a total of 10,145 students, which represents barely 0.25% of total enrolments in Mexico. The disparity this population presents and the limited size of intercultural universities prohibit the adequate representation of indigenous students in higher education.

In addition to the fact that these universities still constitute a small portion of total enrolments, they face difficulties providing students with a solid university education. Many students lack the necessary tools to complete their education in a satisfactory way, since they come from secondary and high schools that have not provided them with the techniques for studying, research, and academic work necessary to take advantage of their time at university. In addition, the intercultural gap prevents students from balancing what they learn and practice at university with their activities in the community. On top of that, though programmes seek to diversify their orientation, they are often just adaptations of programmes of study related to the rural environment, or to urban industrial, or service jobs (Dietz 2014).

The system of intercultural universities does have positive aspects, as it represents an effort to decentralize both administratively and geographically the activities of some educational institutions; in addition, the system has implemented majors that maintain a relationship between teaching and community engagement (Dietz 2014) and has created graduate programmes that continue efforts to combine an academic education with the practical and participatory approach of university development.

7.5 Changes in Migration Patterns

In recent years in Mexico, there have been changes in the size, trends, modalities and sociodemographic characteristics of people who migrate, especially those who are part of the migratory flows between Mexico and the United States, which are the ones that have the greatest impact in the country. Several factors underlie international migration to and from Mexico, many of which are related to changes in family, economic, cultural, social and political conditions, or factors related to violence and insecurity, natural disasters (INEGI 2017) and changes in the U.S. immigration policies. With regard to the flow of migrants, these changes have modified, on the one hand, the training needs of a large group of migrants and, on the other, their educational profile. With regard to the flow of immigrants, these changes have important implications for the Mexican educational system.

According to data from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography, international emigration and immigration rates decreased from 2008 to 2015 (INEGI 2017). According to the Pew Research Center, between 2009 and 2014 Mexico has had negative net emigration to U.S.: approximately one million Mexican citizens returned to the country, while 870,000 entered the U.S. (García de Alba 2018).

The main reasons why people migrate to another country are work, family reunification and studies (INEGI 2017). For Mexican international migrants (to any country), work continues to be the main source of motivation, although its relative weight has decreased: in 2008 work represented 77.4% of the reasons given and in 2015, 60.3%. On the other hand, reunification with family and studies increased as a reason for migration: in 2008 it comprised 14%, and in 2015, 24.4% (INEGI 2017). In the United States, Mexican immigrants no longer work mainly in the countryside, but in other sectors such as food, and lodging services, construction, manufacturing and commerce (García de Alba 2018).

Although it is still small, the proportion of Mexican emigrants to any country to study has increased from 4.4% in 2008 to 9.7% in 2015. On the other hand, the proportion of people migrating with high school and higher education has grown, although those who do not have schooling or barely have the basic educational level comprise the majority. In 2008, 8.9% of emigrants had higher education, and in 2015 this proportion rose to 14.1% (INEGI 2017). Additionally, the increase in the educational level of Mexican emigrants in general is also expressed by the fact that a third of emigrants to the United States already speak English, compared to 20% at the beginning of the century (García de Alba 2018).

The new presence of women in migratory movements explains these changes to a large extent. Men continue to be the majority of migrants, but female participation has gradually increased. In 2015, for every 100 Mexican migrant women there were 208 men, a higher proportion than in 2008, when for every 100 women 356 men migrated (INEGI 2017). In the United States, more than half of the 42 million immigrants that come from all over the world are women. Many women migrate pursuing work, education and business objectives. The number of immigrant women who open their own businesses is greater than that of women entrepreneurs born in the U.S., which could indicate that migrant women have greater ambition and are better prepared.

However, according to Garcia de Alba (2018) discrimination, marginalization, gender oppression and language barriers persist. In general, women with Mexican citizenship who work in the United States receive an average income of around 22,000 dollars a year, much less than the 39,000 dollars that “white women” receive, including immigrants from other countries. The level of education of the Hispanic population in United States continues to be low: only 11% of Hispanics and 7% of Mexican-Americans have a bachelor’s degree, compared to 28% of the Anglo-Saxon population. This puts Mexican immigrants at a disadvantage in terms of labour competition and, therefore, in obtaining higher wages and access to educational and employment opportunities. From our point of view, attention to the educational disadvantage of the migrant population from Mexico and other developing countries in the U.S. should be a priority for Mexican foreign policy. There are

efforts in this regard, such as the training of women through initiatives including comprehensive care programmes for women, focused on health, academic improvement, financial education and legal support, which operate in several Mexican consulates in the United States (García de Alba 2018).

The tightening of anti-migration policies in the United States will have effects at different levels of the Mexican educational system. These policies give continuity to the anti-migratory measures of former U.S. Presidents George W. Bush (2001–2009) and Barack Obama (2009–2013). Between 2009 and 2016, according to the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS, cited by Vargas and Aguilar 2017), 2,758,000 people were deported, of whom about two million were Mexican. U.S. President Donald Trump proposed to deport a similar number in 4 years (2017–2021), which constitutes a threat to six million undocumented Mexicans living in the United States. We do not know if this can be done, but the United States is requesting that the Mexican government undertake programmes to receive the deportees and support their integration into society (Vargas and Aguilar 2017).

The deportations have favoured the increase of children coming from the U.S. to Mexican schools. Many of them have problems of attendance to the schools, educational backwardness in comparison with other Mexican students and difficulties of school adaptation due to their constant movings and linguistic and cultural differences. According to Vargas and Aguilar (2017), of the children and young people who are likely to come from the United States in the near future, it is estimated that 213,000 children will be of primary or secondary school age, 44,000 of upper secondary school age and 171,000 of tertiary education age. It is possible that the deportation of young people is not so drastic, at least for a couple of years, thanks to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals programme (DACA) for nearly 800,000 undocumented students who entered the United States before the age of 16 prior to 2007, the so-called 'dreamers'. These young people were protected from being deported, obtained work permits and social security numbers (Vargas and Aguilar 2017).

However, many other young people have begun their return to Mexico, so higher education is under additional pressure to be able to give them a place. U.S. President Donald Trump has said that the DACA programme will continue, but the protection of the programme has been compromised due to the recent arrests of some young people enrolled in the programme. In this scenario, as part of Mexican higher education policy, efforts have been made to facilitate access to higher education institutions for the young Mexican immigrants who wish to return from the United States. The requirements for the validation of studies completed abroad in basic, secondary and higher education have been made more flexible. Enrolment in higher education in Mexico was more difficult since it required official certification, translations and minimum equivalences of programme content. For this reason, in 2017 the Public Education Secretariat of Mexico made these requirements more flexible, eliminating the need for official certification and official translations of educational documents obtained abroad, and granted public and private universities the possibility of issuing partial revalidations or study equivalences. This meant reducing the duplication of comparable contents of the subjects studied in the U.S. and those offered at

the receiving Mexican university. The challenges, however, do not stop there: it will be necessary to further diagnose the needs of migrant students, identify groups at risk of not entering education, abandoning it, or not adapting to Mexican educational environments (Vargas and Aguilar 2017).

7.6 Conclusions

The ageing of the population along with an educational lag presents government and society with serious challenges, resulting from a population with low productivity that will, soon, depend on a smaller share of economically-active population. The end of the demographic 'dividend', without the benefit of its potential advantages, will create serious challenges, since the educational level of younger generation has not increased at a vigorous rate and the employment segments to which they can aspire are primarily of low professional and technological content, precarious, and typically offer low salaries.Nonetheless, due to changes in the population related to age and gender structure, we must be ready to take advantage of a possible second dividend – the gender dividend – that could appear in the worlds of labour and education. There is still a wide margin for women to enter the labour market; the challenge will be to increase women's participation in the workplace, combat 'glass ceilings' and value women's participation in the social and economic development of the country. Regarding education, research has already shown that women are more likely to stay in and complete higher education, take full advantage of the opportunity to study, are much more committed and involved than men, and reach their objectives (Mingo 2006).

Mexico needs to provide support that enables young people in poorer groups (particularly those of indigenous background) to access, remain in, and complete their studies, in addition to facilitating the growing presence of adults. Educational offerings should also become more diversified to accommodate an ever more heterogeneous student body. Additionally, both public and private institutions of higher education must be able to enrol students who have been or will be forced to leave the U.S. by the anti-immigrant policies of the U.S. President Donald Trump government. The relaxation of bureaucratic procedures for the recognition of studies carried out in the United States and the reduction of duplication of equivalent contents between the subjects studied in the U.S. and the subjects offered in Mexican institutions are important advances. However, additional programmes are required concerning, for example, employment, so that young people can work and finance their studies. Furthermore, good analyses about these returning students and their processes of insertion into Mexican education are of the greatest importance.

The gross enrolment of higher education indicates the degree of social inclusion the system has achieved. Participation must be expanded for a variety of reasons: to encourage processes of social cohesion; to handle an increase in demand; to strengthen the qualifications of the economically-active population; and to produce the scientists and professionals from a variety of fields required by an emerging

knowledge-based society (ANUIES 2012). This also means transitioning from mass to universal higher education, which would require achieving a gross enrolment rate of at least 50%, an increase of more than a third of the current rate. Nonetheless, in countries with high levels of poverty – associated with significant inequality in income, schooling, and access to cultural goods generally –gross enrolment is almost exclusively representative of the proportion of young people with the greatest financial solvency who manage to enrol in higher education institutions.

Higher education is a strategic public good the distribution of which should be governed by a sense of justice that provides proportional attention to the needs of a diverse population. Achieving equity requires: (a) effective access to educational options that satisfy students' needs and aspirations, unconditioned by their social, economic, cultural, or ethnic background; (b) a high degree of student retention, that is, learning-centred processes to develop successful trajectories; and (c) the compensation of inequality, both economic (through grants) and academic, to improve students' low cultural capital and lessen deficiencies in previous schooling (Silva 2014, pp. 25–27). Equity means offering opportunities and educational conditions adapted to the differences and needs of individuals, families, communities, and schools of all social, economic, and cultural groups. Equity in higher education means that all social, economic and age groups are adequately represented in the student body.

The development of equity in higher education is tightly linked to equity at prior levels, which should guarantee that students of low socioeconomic condition complete basic schooling and pursue subsequent levels, thereby breaking the structural selectivity of the educational system. Without improving the processes that can ensure such outcomes, however, the participation of the lower socio-economic level groups of society will not increase. Higher education institutions can admit as many students as their infrastructure will allow, but this will still be insufficient if the educational system's structural selectivity is not corrected and if the higher education offering continues to benefit primarily the middle and upper levels of society, which are already over-represented in enrolment. Finally, educational opportunities should be accompanied by high-quality educational processes that allow students to obtain knowledge and abilities for satisfactory personal and professional achievement in society (Flores 2009).

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Chapter 8
Migration and Linguistic Diversity in Higher Education: Implications for Language Teaching Practice and Policy

Jennifer Bruen and Niamh Kelly

8.1 Linguistic and Cultural 'Super-Diversity' in the European Union, Ireland and the Irish Higher Education Sector

Societies are becoming increasingly diverse, with migration presenting as one of the most pressing political issues in Europe and beyond. In 2014 alone, a total of 3.8 million people immigrated into one of the EU-28 Member States from outside of the EU, while at least 2.8 million emigrants were reported to have left an EU Member State (Eurostat 2016). However, these figures alone do not provide the full picture in terms of migration flows as they do not include movement between EU member states. Increases in diversity caused by migration into and within the EU led Vertovec (2007, p. 3) to coin the term 'super-diversity' to describe 'a notion intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced', and to represent 'a dynamic interplay of variables including country of origin, migration channel, legal status and human capital'. The term itself remains controversial in the literature (see for example Pavlenko 2018). Mass migration has also undoubtedly resulted in significantly more diverse societies.

In this context, the internationalization of higher education is firmly on the policy agenda across OECD countries (Finn and Darmody 2016). The number of students enrolled in tertiary education outside their country of citizenship has increased from 1.3 million in 1990 to 4.3 million in 2011, with Asian students representing 53% of these students, primarily from China, India and Korea (OECD 2013).

In Ireland, for example, foreign nationals from 199 countries make up 12% of the population (Duncan and Pollak 2015). The number of international students

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attending higher education institutions in Ireland increased by 58% between 2010/2011 and 2014/2015, growing from 20,995 to 33,118 students (DES 2016, p. 18). The *International Education Strategy for Ireland 2016–2020* has set a medium-term target to have 44,000 international students enrolled in Irish higher education institutions by the end of the 2019/2020 academic year, which would represent 15% of the total student body (DES 2016, p. 43). In 2014/2015, the number of full-time international students represented 8.8% of the student body (DES 2016, p. 31). However, it should be noted that these figures do not capture students from migrant backgrounds who have taken up Irish Citizenship. Additional data from the Royal Irish Academy (2011) indicates that migrant children make up approximately 14% of the school-going cohort, and approximately 15% of those at university (Bruen and Kelly 2014). Therefore, we can be relatively confident in concluding that, at any one time a fifth of the student body in Ireland presents with a complex repertoire of languages and cultures, and, importantly in the context of this chapter, a mother tongue other than English.

The example of one module from a second-year undergraduate programme in Dublin City University illustrates the extent of linguistic diversity which can be evident in the student body. This module forms part of the core language programme in the university and is not specifically targeted at non-native speakers of English. In a cohort of 24 students enrolled in this module in the academic year 2016–2017, 21 languages were spoken with level of competency ranging from A1 (beginner) to C2 (native speaker-like proficiency) in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001). These languages were, in descending order, English, Irish, French, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, Korean, German, Norwegian, Swedish, Ukrainian, Polish, Chinese, Portuguese, Futunian, Latin, Arabic, Lithuanian, Tagalog, Romanian and Urdu. The mother tongues spoken by the students registered on this module were English, Swedish, Polish, Hungarian, Tagalog and French.

In a referendum in June 2016, British citizens voted to withdraw from the European Union, a process now commonly referred to as 'Brexit'. This post-Brexit environment is likely to result in further diversification amongst the Irish student body, with Ireland now to become the only English-speaking country in the EU. Currently, there are 15,600 full-time non-EU students and 2880 full-time EU students (excluding those from the UK and Northern Ireland) studying in higher education in Ireland, compared with 493,570 international students studying in the UK, with 70,000 EU students coming to the UK each year (HEA 2016, p. 14). These figures are important in that political scientists (including Barrett et al. 2015) are of the view that 'Brexit' is likely to result in the diversion of migration away from the UK towards Ireland and, in turn, towards its education system. Barrett et al. (2015, p. 56) state:

> To the extent that there are potential migrants from Central and Eastern Europe who are eager to acquire stronger English language skills, they may be willing to move to Ireland if the UK is removed as a potential destination.

According to the HEA (2016, p. 14), there is already evidence of nervousness amongst potential international students wishing to pursue their studies in the UK. In addition, there are approximately 27,000 EU students who study in the UK as part of Erasmus/Erasmus+, a major EU undergraduate mobility programme, compared to 7000 students who come to Ireland on the programme (HEA 2016, p. 14). For the UK to continue to participate in Erasmus, special arrangements would need to be set in place if student mobility would need to continue after Brexit (the United Kingdom exiting the EU). Should the UK not accept the principle of mobility, it is possible that Ireland, as an English-speaking member of the EU, might become an even more attractive Erasmus host, taking a percentage of the students who would otherwise have gone to the UK.

Ireland's ability to respond to this increasingly complex situation is crucial. Many of these students will enrol on undergraduate and graduate programmes originally designed for a predominantly linguistically homogeneous student population of native English speakers. This situation presents both challenges and opportunities for the Irish higher education system, and indeed for higher education systems globally who find themselves in a similar position. It has ramifications for all subject areas and domains of study. However, given the central role played by language and linguistic diversity in this context, increased linguistic and cultural diversity is likely to have a particularly significant impact on the teaching and learning of foreign languages at university (see for example, Kramsch 2014). It is this single issue which will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

8.2 Teaching Foreign Languages in a Super-Diverse University Setting: Lessons from the Literature

A limited number of studies have been conducted with a focus on the impact of linguistic diversity in the language classroom on the teaching and learning of foreign languages at university. In particular, there has been little systematic work which compares the experience of non-native speakers of the medium of instruction studying a foreign language through their second (or third, fourth etc.) language, and native speakers of the medium of instruction studying the same foreign language.

Instead, to date, many researchers (including Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; Pauwels 2014; Scarino 2014) report the existence of a 'monolingual mindset' which results in all students being treated as though their mother tongue was the medium of instruction both in research into language teaching and learning, and in the language classroom itself. Galante (2016) states that due to the limitations of the monolingual theoretical framework, students' knowledge of languages and cultures have often been underused and devalued. Others such as Gogolin (2011) are of a similar view and describe this approach as a 'deficit perspective' (p. 242). This is particularly so in universities where English is the medium of instruction, as it is in an Irish

context. According to Scarino (2014), a monolingual perspective results in a failure to recognize, and potentially harness, linguistic diversity in the learning process. This echoes Holmen (2015), whose study looks at the linguistic diversity among students as a potential resource in their academic development. According to Holmen, despite University of Copenhagen's new language strategy, 'More Languages for More Students', which supplements an explicit language policy, and despite the fact that it is a multilingual learning space through its language teaching and through the linguistic diversity which is brought into the academic learning site, students who participated in the study say that their language resources are seldom seen as assets. Similarly, Haukås' (2016) study looked at Norwegian teachers of a third language to students whose second language was English. Her study makes three key findings: (i) although teachers view multilingualism as an asset and find it beneficial in their own language learning, they do not necessarily regard it as an asset for their own students; (ii) although teachers claim to make use of students' first and second language in teaching them a third, they do not focus on the transfer of learning strategies as they feel that learning the third language is a different experience from learning the second; and (iii) teachers who are teaching a third language think that collaboration across languages could enhance the language learning experience of the student, but no such collaboration exists.

A gradual change is taking place, however, in the field of applied linguistics. The change stems partially from the emergence of alternative theories of how languages interrelate in the brain and how they are acquired by the language learner. For example, researchers (including Canagarajah 2011; Jørgensen et al. 2011; Mazak and Herbas-Donoso 2014) are of the view that languages are not stored separately in the brain. Instead, they believe that they are integrated and connected in the learner's mind and influence one another in a dynamic manner (see Bialystok 2001, Herdina and Jessner 2002).

Allied to this perspective, and particularly within a context of linguistic diversity, is the concept of the 'linguistic repertoire' of a language learner, a notion originating with John Gumperz in the early 1960s (Gumperz 1964). Gumperz defines a linguistic repertoire as the total linguistic resources controlled by the speaker, ranging from different languages, dialects or styles, with the speaker selecting a particular language variety that is appropriate to a particular situation the speaker finds themselves in. A learner's linguistic repertoire is made up of all of the languages of which the learner has some knowledge, regardless of how basic or advanced the level of competency might be, or regardless of grammatical distinctiveness. Moore (2014, p. 586) suggests that harnessing the linguistic repertoire of an individual learner in some way 'may be advantageous for learning a language and participation in [similar] higher education classroom settings'. Haukås (2016, p. 1) stresses the role of the language teacher as a key facilitator and states that 'learning multiple languages is best enhanced when learners are encouraged to become aware of and use their pre-existing linguistic and language learning knowledge'.[1]

[1] See Galante (2016) for further discussion on linking the theory of plurilingualism in a linguistically and culturally diverse language education context with practice.

In this regard, Hopkins (2014) studied the process and impact on the learner of teaching a third language to students through their second language. The results of this study indicated that this approach facilitated the acquisition of both the second and the third language. Some disadvantages were observed in that the learners involved in the study spent quite a lot of time translating from their second language into their third language. They also experienced difficulties with pronunciation, which in some cases led to confusion between the second and third languages. At times, grammatical explanations were also reported as being less precise.

In a similar vein, Jaensch (2012) examined the experience and outcomes of students studying an additional language through their second language. She observed that the level of proficiency in the second language appeared to be an important predictor of success in acquiring the additional foreign language through the learner's second language. She also reported that students who had already acquired one language to a high level displayed several of the characteristics associated with successful language learning. These included high levels of metalinguistic awareness and lexical understanding, as well as more developed cognitive skills.

These findings are supported by those of Bruen and Kelly (2017) who studied the position of university language students whose mother tongue was a language other than the medium of instruction. Specifically, their focus was on the attitudes and experiences of non-native English speakers studying either German or Japanese as foreign languages at an English-medium university in Ireland. Their findings suggest that the non-native speakers of English considered themselves to be at an advantage over the native speakers of English in the study of German and Japanese as Foreign Languages. This was even though the medium of instruction was English, at least in the early stages of the language modules. The reasons given for this attitude by the participants included the fact that the non-native English speakers were already experienced language learners with an extensive linguistic repertoire on which they can draw when acquiring an additional language. This view was supported by feedback given by the native speakers of English. The only concerns expressed by the non-native speakers of English regarding their experience of foreign language learning in an English-medium environment were related to an assumption at some points in the curriculum of a knowledge of Irish (in this case the host) culture and society.

In addition to studies which attempt to monitor the impact of learning an additional language through a language which is not the mother tongue, another group of studies explores ways in which this process can be enhanced. Specifically, these studies attempt to harness the fact that the students in the classroom have different mother tongues and diverse linguistic repertoires to the benefit of all of the students present. In other words, these studies look for ways in which linguistic diversity in the foreign language classroom can serve as an opportunity rather than a complication. In other words, they embrace a plurilingual approach to language learning (Jeoffrion et al. 2014), that is, an approach which views the linguistic repertoire of the language learner as fluid and supportive of the acquisition of additional languages.

Embracing a plurilingual perspective, Hufeisen and Neuner (2004) seek to identify at the macro level the conditions that might support a plurilingual approach to language learning. The conditions referred to concerned language, education policy and institutional arrangements, among others. While accepting the diversity of educational systems, Hufeisen and Neuner (2004) advocated a focus on identifying the interrelationships between languages. They stress the fact that linguistic distance or difference between languages is likely to be central to the development of a plurilingual pedagogical approach. For example, they argue that it could inform decisions regarding the order in which foreign languages should be learned within education systems and the proficiency levels which learners should reach in one language before beginning to study the next language.

Cenoz and Gorter (2013) present a critique of the policy of language isolation in TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages), stating that the teaching of English as a second or third language has traditionally been associated with pedagogical approaches that encourage the isolation of English from other languages in the student's linguistic repertoire. They propose an innovative plurilingual approach to the teaching of English that softens the boundaries between languages, making them more fluid. The authors note that the English language teacher is often expected to only use English, and to avoid any reference to elements of the first language or other languages, stating that these ideas and concepts are deeply rooted both in society at large and in second language and foreign language teaching practices (Cenoz and Gorter 2013, p. 592).

While Hufeisen and Neuner's (2004) and Cenoz and Gorter's (2013) research was situated within a macro-level policy environment looking at languages-in-education policies more generally (see also Bruen 2013), other studies, such as Heyder and Schädlich (2014) and Bruen and Kelly (2016) adopt a more micro-level approach. Heyder and Schädlich (2014) report that most of the teachers in their study frequently compared and contrasted language elements, particularly German (the host language) and the foreign language they were teaching. Bruen and Kelly (2016) report on the results of their study exploring a set of individual, tailored plurilingual activities designed and implemented in four language modules in a higher education institution in Ireland. Despite operating at a micro classroom level, the study was focused on using the interrelationships between languages to support language learning. In other words, a plurilingual pedagogical approach was taken in designing the activities implemented as part of this research. The main activity involved engaging the participants in comparing the way in which core grammatical concepts operate in their target languages (in this case German and Japanese) with the way they operate in their mother tongue (French, English, Russian, Spanish etc.) and in the other languages in their linguistic repertoires. These other languages included Korean, Arabic, Chinese, Irish etc. The activities were conducted during language classes and were supported by the lecturers. The concepts which were compared across languages included cases, sentence structures, tenses, the passive voice and register. These activities were carried out several times over the course of

a semester, and feedback from the students was obtained on whether or not the exercise helped in the learning of their target language for that module. The feedback indicated that more than two thirds of the undergraduate students who participated felt that the activities supported the learning of their target language. The majority also reported that the exercises were most useful when they were grouped with students with similar linguistic repertoires to their own, and where they shared common languages which were similar to the target languages. This feedback echoes the important role played by degree of linguistic difference, stressed by Hufeisen and Neuner (2004). Logistical challenges identified included the time-consuming nature of the exercises and difficulties associated with grouping students with sufficiently similar linguistic repertoires.

Thus, although, as we have noted above, a relatively small number of studies have been conducted to date on the delivery of foreign languages in super-diverse environments, and a 'monolingual mindset' continues to exist in many classrooms. However, some significant guidelines are beginning to emerge to support the design and delivery of university language courses in super-diverse environments.

For example, a sufficiently high level of proficiency in the language which is the medium of instruction appears to play an important role on the success of acquisition of the target foreign language (see Jaensch 2012 above). Several studies (including Bruen and Kelly 2016) would appear to suggest that a minimum grade of a B2 (upper intermediate) within the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001) is required for a language that is not the mother tongue to function as a vehicle for the acquisition of an additional language.

In addition, student feedback in plurilingual settings (Bruen and Kelly 2016) indicates that lecturers and curriculum designers should not assume an in-depth knowledge of the culture and society of the country which is acting as host to the students. Instead, a focus on the culture of the target language is advisable in more diverse classrooms. Where cultural comparisons are felt to be valuable, allowing students flexibility in selecting the country or culture to be compared with the target language culture helps recognize the diversity within the classroom.

In addition, engagement with plurilingual activities involving the different languages within students' linguistic repertoires, particularly it would seem those which share similarities with one another, appears to support the acquisition of a target language and the language learning process more generally (Bruen and Kelly 2016). Therefore, although research in this area is lacking, there is support for a plurilingual pedagogical approach in the foreign language classroom.

However, more research is needed in all these areas. The following section considers in more detail the type of research that is needed to provide greater guidance to those designing and delivering foreign language courses in diverse linguistic environments. It also considers the policy implications for higher education given the limited information that is currently available.

8.3 Implications for Future Research Requirements, and for Higher Education Policy and Practice

As suggested earlier, a gap remains in the literature in this field of practice. There is a need for further research, ideally classroom-based and action research with a focus on addressing several key questions.

These include how best to design and integrate plurilingual pedagogies into the foreign language classroom. For example, initial, exploratory studies have shown that it is possible to identify students with complementary linguistic repertoires and pair or group them in virtual or face-to-face learning environments allowing them to engage in the kind of explicit comparison of grammatical concepts across languages (Bruen and Kelly 2016). In order to develop these activities further, studies are needed to help identify what languages best constitute 'complementary linguistic repertoires'. Bruen and Kelly's (2016) study suggests that the grouping of students with a degree of proficiency in Japanese (beginners) and German (intermediate) has a number of benefits, particularly with the acquisition of German cases and Japanese postposition markers. Similarly, useful comparisons appear to be possible between French (intermediate) and German (beginners), particularly with regard to the use of auxiliary verbs in the formation of the perfect past tense. Hufeisen and Neuner's (2004) report, on the other hand, looked at synergies in the school system between the study of English as a first foreign language followed by German as a second foreign language. Collaboration with teachers of other languages would help facilitate this, particularly, as noted by Haukås (2016, p. 13), if teachers recognize the benefits of cross-language collaboration. Longitudinal as well as cross-sectional studies would add to knowledge in this area and allow conclusions to be drawn on the different proficiency levels at which engagement with plurilingual pedagogies of different kinds appears most helpful to the learner.

In addition, further research into teaching materials, and course textbooks that can help teachers adopt a more plurilingual approach in the classroom would be helpful. Research into the kinds of Information and Communication Technologies that are required to support endeavours of this kind where a decision is made to situate such exercises within a virtual learning environment is needed. This would help to address some of the logistical challenges associated with the grouping of the appropriate students during often limited class contact time.

In relation to proficiency levels, more information is needed on the optimum or indeed minimum proficiency levels required for one language to act as the medium for the acquisition of an additional language. Information of this kind would allow universities to determine appropriate minimum entry requirements in the language which is the medium of instruction for those students interested in studying an additional foreign language through this medium.

It is also important that the impact of linguistic diversity in the classroom on the teaching and learning of additional foreign languages should not be divorced from the associated impact of cultural diversity. One issue concerns an assumption of knowledge of local culture as discussed previously. It is also important to consider

learner preferences, diverse learning styles and the different learner expectations which sometimes accompany international students in particular (see Sudhershan and Bruen 2015 for further discussion of this issue).

The importance of a greater understanding of the impact of diversity within the language learning environment and context in informing policy making is highlighted here, and stressed by May as follows:

> It is only from an informed research base, which in turn directly influences language educational policy development, that further progress can be made on realigning the predilection to monolingualism that still so dominates public policy on language education (2014, p. 234).

May's reference to public policy is an important one. While recognising that much is yet to be learned, the field is nonetheless now able to make evidence-based recommendations in terms of the development of languages-in-education policy and higher education policy more generally. These include the following:

Many of those involved in designing and delivering degree programmes and modules in foreign languages engage with continuous professional development (CPD) in their field. It is important that such CPD should include awareness raising exercises around the concept of a 'monolingual mindset' as well as a grounding in the key concepts relating to plurilingual pedagogies and their implementation in the classroom.

A similar point can be made in relation to Initial Teacher Education as it relates to the education of teachers to teach languages at primary and secondary level within school systems. Research has repeatedly indicated that, without effective education and training, the way in which they were taught is an important influence on how many teachers teach (Oleson and Hora 2014).

There is a danger that this could perpetuate a 'monolingual mindset' which stands in direct contradiction to the information on language learning emerging from the literature. Indeed, Haukås (2016, pp. 2–3) goes so far as to say that language teachers ought to be able to address a number of requirements, such as: be multilingual themselves and thus serve as models for their learners; have well developed cross-linguistic and metalinguistic awareness; they should be *au fait* with research on multilingualism, and know how to encourage this in their learners; they should also be sensitive to individual learners' cognitive and affective differences; and they should be willing to collaborate with other language teachers in order to enhance learners' multilingualism.

Finally, the issues discussed in the previous sections highlight the considerable degree of complexity associated with the teaching of foreign languages in universities. The growth in linguistic diversity adds an additional layer of complexity. If plurilingual pedagogies are to be implemented effectively, a great deal of student interaction in small groups supported by language lecturers is required. Such intensive approaches require a manageable student: lecturer ratio. In the face of superdiversity, it is important that this be recognized in higher education sector, and beyond.

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Chapter 9
New Students, New Institutions: Challenges for Academic Legitimation and Social Sustainability of Intercultural Universities in Mexico

Sylvie Didou Aupetit

9.1 Introduction

In Mexico, in the first decade of this century, the 'conventional' higher education institutions – public, private and non-profit – began designing programmes of scholarships, pedagogical support, remedial actions, tutorials and entry quotas, specifically aimed at the indigenous population. The government, together with the provincial state authorities, opened institutions of higher education, specifically or predominantly targeting indigenous peoples. The purpose common to both types of initiative was to improve equity, because the average rates of access to, and graduation from, higher education among young indigenous people were below the national average. Another aim was that graduates coming out of these programmes and institutions would return to their home communities and intervene proactively in the development of these communities.

When it began, the system of intercultural higher education (SESI is the Spanish acronym) had the backing of various figures in society, non-profit organizations, ethnic organizations and international bodies, albeit in pursuit of different values. To justify their alliances, they posited moral arguments (contribution to social justice, paying a historical ethnic debt to the indigenous people), political arguments (re-stabilization of the country in line with the San Andrés Accords agreed with the EZLN [Zapatista Army for National Liberation]), or economic ones (overcoming the breach of extreme poverty).

The current discussion herein sets out from the hypothesis that, after a period of grace, the SESI's visibility and potential for innovation have eroded. The system's results are not clear, some inter-sectorial agreements have turned out to be

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inconsistent, and foreign sponsors providing external funding have withdrawn, arguing that it is time interested local players took responsibility for the enterprise. The SESI in Mexico thus finds itself in a delicate situation, and the system's social, political and academic relevance has diminished. Furthermore, because of the degree to which they have become institutionalized, complete with regulations for operation, evaluation and accountability, the IUs have become more and more bureaucratic. They now devote less energy to devising creative solutions to their own very particular issues, and more to complying the external norms and exigencies of auditing imposed by the federal administration and local sponsors that fund them. They confront organizational rigidity, excessive bureaucratic controls for administrative accountability and constrictive rules on budgetary and extra-budgetary funding. The intrusion of the Treasury Department and the 'dictatorship of indicators' are two of the main obstacles to the installation of innovative practices, connected with student's profiles.

In this paper, we analyze the extent to which the IUs and programmes for indigenous students have different aims: whilst some provide support in the form of maintenance grants – and do so on a large scale, to individuals who are vulnerable economically or because of their cultural diversity – others channel resources to future members of an elite originating from groups deemed marginalized in their opportunities. We will also look at how these new initiatives have increased the number of indigenous professionals and the repercussions for ethnic leaderships. Lastly, we conclude with reflections on the involvement of international bodies in SESI consolidation, whether for philanthropic, strategic or profit-making motives.

9.2 Intercultural Higher Education: A Heterogeneous Field

The sub-system of ethnically-based higher education came into existence during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Such institutions formed one link in a chain of progressive diversification of higher education establishments, initiated at the start of 1990 when the government first created Technological Universities. This new link translated into traditional programmes focussing on indigenous students at conventional universities, whether private (of a religious affiliation – e.g. ITESO in Guadalajara, or business-based – UDLAP in Puebla) or public, but without any view to affirmative action – however, it also translated into innovative actions. For instance, between 2004 and 2013, through its *Programa Universitario México Nación Multicultural* (University Programme, Mexico a Multicultural Nation), the UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) provided bursaries for 600 students, mostly in undergraduate degrees, with 129 graduating between 2007 and 2013 (UNAM 2016). Similarly, ANUIES (National Association of Universities and Institutions of Higher Education) co-ordinated PAEIIES (Programme of Attention to Indigenous Students at Institutions of Higher Education), with funds provided by the Ford Foundation. PAEIIES sought to provide support to indigenous students enrolled in undergraduate degrees, to help them overcome academic obstacles that

would otherwise hold them back or induce them to drop out. In its 10 years of existence (2001–2010), PAEIIES expanded to operate in 24 higher education institutions in 18 federal states. Support was provided to 17,015 students: 2677 completed the course but failed to graduate and 1004 more graduated. The other 13,334 students has not finished yet theirs studies or their situation was not clearly documented, at the time of research (Didou and Remedi 2015). A third body, CIESAS (Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology), co-ordinated the International Fellowship Programme, also with resources from the Ford Foundation, awarding 250 postgraduate scholarships (despite applications from 1320 candidates). This resulted in 150 graduates by 2010 from both Mexican and foreign institutions, mainly at master's degree level (Navarrete 2011).

Beyond these programmes, provision for indigenous students has depended essentially on the IUs plus some private establishments that focus on vulnerable groups (Universidad de la Tierra [University of the Earth] in Chiapas and Oaxaca, Ayuuk University in Oaxaca), technological higher education system, predominantly decentralized technological institutes and agrarian universities. The IUs have remained the responsibility of CGEIB (General Co-ordination of Bilingual and Intercultural Education), a government agency created by president Fox on January 22, 2001. This agency's remit was to provide indigenous young people with opportunities for access to, and graduation from, higher education.

CGEIB sought input on the IU project from researchers, indigenous leaders and both national and international experts, mainly from UNESCO's IESALC (International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean). It set out that its mission was to ensure a genuine pedagogical project, by adopting an intercultural approach on learning. Its vision embraces an equitable and respectful treatment between all Mexicans. The central value is the respect of the cultural identity and diversity of students in the context of quality education. The objectives consist of developing skills for civic participation and mutual understanding, providing appropriate conditions for knowledge acquisition, offering guidance to teachers and authorities in these areas, consolidating an educational learning community that includes parents and follows quality criteria for intercultural education (e.g. relevance, efficiency, equality, effectiveness).

The first IU was inaugurated in September 2004, in the State of México, with funds provided by the Federal Government and state authorities (Schmelkes 2006:12). By 2017–18, the system of intercultural universities totalled 12 institutions, in almost all regions of the country inhabited by large indigenous populations, except Yucatán and Campeche. Some were founded in line with already established blueprints; and others that previously existed, were incorporated into CGEIB, one such being the Indigenous University of Mochicahui, now named Autonomous Indigenous University of Sinaloa, the largest institution in the system. In this year, the total undergraduate enrolment at 11 institutions (lacking information on Nayarit Intercultural University) was 14,682 students, 45.6% of them women compared with 50.8% in the HES. Development of postgraduate study is still in its initial stages, and still mainly comprises master's degrees. The IUs, being local establishments, have enrolled young people, whether indigenous or not, who are resident in

the 41 municipalities where the IUs and their deconcentrated campuses are situated and the overall target of 70% indigenous students in intercultural system has almost been met--ANUIES 2018.

Even though the data emerging from these programmes and the IUs is not comparable, it does nevertheless reveal a significant presence of students from indigenous groups hailing from Chiapas and Oaxaca, both of which provincial states are home to large indigenous populations but have produced low numbers of qualified indigenous professionals. The data indicates that pupils are taking degree courses across the whole range of subjects, with a certain preponderance in some areas (health and agricultural sciences, anthropology, sustainable development, pedagogy), and this denotes an incipient diversification of the professional profiles among graduates. Lastly, the IUs and ethnically-based programmes have indeed contributed to augmenting the size of this population group in overall enrolment. Even though the information, almost non-existent in 2001, continues to be poor in quality and barely reliable in 2017, it does nevertheless demonstrate that the percentage of indigenous students in higher education rose from 1% in 2003, to 3% in 2010 (Tuirán 2011). However, that estimate is not unanimously agreed upon. Records at national level are different depending on the definition of indigenous students used: self-description, basic native language proficiency, household composition, residence place. Although the Mexican Ministry of Public Education integrates each year Fact Sheets (F-911) and requests from higher education institutions the data on students who are native speaker of an indigenous language, its reliability is not high, especially in the case of universities and technological institutions without programmes aimed especially at the identification and support of this sector.

A large proportion of this increase had come from the IUs. Today, they enrol about one in four students self-identified as indigenous in 2016–17. Notwithstanding this quantitative result, IUs face the following worrying issues: a relative stagnation of demand in the second decade of the millennium, the selection of IUs as second or third options, and high attrition rates. They also do not guarantee good job conditions of teachers due to insufficient attractiveness as a working place to develop a professional academic career.

9.3 The Social Responsibility of Intercultural Universities

One of the distinguishing features of the IUs is their mission to deliver on certain social goals: first and foremost, to take in a vulnerable population, and additionally to contribute to local development and rescuing autochthonous languages.

With the aim of positioning themselves as institutions which are sensitive to the particular learning situation of their students, the IUs have promoted pedagogical innovations in their plans and programmes, such as individualized tutoring, remedial courses, practices of peer-teaching, inclusion of autochthonous knowledge. To sustain these, the IUs have developed special research and monitoring capabilities, mainly in relation to the students and to the results of the IUs' initial didactic and

organizational proposals. Studies on the learning process have highlighted the fact that the principal difficulties indigenous students experience are due to a lack of argumentative and communication skills (mainly in logic, and in how to express themselves orally and in writing), and to a deficit of basic disciplinary knowledge. The studies add the following as explanatory factors: the passage of these students through poor quality schools, whether indigenous or urban schools located in the poorer neighbourhoods; differences between the culture at the higher education institutions and that of the students' home environment and background; and the issue of low self-esteem which is particularly pronounced among female students.

Studies have also identified some innovative practices engendered at the IUs: these relate to the production of teaching materials, to experimentation with teaching schemes focused more on practice than on theory, and a larger oral component. Nevertheless, in the main, actions to bring students up to the level required have tended to focus on helping the students acquire competences seen as 'missing', rather than on accessing the students' own social and educational capital and drawing that out into the academic culture. By the same token, psychological and medical interventions have sought to promote greater self-esteem and better overall health, addressing what was described as 'lacking' in these young people. In general, the interventions were of a conventional type focussing only on the students. Indeed, some teachers have complained on several occasions that, even when they themselves are skilled in their profession in general terms, the teaching scheme for indigenous students requires additional specialized training to equip them to perform in scenarios of interculturality of which they had had no previous experience.[1]

Additionally, as well as demonstrating a sense of social duty towards their indigenous students, the IUs have taken on other responsibilities to forge links with their local surroundings, and this in a national framework of evaluation and accreditation in which they have to build their legitimacy and to attract progressively more external financial resources. In this setting, universities worried more about quality than equity. They have implemented novel practices, periods of social service in indigenous and rural communities and projects of applied research. The students and their tutors have worked together to resolve specific problems (delimitation of indigenous lands, documentation of rights, legal aid, advice on production methods), defined as such by the communities requesting intervention. Similarly, the IUs have also provided technical support, mainly in engineering, agronomy, health, environmental sciences and law; and through brigades, they have also provided instruction of various sorts, via workshops and short courses, on nutrition, health, preservation of the environment and improving the quality of life of their workshop participants generally.

For the IUs now to be able to provide these services, they first had to carry out fieldwork. Even though the IUs established social circuits for knowledge distribution with new counterparts, the times for delivery and schemes for circulating said knowledge have been controlled by internal regulations set by the institution, rather

[1] Interviews carried out with support from CONACYT Research Project 152581_S.

than being responsive to the needs of receivers. By the same token, the exchange has tended to be hierarchical, situating those possessing this type of knowledge in positions of inferiority vis-à-vis those possessing institutionally validated 'scientific' knowledge (understood in its widest sense). In sum, the higher education institutions, including the intercultural institutions, proposed applying already-proven solutions to ethnic groups, the efficacy of which had already been demonstrated. They have adopted a stance of transmitting knowledge, rather than working in partnership to generate hybrid, participatory solutions to issues emerging out of the locality. And given they have operated based on 'bridging' (connectivity between intrinsically unequal and different parties),[2] the sustainability of their responses, in terms of applied research, technical supplies or specific training, has been low or median at best, most of all in remote communities where their stay has been sporadic and not ongoing.

By contrast, where the IUs have been most successful is in the rescue of indigenous languages. Several IUs, for example in Chiapas, have produced learning manuals, dictionaries or grammars. This is enormously valuable given that significant numbers of the general population who define themselves as indigenous, and of indigenous students enrolling at universities, no longer speak their original language. This is particularly acute where there has been intergenerational migration to the cities. In 2005, INALI (National Indigenous Languages Institute) registered a total of 68 linguistic groups across the country with 364 varieties. Of these varieties, 64 are at risk of disappearing altogether because each of these languages is spoken by fewer than 100 persons (Embriz and Zamora 2012, p. 29 y ss). To reverse this situation, the IUs offer a degree course entitled 'Language and Culture', to enable graduates to find employment in niches that value Spanish-indigenous language bilingualism (indigenous radio, legal translation). However, this effort to institutionalize processes of revitalization for the indigenous languages contrasts with the situation at traditional universities where 'indigenous languages' courses lack any curricular value, even as optional credits.

In addition, the IUs have had to reflect on, and now have experience in, how to select which indigenous language or languages to teach in zones where different ethnic groups co-exist, in an environment of internal power-relationships stratified by culture (in the states of Chiapas, Michoacán or Veracruz, for instance). For this purpose, they have discussed teaching practices designed to encourage re-acquisition of linguistic competences, both oral and written. In parallel, they have investigated how they might recruit knowledgeable indigenous people as professors,

[2] '*Bonding* is what reinforces ties between homogeneous groups based on exclusive identities (determined by factors of ethnicity, class or social situation, occupation, brotherhood, oaths of loyalty, religious belief, etc.). The ties and solidarity mechanisms are strong for those who share the characteristics, but at the same time very exclusive towards anyone not sharing them. Examples of *bonding* would be those that generate organizations of ethnic or national fraternity, such as immigrant groups … Just as *bonding* is very efficient at strengthening solidarity and reciprocity among its members, *bridging* is very efficient at facilitating access to resources or external assets, outside our circle or culture' (Segura 2011, p. 3).

independently of whether or not they are formally certified as such, employing them on equal terms regarding salary and status as their colleagues teaching the more widely-recognized foreign languages.

9.4 The Formation of Indigenous Cadres, Leaders and Intellectuals

There is no doubt the IUs and ethnically-based higher education programmes have contributed to strengthening indigenous professional and intellectual elites.[3] In 2000, the National Population Census registered 99,899 indigenous professionals, and 142,815 in 2010. Of these, 7.2% and 10% in the respective groups had earned master's degrees or doctorates (Gallardo 2011; Sandoval and Montoya 2013). Despite this rise, indigenous peoples still only make up 1.6% of the total population aged between 20 and 24 who have higher education (37,527 out of 2,145,118) (SEP-CGEIB 2014). If these shortfalls are to be resolved, the government and other organizations that have supported SESI during the past decade and a half, will have to continue doing so. It would also mean SESI making it a top priority to promote more effective indigenous leadership and greater awareness-raising of the collective issues facing this group.

Despite the fact that researchers, most of all anthropologists, have taken an interest in the training of indigenous professionals (González 2008; López 2011), few have analyzed how the IUs and ethnically-based programmes have contributed to the emergence of indigenous leaders who are 'better prepared to engage in dialogue on equal terms with the representatives of the government and civil society' (Levil 2011 n.p.). Even fewer have studied how female university graduates have moved up the ladder in their chosen professions, beyond those who have written biographies or life-stories of 'exceptional cases', mostly about women leaders in the political arena (Molina 2016).

Turning to approaches that deal with the sociology of young people, power, labour and networks, some topics still to be researched are:

- Is the expansion of an educated elite generating fractures with traditional indigenous leaders (e.g. teachers and community leaders)?
- Has the arrival of this group into leadership functions modified political behaviour patterns and ways of negotiating, whether internal or external, framed within the structure of client-type cultures?

[3] 'directors and intellectuals of this type already existed in the first half of the XX century, but they constitute a very small segment, made up of teachers, graduates from the *Normal* colleges, writers and some poets. Currently, this group is more numerous and complex since it has been joined by intellectuals trained in other areas of knowledge, mainly the humanities and social sciences, and who have specialized in research work' (Zapata 2005, p. 16).

- Have the IUs and ethnically-based programmes in higher education managed to train graduates whose professional trajectories are consistent with their level of education?
- What are the forms of collective organization, with professional or political aims, whether national or international, that the indigenous professionals utilize to augment their social capital (professional bodies, ex-alumni associations, networks, etc.)?

Several of the intercultural universities in Chiapas and Puebla have attempted to compile internal databases on the employment trajectories of their former pupils. In 2015, the Veracruz Intercultural University convened a national meeting of graduates. By the same token, one thesis (Méndez 2012) and some articles (Mateos 2015) have been written on the professional inroads being made by IU graduates. However, despite all these attempts, the information about graduates, their employment destinations, ethnic commitments and strategies for individual promotion and/or community representation, continues to be insufficient. This is unfortunate because it is hampering the documentation of situations which otherwise might validate the IUs as new institutions within a national educational field where, recurrently, questions are asked about the quality of training processes and the employment opportunities open to graduates.

9.5 The Role of Aid Agencies and International Organizations in Ethnically-Based Higher Education: An Increasingly Problematic Theme

Some studies have focussed on the role played by international organizations and aid agencies in the structuring of higher education projects aimed at the indigenous population (Cortina 2012). Others have traced the international migration of concepts such as interculturality (Mateos and Dietz 2014). In concrete terms, such studies have analyzed how these organizations have managed to maintain wide-reaching support programmes, by involving institutions or the elite, and awarding scholarships to individuals considered the most worthy (Didou 2013).

International aid agencies, mainly from the United States and the European Union, have developed quantitatively diminished initiatives, focussed on the formation of elite groups: these agencies have provided bursaries, whether by membership of an indigenous group or having the community put forward candidates, based on academic performance or the previous occupation of candidates, to positions of ethnic leadership. They have been significant however, in generating highly qualified professionals, with competences and skills acquired during stays abroad, in disciplines in which the command of certain technical knowledge enabled them to occupy positions of intermediation or political representation for their group of origin on the national stage. One such example is the programme for leadership training in indigenous rights at the Charles III University in Madrid, Deusto University

in Bilbao, and the University of Seville in Spain, sponsored by the United Nations and the European Union (Góngora 2013).

These programmes, more than promoting recognition of individual and collective 'otherness' in terms of institutional policy, have made the formation of new social elites their objective. They have identified promising individuals who are considered capable of internalizing the skills, knowledge and behaviours of Westernized elites, based on meritocracy or social commitment. Potentially, programme beneficiaries then go on to become the intermediaries at negotiations between indigenous communities, national societies and international bodies.

Whilst the IUs have devoted themselves to the training of professionals and mid-level cadres, these 'Cadillac programmes' – the description used by the programme officer of the Fulbright Foundation's indigenous leaders programme (Didou and Oviedo 2013) – have made an impact in renewing the top of the indigenous intelligentsia, taking advantage of territorial and symbolic autochthonous resources. They have invited their graduates to join mutual support networks[4] to sustain dynamics of identity renovation and other supportive interactions among peers. Indeed, the mobilization of an 'autochthonous social capital' has tended to lessen the feeling of socio-educational exclusion among graduates, to vindicate the graduates' own culture, and overcome a situation of marginalization and vulnerability (Renahy 2010). Founded on the idea of similarity and 'bonding' (forging links between attributively similar peers), these networks have induced their members to rethink the indigenous question (López and Alcaide 2011), in perspectives of re-ethnification more connected to 'the reality itself of the otherness. In this context, indigenous intellectuality has begun to express itself and put forward (its own) proposals' (Canales 2014, p. 60).

International organizations and aid agencies have provided not only individual but institutional benefits too. The National Pedagogical University (UPN) Ajusco Campus has taught a diploma course on intercultural bilingual education, with funds provided by the IUO (Inter-American University Organization) and the College of the Americas (Didou 2014b, p. 69). However, as so often whoever holds the purse-strings also calls the tune, critics of these organizations have condemned the fact that income from international aid has resulted in Mexican higher education institutions implementing pre-formatted activities, rather than mutually negotiating activities with their users. The funds provided by international organizations have thus acted to curtail the possibility of driving emancipatory intercultural projects based on a dynamic of decolonializing knowledge (Baronnet 2013).

Nevertheless, the most virulent criticism of the role played by international organizations concerns the extraction of autochthonous knowledge, via applied research projects, for commercial gain. The private appropriation of knowledge belonging to indigenous communities is a subject that is currently receiving much attention in studies being carried out in Mexico, mainly in the area of health, and it is a fact that

[4] *Red Interdisciplinaria de Investigadores de los Pueblos Indígenas del IFP* (IFP Interdisciplinary Network of Researchers into the Indigenous Peoples), Fulbright graduates' network.

several IUs have formed research teams looking into intercultural health. For example, the Intercultural Health Network of the Intercultural University of the State of Mexico has forged links with institutions in India, Nicaragua and El Salvador (Didou 2014a); and the Center for Intercultural Health at the Mayan Intercultural University of Quintana Roo has received grants from the Kellogg Foundation (Rosado-May and Osorio 2014). Even though few studies have so far considered the application of results, and eventually patents, which these collaborations might lead to in the long run, the collaborations themselves are a burgeoning concern because of the agreements underwriting them and their insertion into South-South or South-North aid frameworks.

9.6 Conclusions

IUs face similar issues to those confronting Mexican higher education institutions of any kind due to the imposition of schemes of bureaucratic, nonstrategic regulation within a general organizational framework that inhibits innovation and encourages routine behaviours.

They must also solve particular challenges owing to their ethnic makeup, with permanent tensions between the compensatory, affirmative action and attention to diversity in a problematic context. In fact, since its inception, the CGEIB has failed to agree on common positions on the treatment of 'diversity', the status of indigenous knowledge, links with the community and participation of indigenous actors: those objectives are constantly being redefined, creating uncertainty among actors: the successive re-conceptualizations demonstrate a process of intellectual thinking but also political imperatives.

As 'alternative' institutions, they must also demonstrate that they are innovative. They have to justify themselves in the field of higher education (mainly in pedagogy and in relation to the production of knowledge). They have to gain social legitimacy, in a national context where racism is naturalized, beyond ideologies (the 'Bronze Race' or 'Cosmic Race', as the Mexican writer José Vasconcelos in 1925 termed the Ibero-American population) and where the implementation of ethnically-based actions have not only come late, but also raise doubts and criticism. They have to deal with controversial notions such as cultural diversity (versus social exclusion) and challenge problematic situations such as the commercial appropriation of autochthonous knowledge by private and transnational groups through patents.

In this matter, IUs must demonstrate their relevance and originality. Overall, they can indeed be said to have produced beneficial effects. However, as they always run the risk of becoming spaces of ghettoization (Wacquant 2012),[5] they tend to sideline young people into questioning on their own ethnic definition of themselves as

[5] Defined as a cultural or knowledge sum of values, symbols and ways of thinking that explain the vulnerability of a social group and the systematic reduction of the space and opportunities of its members (Wacquant 2012).

indigenous peoples, in addition to any other personal and social identities they may have, by means of affirmation procedures as a collective ‘us’.

That said, the IUs still need to do a better job of promoting the autochthonous knowledge dissemination they have designed, along with their schemes to guarantee that graduates do actually master the academically validated knowledge intrinsic to their professional profiles. This without implying any rupture with their originating cultures, and independently of any ethnic commitment undertaken by the individuals themselves. The IUs also need to deepen further and systematize their reflection on ethnically-based higher education in Mexico, especially the new ways in which IUs have affected knowledge distribution, and generated innovative models in the field of education.

In a strategic perspective, they must solve points of conflicts. The main are political and linked with the interference of local and federal authorities – which fund 50% of IUs – in decision-making or selection of teachers and designation of institutional authorities. Others are intellectual. First, who thinks about indigenous issues today? Anthropologists and ethnologists, or indigenous graduates themselves, trained at national and international universities, with a purpose of ethnic affirmation and political/social empowerment, are in uneasy dialogues. Second, in what way do IU graduates participate in the reorganization and reconfiguration of indigenous elites, which, in turn, generates tensions between traditional leaders, rooted in communities, and emergent ones, characterized by their educational attainment? Finally, they have to deal with the lack of internal norms and procedures, in terms of the representation and participation of students and their families in the decisions that concern them. They need to define a suitable quality assurance model with indicators designed for the IUs and make the results of evaluations (self-assessment/experts/researchers) transparent to identify positive and negative results; in an ideological context in which discourses on HEI remain polarized according to the perspective held. Many research projects are partisan, either for or against, and neutrality is difficult. A future agenda on intercultural education must address curricular as well as political issues, elaborate systematically follow-up of graduates and inform who are the actors of IUs (level of education, ethnic and community commitment, command of an indigenous language) and what specific training teachers have received in the context of their professional practice.

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Chapter 10
Lifelong Learning in Multicultural Brazil: Challenges for Higher Education

Ana Ivenicki

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how lifelong learning and adult education have been conceived in political and policy discourse in Brazil, particularly focusing on the potential role of higher education. The meaning of these two expressions have yielded different perceptions and interpretations. Drawing on Slowey and Schuetze (2012), lifelong learning in a higher education context comprises four main concepts, involving: the life stage of the learner (age at entry to higher education, older than the average); mode of study (including e-learning, students studying on part-time or flexible bases); type of programme (a continuing professional development orientation); and organization of provision (open universities and centres for continuing education).

However, in Latin America, the expression 'adult education' refers mainly to primary and secondary educational provision for adults with minimal levels of literacy- most of whom who dropped out of the initial education system. In contrast, the expression 'lifelong learning' tends to be met with some suspicion amongst adult educators in Brazil as being more associated with neo-liberal and market-orientated perspectives. The argument in this chapter is that lifelong learning should not be reduced to such perspectives, but rather that it can offer an opportunity for a framework that incorporates – and is not reduced to – the remedial perspective embedded in the term 'adult education'. The relevance of this study is its potential to contribute to analysis of the thinking behind policies that are implemented in Brazil concerning adult education, with a particular focus on access for indigenous sections of the population.

In order to develop the argument, the chapter utilises documentary analysis methodology to make a critical analysis of narratives in central policy documents

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produced in recent years, namely: the Brazilian National Plan for Education (Brazil 2014), which delineates Goals for education in Brazil for the next 10 years; and articles presented by scholars of higher education institutions (HEIs) who were invited by government to present their ideas about that field of research so as to contribute to the formulation of policies in adult education. These papers were presented at the Conference for Lifelong Learning and Adult Education – CONFINTEA 2016 (Brazil 2016). This international conference was hosted by the Brazilian Government in partnership with UNESCO and geared towards discussing lifelong learning (using epistemological and practical frameworks) along with the potential contribution of higher education.

The analysis of the narratives within these policy papers address the extent to which the terms 'adult education' and 'lifelong learning' have been a territory of debate in the thinking behind those Brazilian political discourses, particularly suggesting that higher education strategies and extension projects could move that debate beyond entrenched dichotomies. Also, this chapter stresses the importance of the fact that higher education scholars researching adult education and lifelong learning were invited to contribute to a conference in this field, and their subsequent strong input to the final policy document concerning this issue. The chapter concludes by presenting possibilities for higher education to enhance lifelong learning through a multicultural approach, so as to contribute to education that promotes the valuing of diversity in an increasingly multicultural world.

10.2 Multicultural Perspectives in the Context of Brazil Adult Population

Amongst many conceptions of multiculturalism, for purposes of this chapter it is defined as a set of strategies that can blend scholarship and action to improve the lives of marginalized groups, by responding to the need for inclusion (Banks 2016; Canen 2009; King 2016; Warren and Canen 2012). Ng and Bloemroad (2015) contend that much of the rhetoric and debates surrounding multiculturalism can be attributed to how it is understood and implemented, and whether it is successful in achieving its explicit or implicit objectives. Multiculturalism is generally perceived as moving within a continuum from more liberal, folkloric approaches (in which multiculturalism is understood as the valuing of cultural diversity that tends to emphasize e.g. holidays, black consciousness days, recipes and rituals from diverse cultures), to more critical perspectives that stress the need for interrogating prejudices and unfair power relations that marginalize identities on the basis of race, gender, social class, religion, culture, language and other markers of identity (Ivenicki 2015; Ivenicki and Xavier 2015). Colonization and its ensuing policies that operate in terms of control and denial of pluralism have also been discussed in multicultural decolonial paradigms such as those proposed by Assié-Lumumba

(2017), and are considered central in order to conceive alternative ways to promote democratic and plural education.

As argued by Nesbit (2015), throughout the world, more people from more diverse sectors are participating in social protests, about issues such as indigenous peoples' and immigrants' rights, women, labour and workers' concerns, LGBT+ issues, disability and other concerns, which impact adults and their learning. In Brazil, as suggested by Canen (2012), it is important to note that the educator Paulo Freire has been central to reconfiguring the idea of teaching for cultural diversity in adult education, taking into account generative themes issued from the marginalized adults' lives as the cornerstone of transformative adult education in Brazil. His influence on multicultural thinking has been recognized in many countries as he epitomized the idea that it is possible to promote adult education and pedagogy that build on oppressed groups' world views and promote constructive possibilities for a society that is fairer to all groups, and that does not exclude those with plural, marginalized cultures and world views from the educational system.

The multicultural nature of the adult population of Brazil is evident in its diversity. Brazil has a population of almost 208 million people, making it the largest in South America in terms of both geographical area and population. Its cultural diversity can be perceived not only from the fact that it has seen waves of immigration throughout its history (including Europeans, Japanese, Chinese), and Africans bought for slavery until 1888, but also the local indigenous population that lived in Brazil for millennia before 1500, when the Portuguese arrived. Nowadays, indigenous peoples are represented by more than 240 ethnicities with their own different cultures and languages, with a total estimated population of 900,000 people. Also, over the last 10 years, the number of immigrants has increased 160%, comprising particularly people from Haiti, Bolivia, and more recently from Venezuela, most fleeing from dire economic conditions and looking for better lives in Brazil. Black people represent 54% of the population, and there are more than 30 million elderly people (this latter group having increased by more than 50% in the last 10 years).

There is evidence of considerable educational inequality in Brazil. More than 81 million people aged 18 years old and over have not completed secondary schooling, of which 58 million have not even finished primary education, and 13 million who are not able to read or write. Furthermore, 41.5 million Brazilians aged 18 years old and over are regarded as functionally illiterate (Brazil 2016). As contended elsewhere (Ivenicki 2015), the multicultural and unequal population profile may explain why adult education in Brazil has been associated with a compensatory, remedial perspective- geared mainly towards adults who have not acquired basic literacy and numeracy skills.

The diverse nature of Brazilian society can also be perceived in terms of the results of educational policies across the different states. Carnoy et al. (2017) illustrate how local, municipal and state spheres in Brazil may produce different educational results depending on local conditions. The authors argue that in diverse countries with federal systems as Brazil, an appreciation of subnational state differences in educational reforms is necessary for national and international comparisons. In political terms, Brazil has been a federal country since 1988, when the

Brazilian constitution was developed in the aftermath of the demise of military dictatorship in 1985. In this form of democracy, the central governing authority shares its power (including that of issuing educational policies) with political units that 'are bound together by a constitution that spells out the rights and obligations of the constituent members' (Carnoy et al. 2017, p. 727). In terms of education, the Conselho Nacional de Educação – the National Council of Education (CNE) (composed of 24 members, half of them having been chosen by educational associations through lists of names sent to the Ministry of Education, responsible for the final choice, and the other half chosen at the discretion of the Presidency of the Republic) – has the mission to review educational projects and reforms, and help the Ministry of Education to make decisions.

Concerning inequality, it is recognized within government policy documents that

> there still lingers the persistence of inequalities related to social, ethnic, racial, gender, indigenous, black, and ageing groups … that should be considered when talking about adult education in Brazil (Brazil 2016).

That seems to reinforce the need for education within a multicultural perspective, meaning educational measures that value cultural, ethnic, linguistic, age and racial differences, and that are sensitive to the cultures and specificities of those groups. In relation to older people, the International Center of Longevity in Brazil (ILC-BR), highlights the need to take ageing identities into account when thinking about adult education and their access to higher education. Inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro in March 2012, the ILC-BR is defined as a think tank that addresses a full range of strategy issues arising out of population ageing, so as to address inequalities, including educational (Kalache 2012).

The above emphasizes the need to take into account the diversity of the adult population when thinking about continuing education in the Brazilian context. I contend that universities have a role in helping devise strategies conducive to the successful participation of lifelong learners, including teacher training for working with culturally diverse adults, as well as extension programmes aiming at supporting local educational authorities in developing curricular guidelines geared towards these groups. Because adult education in Brazil is a public policy embraced by the government, Ireland (2012) suggests that policies demonstrate how universities can play a central role in preparing educators and teachers for adult education.

The higher education system in Brazil comprises the following types of higher education institutions: universities; university centres; isolated higher education schools ('grandes écoles'); technology higher education centres; and integrated higher education schools. There are around 6000 public federal and state universities, and 700 city public universities. The private higher education sector is made up of around 6500 nonprofit and 12,000 for-profit higher education institutions. Public, as well as non-profit private universities have been highlighted for their commitment to research, as well as to teaching and to society at large through their extension projects, which include those geared towards adult education in a remedial perspective.

Taking into account the need to provide wider access to the diverse adult population, Brazilian government instituted public university entrance quotas for black people, indigenous groups and students coming from public primary and secondary schools. Also, the Brazilian government has been implementing a programme (PROUNI) with tax breaks for for-profit private higher education institutions that give scholarships to students that manage to pass the national university entrance exam (ENEM). However, as will be discussed in the next section, there still seems to be room for improvement in that area.

10.3 Lifelong Learning and Adult Education in a Multicultural Perspective: Policy Dilemmas in Brazil

As argued by Slowey and Schuetze (2012), it is important to explore the extent to which lifelong learning may be dominated by a very narrow human capital approach as opposed to the vibrant, critical perspective defended by Paulo Freire and reinforced in multicultural approaches. In the same vein, Nesbit (2015) stresses that we should go beyond the idea that lifelong learning should necessarily be viewed as individually focused and a-contextual, as opposed to adult education that would be perceived as a more inclusive term. That means that both expressions run the risk of being oversimplified and reduced to stereotypes. That view of adult education arguably underscores societies' commitment to long-term educational and social development, and lifelong learning shifting attention away from organized structures of education provision towards marginalized groups. Nesbit (2015) suggests that 'policy documents that conflate adult education and lifelong learning, or view diversity as uncomplicated, cause difficulties …[since] ignoring difference supports already dominant perspectives' (Nesbit 2015, p. 243). In line with this thinking, adult education should arguably be a relevant part within a broader higher education framework of lifelong learning, in a multicultural perspective. Németh (2015) defines such a perspective in terms of an integrated approach to lifelong learning with special concern for the disadvantaged.

While lifelong learning as an explicit paradigm had not been in place in Brazilian education until recently (Canen 2012), it has started to gain prominence both in the National Plan for Education (hereafter referred to as the National Plan) (Brazil 2014) and in the policy documents produced as a result of the debates and articles produced by scholars of higher education in response to the CONFINTEA 2016 conference (Brazil 2016).

An analysis of the narrative of the National Plan shows that adult education in Brazil has been viewed as a responsibility of the Federal Government since the introduction of the National Constitution, in 1988, which considers it to be a way to address persistent high rates of adult illiteracy among the country's disadvantaged groups (Ivenicki 2015).

The National Plan comprises 14 articles in which 20 Goals, and associated strategies, are delineated for 10 years. Those specifically referring to adult education (Goals 3, 8, 9, and 10) emphasize that, in the future, all adults in Brazil should be literate. Thus Goal 9 aims for a literacy rate of 93.5% for all aged 15 years and over by 2024; with complete illiteracy being eradicated and partial illiteracy being reduced by 50% during that period.

Goal 3 addresses the need to universalize primary school for those between 15 and 17 years old with the aim of increasing participation rates in secondary education to 85%; Goal 8 discusses the need to make the average level schooling of white and black people equal. It reinforces the policy that concepts of 'whiteness' and 'blackness' should be based on self-declaration of individuals to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), which has also been the criteria for other measures in Brazil concerning affirmative action, including access to higher education. Even taking into account the dilemmas of such a system, particularly with a large interracial population, which makes it difficult to distinguish between black and white people unambiguously in Brazil (Warren and Canen 2012), it reinforces the multicultural idea embedded in such a narrative.

Two sets of commentaries can also be made about those Goals. Firstly, in terms of their financial feasibility, economic upheavals in the current environment in Brazil may pose challenges for implementation, at least within the intended timelines. Secondly, in terms of adult education and lifelong learning, it should be noted that the analysis of the Brazilian National Plan shows that the expression 'adult education' is used, but no mention of lifelong learning is made.

The argument being made in this Chapter thus seems to hold, namely that adult education is an expression that is politically more acceptable in Brazil than lifelong learning, suggesting that a dichotomy between those concepts still lingers in the narratives of political documents. Noteworthy in this respect is that Goals relating to adult education and those relating to higher education are quite separate. The rationale being the lack of a perceived link between adult education and what universities can, or might do, by, for example, providing programmes that include, but are not limited to, remedial and compensatory literacy and numeracy acquisition. In that sense, the National Plan seems to reinforce a separation of adult education and lifelong learning. The potential ways in which universities might contribute to provision of lifelong learning for adults is thus not addressed.

It is important to note that whereas that separation can be noted in the discourse of the National Plan, documentary analysis of the work produced by higher education scholars invited to contribute to the CONFINTEA 2016 seminar (Brazil 2016) shows both the need, and potential opportunities, to bridge this gap – for example, expansion of part-time and night courses for working adults, as well as adopting affirmative actions, such as quotas for black and indigenous people to better reflect their proportion of the population.

In general, the texts tend to emphasize critical transformative, Freirean and multicultural approaches deemed necessary for adult education in unequal and multicultural contexts such as Brazil, so as to contribute to the development of empowered and autonomous adult citizens, as can be noted below:

> We should understand that we need an ample and decolonized adult education, considering essential aspects, such as: eliminating hierarchies of knowledge; adopting forms of language and methodologies that are according to adults' demands; include people that are experts in their jobs in all educational institutions (Bispo 2016, p. 360, author's translation).

However, a dichotomy between those views and the expression 'lifelong learning' seems to hover in some of those discussions, apparently reinforcing stereotypes related to both, meaning that Brazilian literature concerning lifelong learning still views that expression as associated with more individualist approaches (Nesbit 2015), to the detriment of perceiving its many meanings and possibilities.

> In recent decades, the concept of lifelong learning (inside and outside school) has been adjusted to the economy and the new capitalism, to productivity and to economic growth, to employability and competition. The idea of democracy and transformation … has been weakened (Lima 2016, p. 15, author's translation).

This is useful in that it seems to show that lifelong learning has been viewed as a concept more attuned to neoliberal, market oriented perspectives, by some of the higher education scholars that produced texts related to the conference. That may explain why it is an expression that has been avoided in political narratives in Brazil. The above quotation clearly shows that Lima (2016) considers the term 'lifelong learning' to be associated with economic concepts in such a way that it is perceived as detached from ideas of 'democracy and transformation', which are very strongly valued in Brazil.

Other texts, to a lesser extent, contend that there is a possibility, perceived by higher education scholars, to understand lifelong learning in multicultural approaches that build on cultural specificities and popular knowledge, and serve transformational Goals. For example:

> It seems to be clear that lifelong learning, even when it is linked to the educational system, can still be imbued with the principles of popular education. It could benefit from the enormous richness brought about by that movement down through the decades in Brazil. In that case, the big question is: How can lifelong learning represent a counter-hegemonic education like popular education within a formal, official framework?… In order for lifelong learning to assume the perspective of popular adult education, it will have to break the hierarchy of traditional knowledge and value those of indigenous, quilombolas[1] and other cultural groups (Gadotti 2016, p. 62, author's translation).

As can be noted, the scholarship of adult education and lifelong learning in higher education is not homogeneous, and higher education scholars are somewhat polarized with regard to the interpretation of lifelong learning and its possibility to represent a counter hegemonic, transformative perspective on the education of adults.

Another aspect to be highlighted in those texts is the role of universities in lifelong learning framework or adult education more generally. In fact, the texts that refer to partnerships between universities and actors from civil society tend to be

[1] The descendants of Afro-Brazilian slaves who escaped from plantations that existed in Brazil until the abolition of slavery in 1888.

presented as isolated experiences, albeit implicitly highlighting the role of the former. That is the case, for example, in partnerships between federal universities and the intermunicipal union of workers of civil construction in states of Brazil, where the extension university programmes have aimed both at providing literacy to those workers and competently preparing future teachers to act in a diverse adult education world. Such experiences show the importance of extension projects of higher education in the field of adult and lifelong learning in Brazil.

Looking at the final document produced by the Ministry of Education (with the support of UNESCO) related to the discussions undertaken during the conference (Brazil 2016), it can be noted that lifelong learning in a multicultural, popular education perspective has been the dominant tone. This can be noted in some excerpts:

> Adult education in the perspective of popular education of lifelong learning goes beyond schooling … so as to embrace a more ample concept as regards learning. It should be considered a movement in human formation that begins with the birth and goes on throughout life. It includes the schools, but also the multiple lives and experiences of the subjects. (Brazil 2016, p. 94, author's translation)

In order to achieve this aim, the document strongly embraces a Freirean perspective of critical transformative education, as can be noticed below:

> [Actions should include]: foster the development of curricula based on a Freirean methodology, so as to promote the success of adult learners as free individuals that can value their own life experiences, according to their interests and dispositions; develop differentiated approaches to plural adult subjects, as related to differences of age, regions, cultures or other facts that impinge on different social groups (Brazil 2016, p. 73).

> When we recognize the diversity of adults, as well as the cultural differences in contexts of classrooms and within social relations, we contribute to reaffirm identities in policies related to adult education. [Such a view] fosters political mechanisms in the fight for equality whenever the differences become inequalities. In Brazil, economic and educational inequalities are relevant in terms of gender and ethnicity, and should be taken into account (Brazil 2016, p. 73, author's translation).

Such a tone in the latter document shows that university discussions and studies, as embodied in the higher education scholars' articles analyzed, were indeed taken into account, showing an important link between policy making and higher education, at least at the level of intentions. Also, as a step forward, it should be pointed out that the document recognizes the role of universities in a stronger way than previous policies, within a lifelong learning framework, including its extended perspective in one of its recommendations, as noted below:

> Based on the analysis undertaken, the new vision of adult education proposed here emphasises the need for a process of lifelong learning. That means guaranteeing access and opportunities of learning for all…. [In that sense], federal and other public universities have a central role. We suggest universities create specialised bachelor and pedagogical programs specially geared towards preparing teachers to work in adult education, as well as research projects in the post-graduate sector geared towards that level of teaching…. [We also suggest] the articulation of a large national program of university extension that will allow partnerships to work in literacy programs in regions of Brazil (Brazil 2016, p.94, author's translation).

As gleaned from the documents analyzed, the question of how adult education and lifelong learning have been viewed in Brazil seems to reinforce the perceived need for an inclusive, Freirean and multicultural perspective to serve as a foundation. The research articles were based on scholarship about adult education and lifelong learning, apart from the results of their extension university projects geared towards those adult groups.

Although the role of universities seems to be more explicit in what has been denominated in the Brazilian policies analyzed as 'popular education in a lifelong learning perspective', universities' potential within a lifelong framework still needs to be emphasized. Likewise, more concrete measures seem to be lacking in those documents regarding higher education's impacts on lifelong learning. Some relate to flexibility in admissions, modes of attendance and delivery, flexibility in duration of courses for lifelong learners, and so forth (Osborne and Houston 2012) even though most of these measures are already in place in higher education institutions in Brazil.

In terms of reform of higher education in Brazil, the challenges posed by lifelong learning are not made explicit in the National Plan. However, the fact that the plan highlights the importance of partnerships with municipalities and states to provide continuing teacher education could indirectly impinge on the quality of teachers that work with adult education in primary and secondary levels. At the same time, extension projects developed in the context of partnerships between universities and local authorities seem to be crucial for ensuring that lifelong learning is a framework that goes beyond compensatory teaching processes. For example, one such project relates to a series of workshops with teachers to prepare them for working with gender and sexual diversity. In that kind of project, an interdisciplinary approach has been privileged, with a team of experts coming from education, psychology and medicine. Other extension projects include faculties linked to technological areas that play an important role, in that they provide courses for adults that can better prepare them to face the challenges of working in construction developments with a sound basis, besides increasing their levels of literacy and numeracy.

When looking closely at the Goals referring to higher education in the National Plan, the emphasis on the development of research, on the one hand, and on evaluation (including self-evaluation) could be a stepping stone towards promoting assessment of the extent to which higher education institutions have been committed to lifelong learning strategies. Higher education institutions, particularly federal universities, have in fact increased provision of undergraduate and postgraduate night courses geared towards working adults, added to strategies such as the adoption of ethnic and racial university entrance quotas linked to black, indigenous and economically disadvantaged groups, as well as the mentioned extension projects targeted at teacher continuing education and adults' professional needs- all of which can be considered as crucial contributions to lifelong learning.

A more explicit framework could, however, be present in recent educational policies, particularly though further development of the National Plan in order to challenge stereotypes associated with the expression 'lifelong learning' in Brazil.

10.4 Conclusions

This chapter used a document analysis to understand the thinking behind policies concerning lifelong learning and adult education, in order to understand how they were conceived in political discourses in Brazil, particularly focusing on the role of higher education. The analysis showed that whereas the National Plan does not explicitly mention either lifelong learning or the role of universities in that framework, some of the articles produced within the CONFINTEA conference (Brazil 2016) go further in suggesting possibilities for articulating these concepts. The analysis in this Chapter suggests this is associated with the fact that scholars engaged in research and extension university projects related to adult education and lifelong learning were invited to contribute to the conference.

The final document by the Ministry of Education reflects the influence of these scholars as – albeit in a somewhat subdued and implicit tone- universities' role was recognized in the document produced by the government at the end of the conference (Brazil 2016). This could be an important starting point for a full lifelong learning framework to be developed, highlighting projects and strategies that are already in place in higher education institutions. However, as also noted, the discourses are not homogeneous, some of the higher education scholarship still contending that lifelong learning frameworks should not be adopted because they would allegedly be opposed to multicultural adult education.

As argued by Nogueira (2013), a great challenge to higher education in Brazil is coordinating democratization or social inclusion with academic excellence. Policies that refer to access in higher education, as well as programmes that grant private institutions tax advantages provided they offer scholarships to adult students in need may impact adult education and lifelong learning, by increasing the cohort of adult students from all backgrounds enrolling in higher education.

However, as pointed by Osborne and Houston (2012), many of the elements that should be measured as 'high performance' higher education, such as widening participation and social mobility, services to business and the community and contributions to other services, among others, are absent. Furthermore, the referred authors state that even though policies may foster higher education institutions to improve their lifelong learning provisions, universities are autonomous and policy levers are few.

In the same vein, it should be remembered that institutional evaluation still plays a central role in higher education priorities. Unfortunately, since adult and lifelong learning is not a main assessment indicator, the proportion of those adults that are targeted by higher education extension projects and by facilitated undergraduate access measures, tend to go unrecognized.

It should be pointed out that the recent economic crisis may impact lifelong learning policies and practices as developed in higher education institutions, particularly affecting financing programmes designed to meet the main Goals established both in the National Plan and in the documents referring to the conference (Brazil 2016).

On the other hand, the challenges of stereotypes and the valuing of diversity in Brazil started to emerge in the policy documents as an alternative way to promote a transformative lifelong learning framework within higher education. Whereas that aspect was not present before, the analysis of the narratives within the policies already shows that the expression 'lifelong learning' has been slowly endorsed in ways that take it away from exclusionary market-orientated approaches, which may be seen as a promising road towards multicultural education for all.

Also, it should be stressed that policy texts are intentions embedded in politically and ideologically motivated discourses. Changes in Brazilian politics, as well as the economic crisis meant that calls for government to financially support those intentions should increase. Such political moves should be rooted in the will to move higher education contributions to adult education and lifelong learning towards the centre of debate in Brazil, so as to organize a framework reflective of what higher education can do.

By advancing the possibility of viewing a framework of lifelong learning in a multicultural perspective, educational policies started, arguably, to show that they are starting to go beyond dichotomized approaches hitherto espoused. Such a framework could be a stepping-stone in the way to the valuing of higher education contributions in that field. It could arguably move Brazil to becoming a growing inspiration for other countries, particularly in a scenario where migrations, movements of refugees and other factors have resulted in an international need to encourage higher education institutions to promote education for adults within a lifelong learning framework that values diversity and shuns inequality, in Brazil and elsewhere.

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Chapter 11
Student Demographic Change and Pedagogical Issues in Higher Education

Martha Cleveland-Innes

11.1 Introduction

The need for change in higher education comes from multiple societal shifts and the resulting demand for a more up-to-date higher education. For Broucker et al. (2016), this reform movement is a response to a need or a new public sector, one with more discipline and stricter rules. Others see the need for a more socially appropriate response in education toward the greater good (Williams 2016). There can be debate as to whether, as Kant and Schneewind (2002) argued, universities are in place to assess, develop, and critique knowledge in order to hold society to account. Rather, given significant societal changes, perhaps society now requires more from higher education than a point of reference. Significant changes include, but are not limited to, changing student demographics, global migration, delocalization of education offerings through technology, increased competition for students, twenty-first century skill development, employment sector transformation, increasing accountability requirements, and, most importantly, a call for quality teaching for relevant learning. There is a need to re-conceptualize and re-structure higher education functions and forms, as 'neither the purpose, the methods, nor the population for whom education is intended today bear any resemblance to those on which formal education is historically based' (Pond 2002, p. 1). This chapter suggests that a more contemporary higher education will address the student as an individual as a central mandate, rather than act as a public institution addressing the broader public good.

With a focus on the individual higher education experience itself, we note that a combination of changing student characteristics and rising enrolments has changed,

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and is expected to continue changing, the culture and climate of higher education (Ehlers and Schneckenberg 2010). Adjustments in the university-age cohort and increased participation mean that current enrolment opportunities for prospective students may not be adequate. Since attendance in higher education is no longer reserved for the traditionally-aged 18–22 year-old cohort, demands for programme and course space will continue to increase. With the need for courses and programmes for seniors, lifelong learners, and others with characteristics typically underrepresented in higher education, governments are recognizing that more students with increasingly diverse profiles will seek higher education; current facilities and methods of delivery are unlikely to accommodate these diverse learners (Jones 2014; Oblinger et al. 2001).

This accommodation will vary across types of institutions and has varied across time. According to Schuetze and Slowey in 2002, accommodations for what were called non-traditional students were less likely in traditional universities. Non-traditional students were more often found in 'non-university institutions or programs' (p. 315). With a view to the future, traditional forms of delivery, not usually in line with needs of more diverse learners, can be compared to the needs of lifelong learner in what can be called 'lifelong learning mode' (Schuetze and Slowey 2002, p. 324). A move toward a lifelong learning mode of delivery will address demands for change in higher education, demands coming from government policy and the students themselves. A diverse higher education system will address needs of diverse students and the required competencies in diverse, dynamic societies.

The 'how' of addressing such diversity and implementing a lifelong learning mode is still under discussion. Trowler (2015) suggests that 'chaotic conception of the non-traditional student allows for a construction of an essentialised being whose presence in higher education can be accommodated through carefully choreographed interventions' (p. 308). Jahn et al. (2017) provide an example of two types of non-traditional learners, elite athletes and part-time students, and an accommodation for such unique groups. Both types of students responded well to blended, flipped classrooms; flexible delivery provided through the use of multi-mode teaching and learning, including technology-enabled learning. Definitions matter; the use of non-traditional in reference to students can be confusing. Recent research suggest that technology acceptance varies between traditional and non-traditional students, but definitions in this case don't refer to elite athletes or part-time students, but rather to those outside the traditional university student age range of 18–22 years (Robinson 2018). Non-traditional does not refer to a specific set of demographic characteristics but rather refers to any characteristic outside the traditional, full-time, resident student in young adulthood or directly out of high school.

By further definition, higher education includes colleges, technical schools, teaching universities, and comprehensive, academic research institutions. Although we reference higher education as a general group, the histories and mandates of differing types of higher education institutions have been quite unique. Original universities of the Middle Ages were more homogenous and focused on teaching. Diversity among institutions emerged over time. The debate over the combination of teaching and research in a single role is not new; this discussion emerged with the

structure found at the Berlin University in 1810. This led to a continuing debate over the primary function of what are now called research universities, to distinguish focus from those universities focused on teaching. Whatever the identified focus, the other function is required (Shin et al. 2014). Faculty in teaching institutions are expected to keep up with research in their subject area, and faculty in research institutions are expected to teach. Cummings and Shin (2014) ask 'do these functions reinforce or compete with each other, and might there not be variation depending on a particular institution's mission, the student body composition, or other factors?' (p. 2). They also consider Ernest Boyer's Scholarship Reconsidered as yet another way to create a functional relationship between teaching and research. Here, we consider responses to increased demand for increased focus on students and learning which apply undeniably if not uniquely to teaching and research universities.

Of particular interest here are research-based universities where faculty have changing and complex role sets. In addition, the language of non-traditional students is being set aside to refer to diverse student populations; even those that would have been referred to as traditional in the past as full-time, young adult learners with standard admission qualifications are now diversifying in characteristic and learning needs. The term learner refers to those acting in such a way as to learn. Student refers to the official role of one admitted to formal course or programme in universities. Learner-centered refers to actions taken to focus on the student acting in the role of learner. Student-centered approaches can include learner-centered, and attention to other parts of the role of student beyond learner. As these are embedded concepts, they exist in this discussion uniquely but in relation to one another.

11.2 Changing Student Demographics

As students change, so too will the education structures and practices in order to meet their needs. The population for whom education was intended has changed in dramatic ways since the creation of the often seen lecture-based, transmission model of education delivery in higher education. New student demographics are now an increasing and significant part of the narrative about higher education reform. Using Canada as an example, attention is now paid to the ageing population and other age groups outside the traditional age cohort of university students. Mature, multiple-role, and returning learners are expected to make up the majority. At Athabasca University (AU), Canada's Open and Online University, the average age of students is well above the 'norm' and meeting student expectations is a priority. Since 1970, AU has offered increased access and alternative forms of delivery in response to a student population in need of higher education but unable to access traditional programmes. AU's varied and more flexible study pathways, coupled with more individual and personalized learning, may well be part of the story for more generalized higher education reform in response to widespread demographic change.

Demographic change is occurring in combination with significant increases of the student population on university campuses, particularly since 1980. From a global perspective, this growth has to do with increasing numbers of students around the globe being able to complete high school. In the developed world, demand for highly skilled labour has increased as the workplace becomes more sophisticated and diverse. Emerging technology and the information explosion means change occurs more regularly and at a faster pace. This makes re-schooling a norm; students return to university as the workplace changes and the job requirements in it change. This growth and workplace change has contributed to a richer, more diverse student population.

To respond to this growth and growing diversity, a revised focus to student-centered approaches offering flexible, personalized learning opportunities can address diverse student needs. Flexible learning will be in high demand as mature students enrol and require programmes that allow for the combination of the student role with other roles. At the same time, recent research on faculty roles identifies the need for faculty role change based on changing student characteristics and needs. New ways of learning are viewed in reference to the characteristics of the students at hand and in tandem, with new ways of teaching (Garrison 2017).

A student-centered response requires, among other things, a new focus on learning and learners. While traditional higher education environments focused on development and validation of sound knowledge and the transmission of such, the new higher education will focus on ensuring that sound knowledge is apparent in the learning outcomes demonstrated by the students. Considered a learner-centered or student-centered approach to education, this new way of designing and offering a higher education experience considers the students who participate in the learning experience itself (Cornelius-White 2007). Challenges exist for both roles – those for students and those for faculty. While flexible learning may support students with a range of diverse needs, the more traditional approach of structured, scheduled, face-to-face education delivery can be of benefit, particularly to traditional-age students interested in a residential university experience. In keeping with notions of campus diversity, one size does not fit all (Kehrwald and McCallum 2015).

11.2.1 Responding to Student Diversity

At this moment in higher education, there are opportunities for universities to restructure to meet the needs of a large and diverse population of students. Understanding this diverse population is a first step. No longer can we expect a homogeneous student population of a common age group and life situation or background. A review of demographic history helps identify the trajectory of change. As far back as the 1970s, the common cohort of young adult, residential university student was already changing. So called *commuter students* lived off-campus, often at home. The reduced time on campus limited opportunities to join extracurricular social and academic activities available to those living in residence on campus. This

label of commuter student and this unique experience does not normally apply to those who live in nearby off-campus housing, but more often to those still living at home at some distance from the institution. In other words, commuter student is a surrogate term for those with reduced time and activity on campus outside of class time. This shift changes the development opportunities for higher education students and can have a significant influence on informal and/or extracurricular learning outcomes. Many campuses have programmes in place to remedy this reduction in development opportunities for commuter students, such as clubs and advising centers specific to such students.

As societal norms evolved, *mature students*, or those older than the common 18–22 year-old campus students, began attending higher education institutions in larger and larger numbers. These students are often commuter students, living off-campus at some distance. Their reduction of campus activity has to do with place of residence like other commuter students, but is influenced by additional factors. These mature students are often working while going to school and may have partners and children to support. They are often part-time students, a group that has added to the growing numbers of overall numbers of students in the last three decades.

Harper and Quaye (2015) look beyond age to other student characteristics of gender, race, LGBT, religion, ability/disability, and socioeconomic status. These historically under-represented, sometimes invisible, and often under-served populations are now present on university campuses and are increasing in number. While it is agreed that the impact of higher education is most often positive for all students, greater benefits are available for minority groups. However, realizing these benefits is dependent on the campus response to any inequity in engagement for such groups (Pascarella and Terenzini 2005).

It is the engagement factor that offers equitable access, once a student is admitted. Open and alternative admission policies are key to getting students of diverse groups into the institutions. Accessibility initiatives don't stop there; access will include learning engagement for all. Engagement strategies have a baseline of competencies like understanding language, literacy skills, and social capital. Beyond that, the ability and opportunity to engage may depend on strategies offered on campus. Transgender students, for example, may need social support in the form of supportive peer groups and environments that allow for identity expression regardless of gender or changing gender. Any minority student groups need to engage where explicit and transparent policies are in place regarding non-academic misconduct, like bullying as an example, that keep them safe.

11.2.2 Challenges in the Pedagogical Response to Diversity

Multiple minority groups lead to diversity when looking at the student populations as a whole. Diversity requires engagement structures and processes through student-centered curriculum and pedagogy. How, then, does this diversity effect pedagogy,

or the design and delivery of instruction? Curriculum development and instructional design in any segment of the education begins with a needs analysis. These needs refer to all key stakeholders, the most important of which are the students. Student attributes act as a surrogate variable for characteristics, suggesting how education may need to be shaped depending on, for example, age, gender, family situation, employment rates, and socioeconomic status. In other words, the population of participants, acting in the role of student in higher education, is increasing in diversity. This student diversity requires institutions of higher education to offer a pedagogy that can accommodate the diverse needs of this population.

At the core of institutions of higher education are its faculty members, 'the men and women who devote their lives to the research, teaching, and service missions of higher education institutions' (Scorcinelli et al. 2006, p. xiii). While the quality of higher education is influenced by many factors, its success is related most closely to the work of the faculty: their knowledge, inspiration, drive, and imagination influence not only the status and reputation of the institution and the nature of the research, but the student experiences. By the time a faculty appointment is offered, most appointees in universities have a promising record of research. While many new faculty members will have some experience in teaching, typically inclusive of a teaching dossier outlining lecturing abilities, too many will enter the academy without foundational pedagogical knowledge, often believing that good teaching 'comes naturally' (Beckerman 2010). Recognizing that teaching does not always come naturally for many faculty, institutions of higher education have support units to assist faculty in providing quality teaching.

Less clear is whether these teaching support units are effective at achieving these goals, alongside scant evidence that they make any difference in faculty members' conception of student learning (Gibbs and Coffey 2004, p. 32). Institutions of higher education require faculty who know how students learn. The faculty can, in turn, develop and deliver programmes that prepare students with appropriate knowledge and skill to manoeuvre a changing society (Cleveland-Innes and Emes 2005, p. 15), replete with new ways of learning that will support graduates for a life of super complexity (Barnett 2012). To understand and accommodate student diversity, faculty then will learn about learning in a serious way, inclusive of student learning, and not just about teaching. Faculty members have been known to say that poor learning outcome performance is based on a lack of ability or, where there is adequate competence, a lack of motivation on the part of the student. This can be an example of a delimited faculty approach to interpreting learning outcomes, and a potential lack of understanding of the importance of learning design, learning environments, and teaching strategy (Brownell and Tanner 2012).

There is much more to student success that can be handled in the campus environment. First, important is a view of how faculty apply conceptions about student learning to their instructional knowledge in contemporary higher education. As far back as 2001, Ickenberry identified that higher education faculty need to reconsider 'the way we organize ourselves, our policies, our culture, what faculty do, the way we work, and those we serve' (p. 63). As such, 'traditional teaching methods become questioned as expectations change' (Rienties et al. 2013, p. 123).

A key requirement of teaching and learning now is to address the demands of an increasingly diverse student population, which adds to this complex terrain. 'To be effective, faculty must respond to new plans, support the learning of students with diverse learning needs, and develop curricula and teaching strategies appropriate for a range of learning environments' (Austin and Sorcinelli 2013, p. 87). According to Adomssent (2006), universities will become a 'learning academia' (p. 15); this will require an increase, and perhaps a qualitative change, in conceptions of student learning and applied instructional knowledge. A significant challenge in addressing student diversity is the lack of learning expertise on campus, and the historical lack of attention to expert instructional design.

Currently, the biggest misconception in the academy is that the rewards and responsibilities of being a faculty member consist of a balanced set of activities that include teaching, research, and service (Atkinson 2001). Even before the imposition of technology-mediated learning, both excellence in teaching *and* research were difficult to achieve. Fairweather's (2002) research suggests that new demands about teaching quality will make it even more difficult for academics to be exemplary researchers and teachers. In universities, research is the most valued work and most notably rewarded, with some variation across types of institutions.

In spite of this reward structure, 'classroom teaching and course materials [have become] more sophisticated and complex in ways that translate into new forms of faculty work…. such new forms are not replacing old ones, but instead are layered on top of them, making for more work.' (Rhoades 2006, p. 38). Academics are in the process of rebalancing this traditional constellation of activities (Cleveland-Innes and Gauvreau 2015), but in terms of 'getting the balance right between the two and moving to a model of teaching and research rather than teaching versus research, there is no easy solution' (Carter and Brockerhoff-Macdonald 2011, p. 9). A central barrier in finding such a solution is that no standard protocol or required systematic training exists for teaching in higher education.

From the current reality of faculty as teachers in higher education, a view to dealing with student diversity that works around this reality, or seeks to change it, is emerging. Ramsden (2003) asserts that 'while excellent teaching does exist, it is not a uniform or best practice characteristic in higher education. Effective and varied pedagogy deserves a more prominent place in the future discussions' (p. 57). It may be unrealistic to assume that faculty can maintain their individual content expertise, do research ***and*** be experts in learning theory, teaching strategies beyond the lecture hall, and stay abreast of the world of education technology. As a work-around, new occupational categories may be added to support faculty in this regard.

11.3 Other Demands for Higher Education Reform

There was a time when non-traditional students with diverse characteristics were drawn to, accepted by, and supported through institutions other than elite, prestigious research universities. According to Qayyum and Zawacki-Richter (2018):

> dual mode universities usually excluded institutions that prided themselves on their exclusiveness. Elite universities like Tshingua or Stanford were elite partly by their admissions and price barriers. They had marginal, if any, interest in the access mission of DE [Distance Education]. Now dual mode institutions that prided themselves on their exclusiveness are increasingly offering online courses. In Europe, over 80% of higher education institutions are offering online courses, where the course is delivered primarily to geographically distant students (Gaebel et al. 2014, p.7). In countries like Brazil, Malaysia and the United States the growing demand for DE has seen a growth in private sector DE providers. The number and type of DE institutions continues to grow. DE is offered from more institutions in more locations than ever before. (Introduction)

This quote refers to traditional institutions moving into dual-mode delivery, and beyond. The lifelong learning mode of delivery identifies a common delivery practice, allowing flexibility, accessibility, and high levels of collaborative engagement. To do so, there is a move beyond asking faculty to improve their teaching. The opportunities offered by technology and online and blended learning may require that faculty do different things, and do things differently. Given the multiple demands on higher education, we can ask the question *Is it possible that providing opportunities for students of diverse characteristics and backgrounds to engage in flexible, personalized, and student-centered learning may also provide responses to some of the other demands for change?* Changing student demographics and resulting needs may also be examined in reference to issues such as cost-containment and affordability, globalization of human activities, employment sector transformation, twenty-first Century core capabilities, technology expansion and integration, and blended and online learning (Duderstadt 2009).

It is the last point above that is of significant interest to this discussion about changing student demographics and faculty roles. Professors and lecturers, both established and new, can find an orientation to teaching that focuses more on what students are doing. Teaching in contemporary higher education should become a shared responsibility, with others who are experts in technology usage and learning design. This is an easier argument to make when using blended and online learning and teaching. While we actively use instructional designers for online learning, it is rare that we have instructional designers at work in classroom delivery. The opportunity for pedagogical support may be built around online learning and then extend to blended and classroom teaching. This offers improvement in teaching quality with less imposition on faculty.

11.3.1 Learner-Centered, Flexible Learning

Less imposition on faculty and greater learning expertise for students can be implemented together. In addition to further support from other pedagogical experts, it has been suggested that learner-centered approaches to teaching and learning represent the best response to the increasing diversity in student needs and characteristics. Rather than preparing to offer instruction to fit for all, we can allow the students to co-create their learning experiences according to their own needs and

requirements. Flexible, self-directed learning is said to produce quality outcomes, efficiency, and effectiveness (Moran 2014), promote learner independence and lifelong learning (McGee and Reis 2012), and allow for higher engagement and education attainment (Collis and Moonen 2001).

Learner-centered approaches are described in the literature as early as 1969 (Ullmer 1969) and linked to Dewey's notions of learning through experience and Roger's notion of student-centered learning. Allowing students to participate more fully in the arrangement of their own learning experiences provides supported learner-centeredness, if we design for the following. First, learning objectives require that students engage in learning about learning processes, strategies, and methods; i.e. 'metalearning'. This requires embedding in the curriculum both content mastery ***and*** exercises about learning. Second, students can participate in the shaping of curriculum and the instruction, so that learning experiences meet their needs as a learner. This provides the opportunity to learn about design and construction of personalized learning activities, based on knowledge about learning which is in reference to themselves as learners. Individual education plans can be considered as an approach, but these plans are created by the student in collaboration with the teacher, rather than by the teacher in reference to the content.

A distinction must be made between learner-centered teaching practice and learner-centered curriculum. In earlier discussions, it is identified that learner-centered teaching practice, leaving faculty in charge of how much focus is placed on individual students, is more commonly discussed than learner-centered curriculum (Cleveland-Innes and Emes 2005). In this type of curriculum, 'the term learner refers to the role that is played 1) by the constituency of students in a programme, that is, learners as a collective group, and 2) by each individual with unique attributes as they play this role of learner' (p. 97). To manage the increasingly diverse student populations emerging in higher education, we can address both. Using the term 'centered' we ensure that the learner is a continuous point of reference in curriculum decisions. Students are afforded opportunities for making informed but flexible, personalized curriculum decisions. Programmes and the respective learning objectives can facilitate learning about making decisions as part of programmes, any course, and/or learning activities. The role of learner is active and informed. The role of faculty is adjusted to accommodate this new role for students.

Recent developments have added technology to learning. The opportunity to address diverse student needs and characteristics with learner-centered, blended and online teaching and learning presents itself in the Community of Inquiry theoretical framework (Vaughan et al. 2013). Here the intersection of three ways of being, or presences, in the educational environment allows for an engaged, interactive, deep and meaningful learning experience. First, social presence requires participants to connect with others in the community through purposeful interaction in a safe environment. Relationships develop where individuals project their personalities and acknowledge others who are doing the same. While termed social presence, this community activity ultimately acts in support of academic as well as social interaction. Cognitive presence emerges as learners construct and confirm meaning through sustained discussion, reflection, and confirmation of knowledge. Teaching presence

is the central organizing activity in support of social and cognitive presence. It is proffered by both the instructor and the students. It is created through the collaborative design, facilitation, and direction of cognitive and social processes in such a way that individual, personally meaningful, and educationally worthwhile learning outcomes are achieved. This model combines new roles for faculty and students, learner-centered approaches, and the use of technology in higher education. Diversity is addressed as needs of individuals are integrated into the shared creation of the learning experience.

11.3.2 Into the Future

Higher education reform will include changes in many aspects of structure and process, none more significant than a change in the way education is delivered. Each change in societies may be addressed by higher education in multiple ways, but all will require attention to the needs of individuals and the requirement for lifelong learning. Globalization, for example, allows for and requires that we live in an interconnected and interdependent world. For Blessinger and Bliss (2016), 'the fourth wave which has been brought about by the acceleration of globalization and the internationalization of higher education resulting in the growing recognition that lifelong learning and education is a human right which further expands the democratic social contract to education to all segments of society (p. 23). We suggest that the OE [Open Education] movement, and open methods as part of this, be considered a fifth wave in the history of education' (p. 26).

It is difficult to improve teaching when understanding learning hasn't been made a priority for faculty. In fact 'there are top-down initiatives but these alone were often found to be insufficient to achieve deep and lasting quality in university teaching and learning' (Tadesse and Gillies 2015, p.2). Two remedies are available to respond to this shortcoming, beyond the idea that all faculty could be trained in learning theory – which is unlikely in the current system. The first option requires the creation of additional occupational categories that act in service to faculty for teaching and to students for learning. Leaving faculty as subject-matter experts, they can engage the use of learning theorists and instructional designers. These support roles will provide faculty with well formulated instructional activities, in keeping with appropriate learning theories and strategies, designed for quality instruction and assessment.

The second option requires changes to curriculum, across the campus. Given the need for continuous, lifelong learning in contemporary, globalized and globalizing, complex societies, students in higher education should be afforded the opportunity to become experts about learning – especially their own. For Masoumi and Lindstrom (2011), higher education learning environments must be flexible and adaptable to individual learner needs. This opportunity to personalize and customize the learning environments allows learners to take control of their learning according to their own needs, goals, knowledge, and interests (p. 31), while in

school and beyond. The best students in the current system are those who adapt, no matter what the instruction or assessment is like. That scope of learning ability could be developed in all students, as part of any curriculum, and taught as part of every programme.

The current higher education system will not satisfy the growing demand for improved teaching and learning quality. This is particularly so as the enrolment increases, accessibility widens, and the population diversifies (Jongbloed and Vossensteyn 2016). Programme creation, curriculum development, and course learning design all require thorough understanding of the needs in the stakeholder populations. As the stakeholder populations grow and diversify, the new higher education curricula, programmes, and course design must respond accordingly.

To begin, complex student characteristics will have to be cross-referenced with what those individuals will have to do in response to other key stakeholders such as global societies and the employment sector. This globalization means intercultural relations. The new student-centered curriculum takes into account not only the changing student body but, in particular, the more complex society in which they must be prepared to operate. Globalization refers to operating in reference to, or ensuring application to, the whole – in this case, the whole world. This is a daunting prospect. While clear understanding of cultures from around the globe is not likely for most students, an awareness of the importance of cultural differences is. The University of Calgary in Alberta, Canada requires that all undergraduate programmes include an international component. The required outcomes were (Cleveland-Innes et al. 2001):

- awareness of international, Canadian multicultural or Canadian aboriginal perspectives
- understanding of international relationships and issues
- content on benefits and challenges of interaction of peoples, cultures, and environments around the globe

Such combination of widening and diversifying student populations and widening and diversifying graduation outcomes could change the culture and climate of higher education in the next decade. Again, growth in the demand for continuous learning and re-credentialing, and increased participation, means that current enrolment opportunities and delivery methods are not adequate. As attendance in higher education is less restricted to a homogeneous age cohort, demands for programme and course space and flexibility will increase. Add to this the need for programmes for seniors and lifelong learners, and governments are recognizing that more people will seek higher education than current facilities can accommodate (Oblinger et al. 2001).

In addition, according to Keller (2008), accommodating increased individualism in twenty-first century culture, along with the need for collaboration and community, will be required. This reality, along with increasing participation of older adults in higher education, requires greater attention to individual needs. This means creating course and programme schedules that are flexible, convenient, and accessible.

Development of student-centered curriculum structure and flexible instructional delivery is now imperative (Cleveland-Innes and Emes 2005).

11.4 Concluding Comments

Higher education reform will take into account a changing student population as well as many other shifting requirements in a globalizing, increasingly complex society. For example, the accommodating of rampant individualism in twenty-first century culture will be required (Keller 2008). This social fact, in combination with other factors discussed here such as increasing participation of older adults in higher education, requires greater attention to individual needs. Student-centered curriculum addresses many things, starting with development of learning expertise throughout the higher education experience. It can also take into account a diversifying student body and, in addition, the skills and knowledge required to exist in a globalization of society and respond as a competent learner to changing labour-market demands.

This will have far reaching benefits for students who are afforded such experiences. Geographic mobility, immigration, and education technology mean intercultural experiences can be part of daily student life. Institutions face the requirement to create a culture and climate of respect and support in all aspects of learning for every student, regardless of language background, nationality, race, gender, and culture. In other words, 'beyond 2015, understandings of how global discourses, goals and prescriptions interact with the existing education system and practices are necessary for sustainable and valued improvement' (Schweisfurth 2015, n.p.).

The way we change must change. We can't see teaching as a single function in need of improvement. That's the kind of change we've been seeking unilaterally rather than asking faculty and the rest of the institution to reconsider diverse student needs and the role faculty will play in order to meet these needs. Instead of asking faculty to become experts in teaching, we can offer support from instructional designers and web-analysts. Instead of asking faculty to become experts in learning, we can offer that expertise to the students themselves. This lightens the load for faculty and empowers students to maintain learning across the lifespan. Existing organizational realities must give way to new structures and new pedagogical models as technology, new roles, and current socioeconomic trends become ingrained in the fabric of higher education.

In sum, reviewing and responding to changing student characteristics is just one entry into understanding the dynamics of a higher education designed for a diverse, global, and complex society. This involves more expertise than we can pack into the faculty role. Higher education will not only respond to the demands of such a society, but prepare their graduates to live, work, and thrive in the same. Student-centered pedagogy that adds teaching about learning through flexible, personalized learning opportunities takes the pressure off faculty to improve teaching quality on their own and prepares graduates for a lifetime of learning.

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Part III
Ageing Populations and Changing Life Course Patterns: Implications for Higher Education and ‘Longlife’ Learners

Chapter 12
Acquiring Higher Levels of Education as an Adult Learner: Implications for Active Ageing

Richard Desjardins

12.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the empirical relationship between gaining a qualification at a non-traditional age (36 or over) and active ageing in later life. The ageing of many societies has major implications for public policy (Walker and Maltby 2012). A major response that has emerged in the last 15 years is called 'active ageing', where education for adults in mid and later life can be seen as central to this approach (Davey 2002). Higher education and other types and levels of formal education thus have potentially a key role to play in fostering active ageing. Active ageing is thought to lead to positive outcomes such as increased employment, productivity, health and other well-being into older ages. It is challenging, however, to investigate these relationships empirically since activities that reflect active ageing are often themselves integral to activities that reflect productive and healthy living. Continued learning, for example, is thought to be a core indicator of active ageing but it is often directly embedded in various activities such as employment, particularly to the extent that the learning is of an informal nature. For this reason, the analysis in this chapter focuses on formal learning in mid to later life and its relationship to subsequent non-formal and informal learning at older ages. Specifically, the employment and non-formal learning activities of adults who attained their highest qualification at age 36 or older are compared to those of individuals who attained a similar qualification at an earlier age, and to those of adults who attained lower levels of qualifications.

The analysis is based on data made available by the 2012 Survey of Adult Skills (also known as the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies – PIAAC 2012). Nineteen countries are included in a pooled

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multivariate analysis, namely: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Republic of Ireland, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. PIAAC was a large-scale co-operative effort undertaken by governments, national statistics agencies, research institutions and multilateral agencies in a period corresponding roughly to 2012 (for more details see OECD 2013a, b). The study was primarily designed as an international comparative assessment of literacy proficiency, which was administered to nationally representative samples of adults aged 16–65 (large sample sizes ranging between 2000 to 5000 cases per country). However, PIAAC is also effectively a large scale international comparative study of adult learning which offers possibilities to investigate life course patterns of selected activities that reflect active ageing and, for example, the relationship between attaining qualifications in mid to later life and active ageing at older ages, as in this chapter. PIAAC collected detailed information on a range of education and training activities undertaken by adults in the 12 months preceding the interview, including formal education programmes and other non-formal learning activities such as workshops, seminars, on-the-job training as well as leisure and civic related courses. It also collected data on the age at which adults attained their highest level of qualification. While PIAAC provides unique data enabling some analysis of the implications of acquiring qualifications in mid to later life, an important limitation is that data was only collected for adults up to the age of 65.

12.2 Life Course Patterns of Selected Activities That Reflect Active Ageing

There are several indicators made available by PIAAC which reflect active ageing and are considered in this analysis, namely: employment activity, non-formal education (NFE) activity, and formal education activity in mid to later life. The following depicts the life course pattern associated with the selected indicators by country. Only data from the countries which feature the highest rates of adult learning as was measured by PIAAC are depicted as an example. This selection of countries is for statistical purposes since these are the only countries in which there are sufficiently large samples of adults who acquire higher qualifications at an older age. The patterns are clear. In all cases, the average level of the various activities declines with age.

Figure 12.1 depicts a cross-sectional life course pattern of the employment rate up to the age of 65. Across all the countries considered, employment activity declines on average with age. As can be seen, employment rates are highest among mid-career adults aged 36–50 and begin to gradually decline thereafter until the age of 65. More precision is given to late-career aged adults who are over the age of 50 since this is the target group included in the multivariate analysis below.

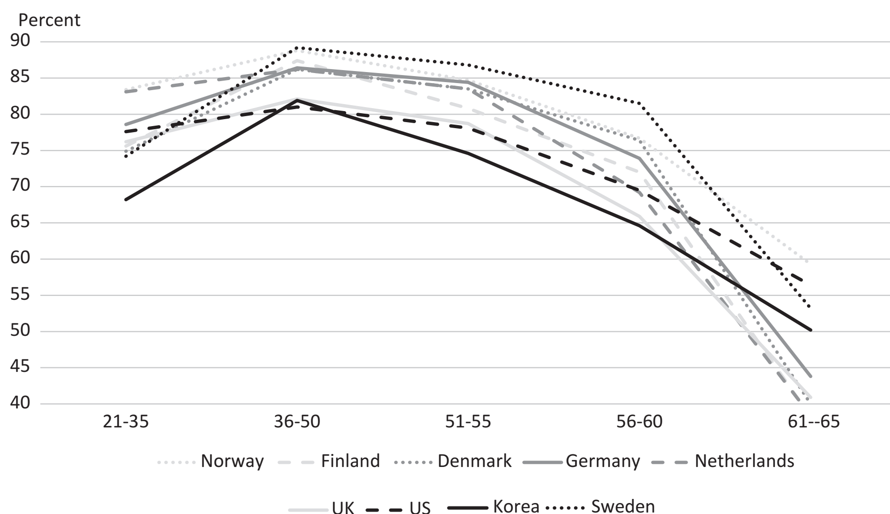

Fig. 12.1 Employment rate by age. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

Adults are also less likely to participate in employer supported adult education as they age. Figure 12.2 shows that in most countries, mid-career adults aged 36–50 are the most likely to receive employer supported adult education. Thereafter, the probability of participating in this type of learning declines sharply, reaching as low as .2 for those aged 61–65 in most of the countries.

Patterns of participation in formal education display an even sharper drop off by age since most formal education is front loaded in the early years. For example, the majority of adults across the countries considered complete lower secondary education well before the age of 18, upper secondary education before the age of 20, and for those who go on to attain post-secondary degrees/certificates/diplomas, they tend to do so at the first-level (i.e. International Standardized Classification of Education (ISCED) levels 4, 5a, 5b),[1] by the age of 25, and second-level, such as a master's degree, by the age of 30. These are the adults who follow the normative path typically associated with different levels of qualifications and are referred to as 'traditional students'. In several countries, however, formal education systems have become much more open to non-traditional (or mature) students. Figure 12.3 shows the stock of qualifications that was attained by adults beyond the normative ages. In Denmark, for example, 43% of all qualifications held by the adult population were

[1] The International Standardized Classification of Education (ISCED) is a comprehensive UNESCO framework for comparing education programmes and qualifications across countries. ISCED levels (1997 version) are as follows: ISCED 0 – pre-primary; ISCED 1 – primary education; ISCED 2 – lower secondary: ISCED 3 – upper secondary; ISCED 4 – post secondary, non-tertiary; ISCED 5B – first stage tertiary, short-cycle; ISCED 5A – first stage tertiary, bachelor; ISCED 5A – second stage tertiary, master; ISCED 6 – second stage, advanced research (OECD 1999).

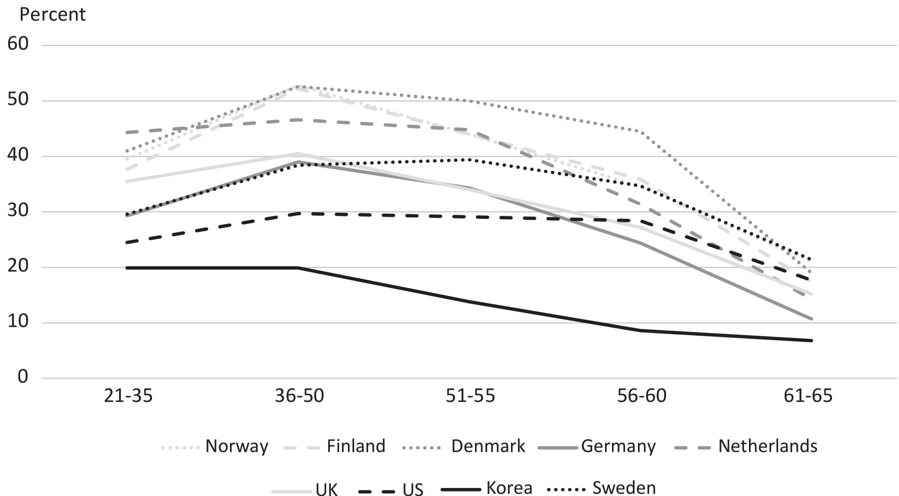

Fig. 12.2 Job-related employer supported adult education by age. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

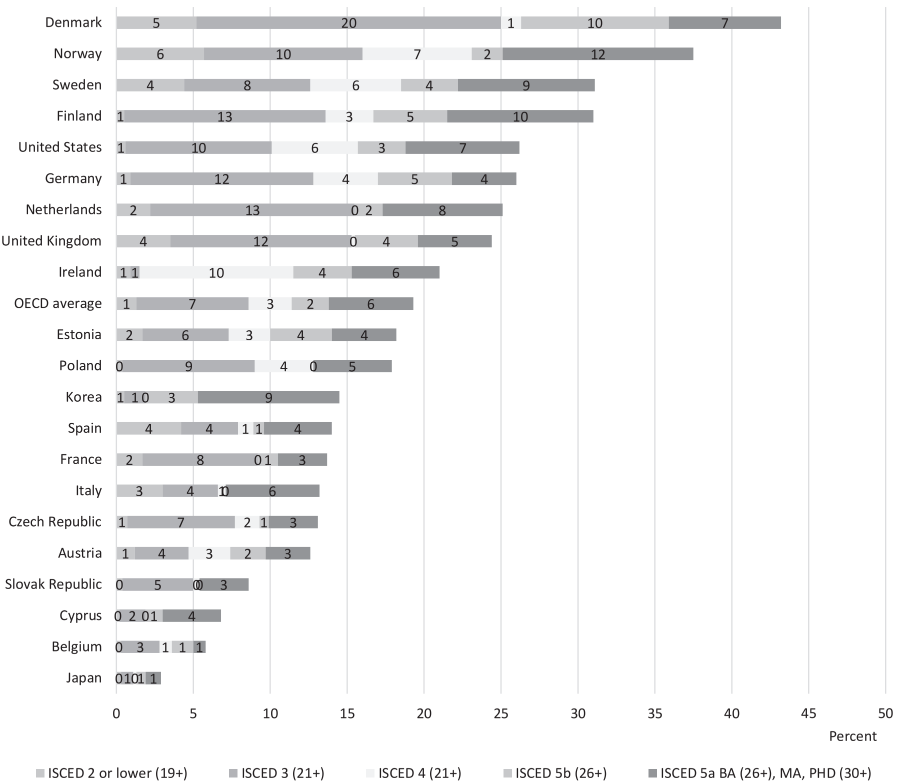

Fig. 12.3 Stock of qualifications attained beyond the normative ages associated with qualifications. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

attained one way or the other beyond the normative age typically associated with those qualifications. This reflects an openness of formal education structures to non-traditional (or mature) students, which may or may not involve adaptations to accommodate older adults. In many cases, these data reflect a delay in attainment by only a few years, but in many other cases they reflect the decision by older adults to return to formal education in mid and later life. In order to focus on the latter, the analysis in this chapter emphasizes the proportion of adults who attained their highest qualification at age 36 or older. Figure 12.4 reveals that the proportion of adults who attained a qualification in mid to later life reflects a substantial phenomenon in several countries which is likely to have implications for active ageing.

12.3 The Role of Learning in Fostering Active Ageing

The observed declines in various activities relating to learning as adults age, as shown above in Figs. 12.1 and 12.2, are based on averages. However, these do not do justice to the vast differences that are observed at the individual level. For example, there are many adults who continue to be active into older ages, and conversely there are many adults who slow their engagement in various activities already at even earlier ages. An important question is whether prior levels of formal education or educational interventions in adulthood can help to reverse age-related declines in all kinds of learning activities. Such benefits would have implications for policies and practices that seek to enable adults to overcome barriers associated with the take-up of educational opportunities, for example, ensuring quality provision that meets the needs and aspirations of mid to late-career aged adults.

From this perspective, the question that is investigated further in this chapter is whether the attainment of qualifications at age 36 or older has any impact on active ageing in later life. Specifically, are opportunities to delay attainment or second chance learning to attain qualifications at older ages associated with increased probability of employment and continued learning into older age?

From a theoretical point of view, educational interventions can be important for stimulating interest and motivation for continued engagement in learning, as well as improving access to opportunities to remain active in all kinds of mental, social and physical activities into older ages.

There is evidence to suggest that this is the case in terms of sustained mental activity into older ages. Yaffe et al. (2009) for example, in a study of more than 2500 older individuals over an eight-year period with four measurement points found that initial education as well as other factors predicted the maintenance of high cognitive functioning. Similarly, in a meta-study of results from different longitudinal and randomized-control studies, Plassman et al. (2010) found strong evidence that cognitive training in adulthood helped to mitigate the age-related decline of skills.

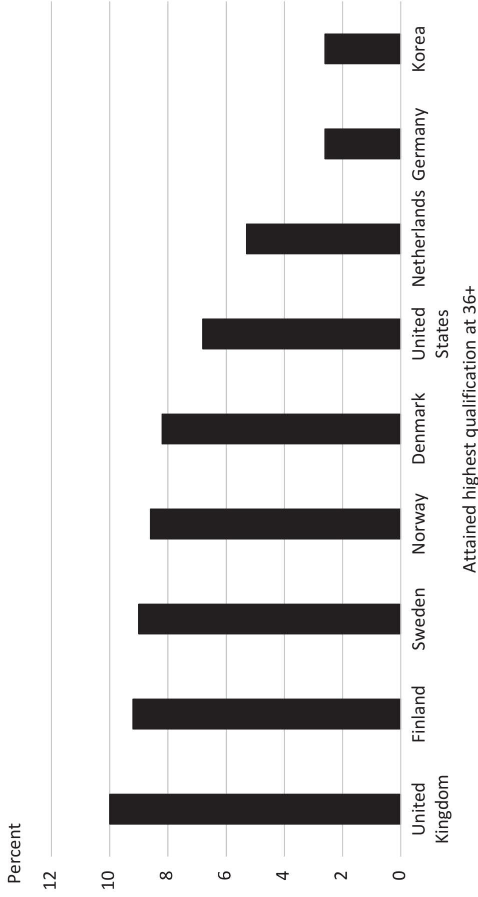

Fig. 12.4 Proportion of adults who attained highest qualification at age 36 or older. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

12.4 Analysis of Relationship Between Attaining Qualifications at Older Ages and Active Ageing

The following briefly summarizes the nature of the empirical analysis. Multivariate analyses were conducted to focus on the relationship between attaining qualification at older ages and active ageing. Two separate models were estimated using the binary logistic regression function. The first predicted the employment rate and the second predicted the participation rate in employer supported training. Gender, the log of age and level of qualification by whether it was attained before, or at or after the age of 36 were included as independent variables in both models. Data from PIAAC for 19 countries were pooled together, but country level fixed effects were accounted for in both models by including dummies for each country. Only adults aged 50–65 were included in the analysis so as to focus on the age range in which there is rapid decline of activities as demonstrated above. It was necessary to pool the country datasets together due to small sample sizes associated with focusing on a narrow age range and whether different qualifications were attained before, or at or after the age of 36.

Figure 12.5 summarizes the results of the first model which focuses on the relationship between attaining qualifications at older ages and the probability of employment in the 50–65 age range. It can be seen that adults who attain higher levels of qualifications are associated with an increased probability of being employed more generally, which is consistent with prior findings such as employment rates by level of education found in the OECDs Education at a Glance (e.g. OECD 2018). The analysis is novel however, by helping to reveal that attaining qualifications at older ages is associated with an increased probability of being employed at older ages. This is the result for most cases, but the comparison group is important.

If adults who returned to complete a higher qualification at an older age are compared with those who remained at a lower level qualification, then the difference is significant and substantial. For example, adults who return to complete the equivalent of an upper secondary (i.e. ISCED 3) qualification at an older age (36 or older) are associated with a substantially and statistically significant boost in the probability of being employed when over the age of 50 compared to an adult who did not complete an upper secondary education within the normative age. The pattern is similar for adults who return to complete the equivalent of an ISCED 2 qualification at an older age (36 or older) when compared to an adult who did not complete an upper secondary education within the normative age.

If adults who returned to complete a higher qualification at an older age are compared with adults who completed a comparable qualification within the normative age, then there is also an observed advantage in most cases, but this tends to be statistically insignificant at the 5 percent level or only marginally statistically significant (i.e. $p < .1$).

Arguably, the relevant comparison group is not those who completed within the normative age, but rather the group that the non-traditional student would be in had

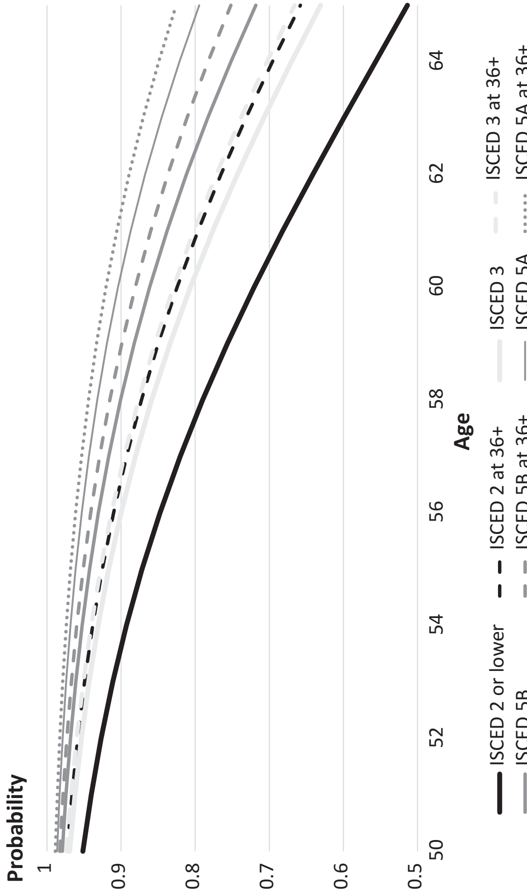

Fig. 12.5 Adjusted probabilities of being employed by age. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

they not returned to complete a higher qualification. Overall, these results point to potentially substantial labour market benefits of adult basic and general education designed to help adults attain qualifications that are comparable to basic and upper secondary education. Specifically, such opportunities may help to boost employability of many adults into older age.

The patterns are similar and substantial for adults who attained higher education qualifications corresponding to ISCED 5a or 5b. Notably, the boost in probability for adults who return to complete an ISCED 5a qualification compared to those whose highest qualification is ISCED 3 (i.e. upper secondary) is rather substantial. The only exception to the pattern is with regard to adults who attain some kind of post-secondary qualification that is not tertiary (i.e. ISCED 4). In fact, adults appear to be associated with a substantially reduced probability of being employed at older ages if they completed this latter type of qualification over the age of 35. However, the ISCED 4 category is highly variable and inconsistent across countries and for this reason is not included in the chart. Overall, attaining qualifications at older ages appears for the most part to promote employment into older ages.

Figure 12.6 summarizes the results of the second model which focuses on the relationship between attaining qualifications at older ages and continued learning into older ages for those who remain employed. It can be seen that adults who attain higher levels of qualifications are associated with an increased probability of participating in employer supported adult education. This is consistent with prior findings showing that continued participation in adult education over the lifespan is strongly related to qualification levels (e.g. Desjardins et al. 2006). Again, the novelty in the results presented here is that attaining qualifications at older ages appears to be strongly associated with an increased probability of receiving employer supported training at older ages. This is the case at every level of qualification and for the most part whether the comparison group are those who remained at a lower level of qualification or those who completed a comparable qualification within the normative ages.

Adults who return to complete the equivalent of an upper secondary (i.e. ISCED 3) qualification at an older age (36 or older) are found to be associated with a substantially and statistically significant ($p < .05$) boost in the probability of receiving employer supported training when over the age of 50 compared to either an adult who did not complete an upper secondary education or those who did so within the normative age. The patterns are similar for adults who return to complete the equivalent of an ISCED 2, ISCED 5b or 5a qualification at an older age (36 or older) when compared to either an adult who remained at a lower level qualification or those who attained a comparable qualification within the normative age.

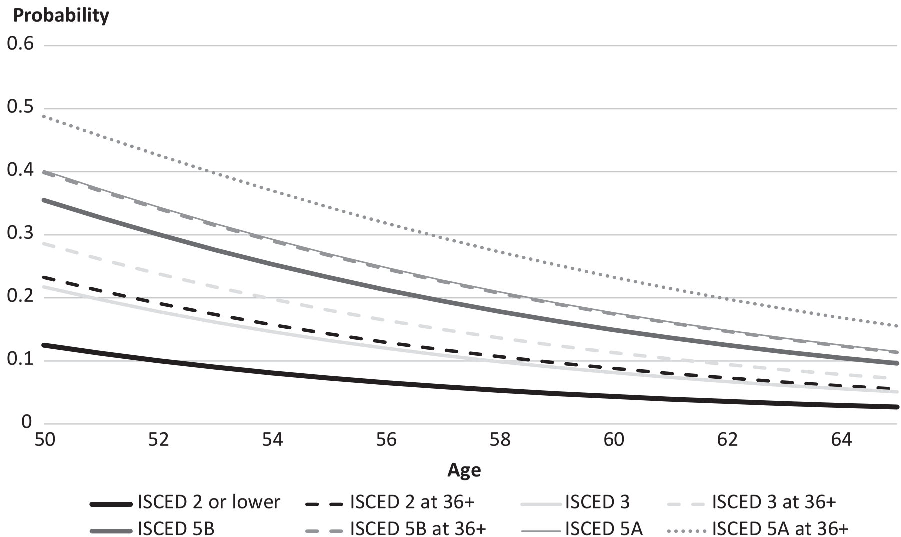

Fig. 12.6 Adjusted probabilities of participating in employer supported training by age**.** (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))

12.5 Implications for Higher Education Systems and Policy

Further analysis indicates that open and flexible formal education structures at all levels may help facilitate employment of adults and continuing engagement in job-related types of informal and non-formal learning. Importantly, the openness of educational opportunities to older adults that lead to qualifications may help to maintain labour market attachment into older ages, and depending on the nature of the job, can be associated with continued levels of various mental, physical and social activities. The results of the analysis in this chapter show that it is strongly associated with greater opportunities to receive employer-supported adult education in late career.

It is important to note that the results presented are not causal. They are only indicative of a potentially substantial relationship. It is possible for example, that adults who return to complete a higher qualification are also the ones with other unobserved attributes that may explain their higher probabilities of employment and learning into later life. It is interesting, however, that the individual level analysis presented above, which suggests that open and flexible formal education structures promote labour market attachment, boost employment levels and increase learning and other activities into older ages, can also be revealed at a macro level based on the PIAAC data. For example, Fig. 12.7 reveals a strong positive correlation between the degree of openness of higher education systems and overall employment rates at the country level (correlation is .61 or .47 depending on whether outliers are excluded). The indicator on the degree of openness of higher education systems is defined as the proportion of adults who attained an ISCED 5a or 5b qualification beyond the normative age typically associated with those qualifications. Similar

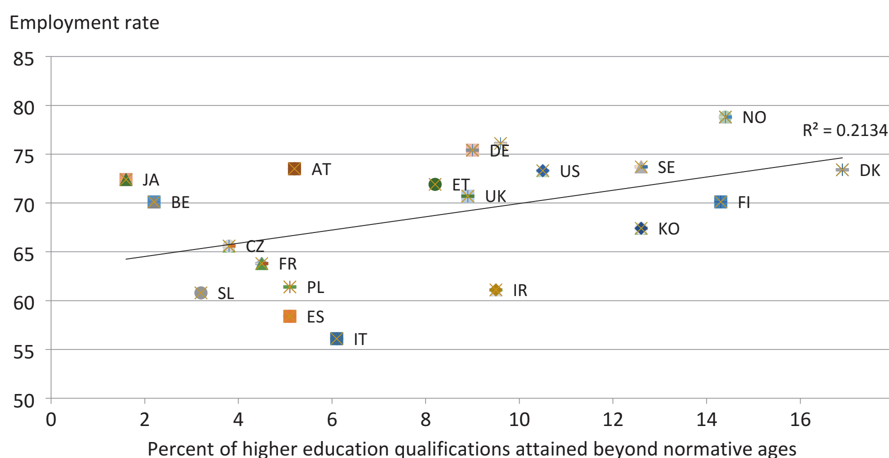

Fig. 12.7 Openness of higher education systems to non-traditional students and employment rate. (Source: Own calculations based on the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC 2012))
Note: Pearson correlation coefficient is .47 with all countries, but .61 when Belgium and Japan are removed as outliers due to very low openness of higher education systems

results can be found by broadening the concept to the openness of formal education systems which incorporates all qualifications attained beyond the normative ages.

There are large cross-national differences in the extent to which formal education systems are open to non-traditional (or older) students. As was seen in Fig. 12.3, only a small number of countries are effective in enabling substantial numbers of adults to return at older ages to complete a higher qualification. Better understanding of the factors that can be implicated in enabling adults to overcome barriers and return in mid and later life to complete qualifications is thus an important area for further research. Barriers to participation are complex and can involve individually-based and structurally-based barriers. The former is related to motivation and perceived value and purpose, for example, of undertaking a qualification at a later age, while the latter are related to situationally-based barriers such as the family- and job-related ones, as well as institutionally-based barriers. Desjardins and Rubenson (2013) provide an extended discussion on barriers to adult education and some implications for policy. In terms of institutionally based barriers, formal education structures need to be flexible to foster motivation among adults and importantly, to meet the emerging and diverse needs of mid- and later- career aged adults as well as other older adults. At the higher education level, this includes professional programmes that correspond to advanced qualifications (e.g. advanced nursing, leadership programmes, continued professional training, etc.). Another important success factor is the flexibility of qualification systems in ways that enable the integration of different types of adult learning (i.e. adult basic education, adult general education, adult vocational education and adult higher education) in ways that lead to recognized qualifications. This can include the recognition of prior learning, as well as the provision of modules, such as certificate programmes that are shorter in duration, which can be combined in flexible ways to attain higher qualifications. It also includes flexible entry points, particularly for adults who are more socioeconomically disadvantaged and those who are looking to adjust their qualifications at older ages either for upward mobility within their chosen career path, or to accommodate changes in career path or labour market conditions.

In conclusion, only a small number of countries have well developed adult learning systems which make it possible for adults to return at older ages to complete a higher qualification. Not surprisingly, these are also the countries that feature well developed adult learning systems. They tend to invest heavily in flexible educational structures and feature advanced policies and forms of governance that seek to develop the opportunity structure of citizens. Some distinguishing factors of advanced adult learning systems in different countries include: the degree of openness of formal education systems to non-traditional students; flexible and open qualification systems that integrate different types of adult learning (i.e., adult basic education, adult general education, adult vocational education and adult higher education) in ways that lead to recognized qualifications that are equivalent or comparable to those attained in the regular education system; diverse provision catering to diverse individual, employer and industrial needs; targeting and outreach to socially disadvantaged adults; as well as, high and widely distributed participation in adult education and foundation skills such as those measured in PIAAC (Desjardins 2017). The analysis in this chapter suggests that greater levels of employment and the concomitant active ageing could be added to the list.

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Chapter 13
The Role of Higher Education in an Ageing Society: The Distinctive Case of Japan

Hidehiro Nakajima

13.1 Introduction

Japanese higher education institutions include (1) universities granting bachelor's, master's doctoral and professional degrees, (2) junior colleges granting associate's degree, (3) colleges of technology, which offer specialized courses for apprenticeships, associate degrees, licenses, certificates, diplomas for skilled trades and technical careers, and (4) special training schools and community colleges offering advanced courses for vocational careers. Most higher education students are enrolled in universities (88%) with 12% enrolled in other types of higher education institutions. Contemporary higher education is imposed to meet diverse types of economic and social demands by government in most developed countries, particularly on universities. Thus, this chapter focuses on university sector to discuss the role of higher education.

The Japanese government has issued numerous policies on lifelong learning since the mid-1980s to make provisions for an ageing society. However, the number of people involved in lifelong learning programmes at higher education institutions (HEIs) has remained lower than expected, despite consecutive iterations of guiding principles. This paper will describe the context pertaining to lifelong learning and higher education strategies with regard to the unique systems and structures of Japanese society. Further, it will explore the role of higher education institutions in an ageing society by reviewing previous studies in this area.

Japan among other developed countries is one where ageing of the population is proceeding at a much faster pace. Figure 13.1 shows the trends in the ageing rate of several nations. Japan ranked much lower until the 1980s and rose to the middle

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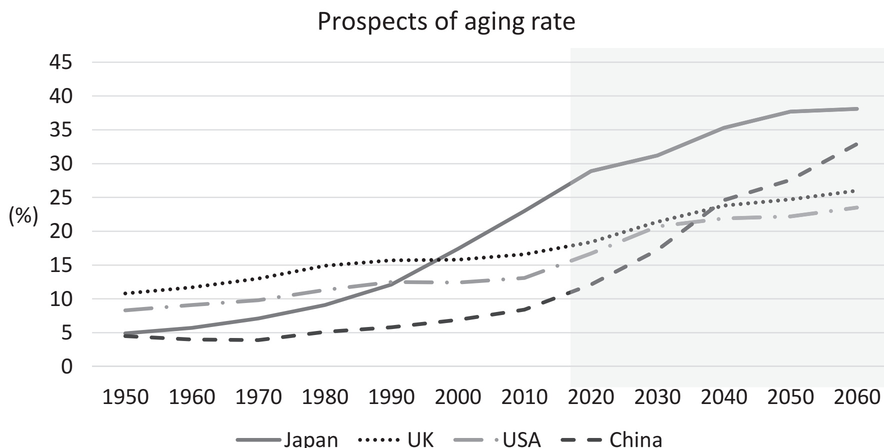

Fig. 13.1 Trends and Prospects of Ageing Rate by Country. (Source: United Nations, World population prospects 2015a)

levels in the 1990s. However, since 2005, the country has registered the most advanced ageing rate, and this is expected to accelerate in the future.

In such circumstances, Japanese society has evinced a significant concern about improving labour productivity, among other issues of interest. A country's gross domestic product (GDP) may be defined by the product of population and per capita production. Policymakers insist that GDP per capita should increase as the productive age of the population decreases.[1] This discussion suggests that Japanese society has a negative attitude to accepting immigrants. Figure 13.2 shows the ratio of immigration to and from several ageing nations in 2013. Japan's rate of migration, both in and out of Japan,[2] is much lower than that observed in Western countries.

Simultaneously to concerns about improving productivity, higher average life expectancy has also become a major worry for Japan, with trends and the future estimates shown in Fig. 13.3. The figure depicts that both males and females tend toward a longer life expectancy, which inspires the nationwide question: how can the Japanese spend this second life period prosperously?

These social concerns may be addressed by Japanese higher education institutions via two major routes. First, colleges and universities should transform into centres of learning for every stage of life and should contribute to the fulfilment of

[1] Labour productivity is approximated by the difference between the economic growth rate and the pace of increase of the population. In other words, in a situation where the population increases, productivity also rises as demand grows. On the other hand, improvement in productivity becomes difficult in circumstances of population decline. For this reason, it is important to expand demand, both internal and external, rather than to improve productivity at the time when the population is declining.

[2] In absolute terms, however, the number of foreign workers has increased rapidly in recent years from around 480,000 in 2008 to about 1.27 million in 2017. Among them, the number of international students working part-time while studying at Japanese universities has risen sharply since 2010 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2017).

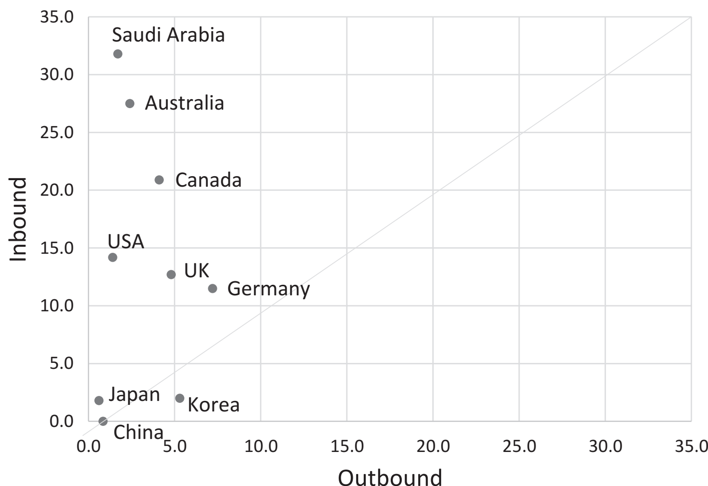

Fig. 13.2 International Migration Trends (2013). (Source: United Nations, Trends in international migrant stock 2015b)

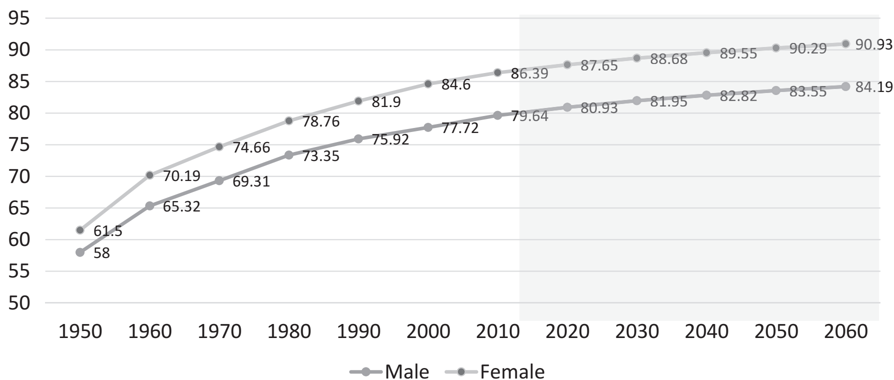

Fig. 13.3 Average Life Span in Japan. (Source: National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2017)

personal career designs. Second, higher education institutions should accept society's diverse learning needs and should enable diverse ways of learning in collaboration with local administration and industry. Government has responded to the voices from the industrial and regional sectors and have developed various types of educational policies to extend the role of higher education institutions for adult learners. This paper will present a point of view that may help the understanding of the organizational strategies of how higher education institutions respond to the changes in the social environment in Japan.

13.2 Policies to Attract Working Individuals to Graduate Schools

Graduate schools are a part of the formal higher education system after World War II with the primary role to raise researchers. In an effort to improve the country's international competitiveness, graduate schools have been expanded their roles under the amendment of school education law and policies. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has developed the infrastructures, including the establishment of independent academic units of graduate schools (1974), the establishment of graduate universities (1976), and the recommendations to raise highly specialized human resources.

Yamamoto (2012) delineated the history of the lifelong learning policy driven by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and the position taken by higher education institutions on this issue. The crucial aspects of the discussion are as follows. First, since lifelong learning was clearly defined in higher education policy in 1981, various efforts have been made to enrol adult learners at universities. However, despite improvements in the educational environment, higher education institutions have not received adequate numbers of adult learners. Second, working individuals tend to avoid registering for formal education courses because of human resources development policies adopted in the industrial sector. The Japanese labour market is renowned for its unique, long-term employment system, or the 'job for life' system (Mincer and Higuchi 1988). For example, the larger the firm size, the more introverted its human resources policy is likely to be; thus, the wage structure of large companies is generally higher in terms of the labour market. Such enterprises tend to fill their vacancies with fresh college graduates who have no working experiences in other organizations, and workers also tend to leave their learning and capacity building in the hands of their company. People are aware of this employment practice, and college students who desire to work in a high-paying large company prefer to be hired immediately upon graduating from university. Yamamoto (2012) emphasized that the low proportion of adult students in higher education institutions is the consequence of this unique Japanese social system.

Figure 13.4 illustrates trends in type of employment, showing that the ratio of non-regular employment has risen continuously since the 1980s, from 20.3% (8,170,000) in 1989 to 37.3% (20,360,000) in 2017, due to the economic downturn in the 1990s and the subsequent low economic growth during 2000s.[3] However, most of them are willing to be employed as non-regular workers rather than permanent workers with higher salary. According to the labour force survey in 2016 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, only 14.3% of non-regular work-

[3] Non-regular employment includes part-time workers, fixed-term contract employees, registered contingent workers. The primary source of the workforce is homemakers, college students, and young people who failed to secure a permanent job. Permanent employment means workers who are hired with no fixed-term, which implies they are eligible to be hired until the age of retirement in accordance with Japanese labour law precedent.

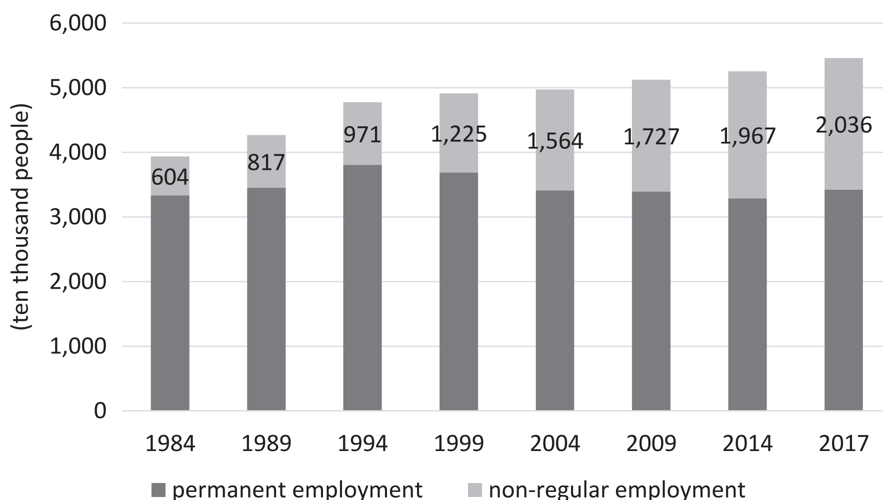

Fig. 13.4 Trends in type of employment (ten thousand people). (Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2017)

ers willingly left to be a full time worker and others had stayed in non-regular status on their own decision.[4]

On the other hand, the reaction of universities to the education policy has not been explored in adequate depth. Questions pertaining to the types of disciplines that could accept a large number of adult students or the kinds of workers who would be more motivated to learn at universities remain unanswered. This chapter will outline the efforts made by higher education institutions since the 1980s to recruit adult learners.

13.2.1 *Lifelong Learning Degree Programmes and Extracurricular Courses*

Extension courses or open lectures are popular means of attracting adult learners and working individuals to lifelong learning programmes at higher education institutions. Extension courses are usually defined as extracurricular courses intended for local community residents or adults for their cultural enrichment. These programmes are not meant for working people who need to improve their employment competencies. In other words, the focus of lifelong learning in universities is not on enrolling adult learners in degree programmes, but rather on providing learning opportunities as leisure pursuits. The origin of extension courses dates back to

[4] Most of homemakers are willing to be hired in part-time jobs to secure the spouse tax exemption status.

the 1920s when higher education institutions recognized the extension courses as important for the promotion of democratization and for the enlightenment of citizens (Uesugi et al. 2016). Contrary to their long tradition, the development of extension courses was not underscored in higher education policies instituted after 1950. The higher education sector was entering a difficult period in the 1950s due to its transition to the new system; growing conflict and student unrests marked the 1960s. Hence, there were no extra resources to expand extension courses in higher education institutions. In the 1970s, the extracurricular courses drew slightly renewed attention as social contribution activities, and most of the institutions paid some attention to revitalising them.

The definition of lifelong education was ultimately clarified in Japan's educational policy in the 1980s, when a series of policies were implemented to promote the acceptance of adults into degree programmes (Tozawa 2008). The social context that led to these policy clusters may be classified in three ways. First, the deterioration of education standards in addition to excessive competition in the university entrance examinations was heavily criticized in Japan in that period. Thus, the notion of being granted a second opportunity to improve one's academic record gained social approval. Second, income levels had improved dramatically and there emerged a massive demand for adult learning. Third, rapid changes in socio-economic conditions encouraged by globalization, the exponential increase in the dissemination of information, and the advancement of science and technology had stimulated new needs and desires for formal re-education. These factors affected Japan's policy shifts in favour of lifelong learning via degree programmes at universities.

Table 13.1 illustrates the milestones in the development of educational policy since 1990. These landmarks stress the enhancement of two aspects of higher education institutions: firstly, the redefinition of graduate schools as primary points of preparation for an eminent professional occupation; and secondly, more advanced engagement in provincial economic growth through academia-industry collaboration, international cooperation and academia-municipal government partnerships for regional problem resolution.

13.2.2 Adult Workers and Learning at University

As summarized above, current educational policies place great significance on two types of learning opportunities for adult workers at the university: graduate programmes for developing professional competence; and undergraduate programmes and extension courses for working individuals, particularly for senior generations. Table 13.2 shows the number of working adults, defined as people who have occupation or are retired, involved in both types of learning at all universities in Japan. The number of participants in extension courses has grown considerably in line with the pace of ageing, in contrast with degree programmes or other types of formal education. However, it does not necessarily mean that degree programmes have failed to accept as many adult learners as the policy expected. Most of the extension

Table 13.1 Policy milestones in higher education provision for adult students

Year	Policy issues
1990	Legislation to institute evening or weekend graduate school; deregulation of the graduate completion requirement; establishment of distance master's programmes.
1998	Requests for the enhancement of professional courses in graduate schools.
1999	The new vision statement of the university as a regional community hub for lifelong learning issued.
2003	Professional graduate school legislation passed (law degree, teacher's training, business administration, management of technology, public policy, public health and clinical psychology).
2005	Enhancement of the think-tank function of HEIs for revitalising regional economy vision statement issued.
2013	New funding scheme launched to advance academia-municipal government collaborations for regional problem resolution.
2015	New funding scheme for job creation instituted in regional economies in collaboration with local companies.

Source: Adapted from Tozawa (2008, pp. 74–78)

Table 13.2 The number of working adults studying in university sector in Japan (ten thousand people)

	1987	1991	2004	2014
Graduate programme	0.1	0.3	1.7	1.8
Undergraduate programme	–	1.6	1.3	1.0
Credited auditors	–	–	–	2.2
Academic certificate (2007~)	–	–	–	0.4
Extension courses	–	50.9	106.3	138.8

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2016, 2017)

courses are composed of one or several days sessions, with complimentary or low tuition, whereas the degree programmes impose relatively more time and cost to complete. As such, extension courses have the advantage of attracting prospective adult participants. Even taking those features into consideration, the fact is that an enormous number of working adults recognize the extension courses as the familiar gateway to access the university. Furthermore, as will be illustrated in Fig. 13.6 below, people attending extension courses are not interested in transferring to regular, credit-awarding courses.

On the other hand, what the industry sector demands is to stimulate adult workers to be engaged in professional training in graduate programmes that ensure appropriate relevance for knowledge and skills worthwhile in the workplace. Those kinds of expectations are based on over-simplified ideas among the firms that professional training in graduate programmes instead of academic training leads to increases in labour productivity. According to European statistics[5], countries with higher rates of adult learning participation have a higher ratio of professional workers and higher labour productivity. This is a typical argument of confusing correla-

[5] Calculation based on ILOSTAT and Eurostat database.

tion and causation, however. Workers who have completed graduate school usually tend not to be fully rewarded, or sometimes face disadvantage, in the labour market for any types of jobs. The Japanese style of regular employment is that there are no limits on the duties, hours, or location of work, which is known as membership-based employment, contrary to job vacancy employment prevailing in western countries. In Japan, employees usually face the possibilities of relocation among the different types of jobs under this system, employers tend to avoid hiring professionals, and in response professionals tend to avoid to be hired in membership-based workplaces.

13.2.3 Adult Education in Graduate Schools

As Table 13.2 demonstrates, the number of adult workers who attend graduate programmes has increased sharply in the 2000s. It appears that the higher education policy has been successful in motivating adults to return to university. The effect is particularly notable in doctoral programmes, where the proportion of adult workers within such programmes grew from 21.7% in 2003 to 41.4% in 2017.[6] The statistics for master's programmes, on the other hand, show a downturn from 10.8% in 2003 to 10.6% in 2017.

However, the ratio varies across disciplines. Figure 13.5 illustrates the number of graduate students by discipline in 2010 and 2017. According to MEXT School basic survey (2017), traditional students, who are largely below 25 years in age and have no working experiences, dominate the master's courses in all domains. A large number of students are enrolled in engineering programmes, which are perceived in Japan to be advantageous for students who wish to land better-paying jobs in the Japanese labour market. Curiously, in Japan, students who complete a master's programme in the humanities and social sciences sometimes face more difficulties in gaining employment than candidates holding bachelor's degrees. The social and medical sciences, mostly business administration and nursing science, had a relatively large proportion of adult students. Business, accounting and economics were relatively manageable fields for the establishment of new programmes for adult workers after the new educational policy was issued in the 1990s. Students aged over 25 comprised more than half of the doctoral enrolment in the medical sciences in 2017, with the majority registered in nursing science programmes.

In fact, nursing programmes in higher education institutions have mushroomed since 2000. Nursing practitioners have traditionally been trained at vocational schools, but due to the advancement of medical technology and the continuously expanding demand for nurses as a reflection of an ageing society, universities gradually took on this mantle. There were 84 nursing colleges in Japan in 2000. By 2015,

[6] Calculation based on MEXT School basic survey (2017).

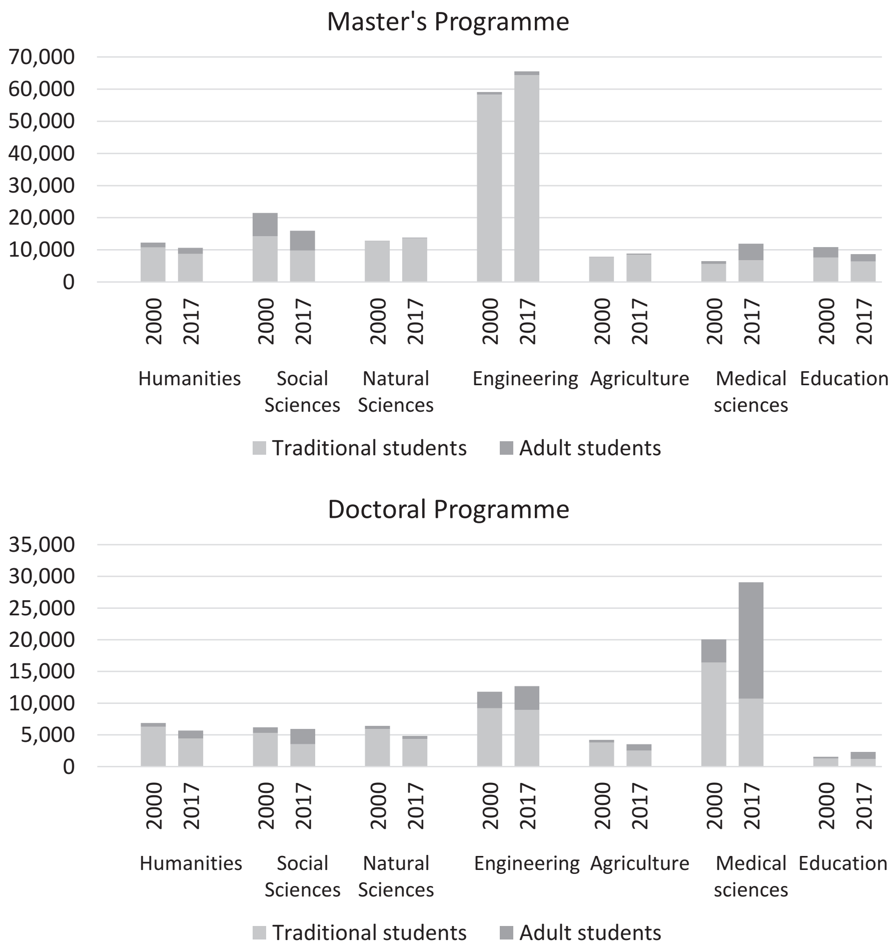

Fig. 13.5 Number of enrolments of traditional and adult students. (Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2017)

the number had expanded to 241, a threefold growth within 15 years.[7] Notably, after 2004, most of the newly established colleges for nursing were in private institutions. Initiating a nursing programme became a profitable project for many institutions, which in turn provoked a shortage of faculty, particularly of candidates holding PhD degrees, to teach in these nursing programmes. A large number of nursing practitioners and teachers at nursing schools were inducted into employment by their own institutions after graduating and thus entered graduate programmes as adult, working students.

[7] Statistics based on Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2017).

The supply-side effect is also important in understanding the nursing college boom. In the Japanese labour market, a career break or a period of time away from employment due to family care usually has significantly negative consequences. Job applicants who have a break in their career-graph tend to find it challenging to secure a fulltime position or to attain a wage level equivalent to the pay they received before leaving their previous position. Therefore, female students, who must contemplate the possibility of a career break, are inclined to select professional careers that are relatively stable and that would accord them employment after child-care leave. A nursing practitioner's position is thus a coveted one for such candidates. The sharp increase in nursing colleges is the result of the supply-demand balance, which has not occurred in most other disciplines.

A similar situation was observed in the field of pharmacy between 2003 and 2008. However, as discussed above, while the government policy to stimulate graduate education for adult workers may have worked for a few domains, it did not achieve the envisioned goal despite the enormous policy promotion efforts of the government. Career development opportunities for employees are still largely limited to 'in-house training' for the industry sector.

13.2.4 Corporate Researchers and Adult Education

Non-doctoral researchers working at private companies have played critical roles in developing innovations in the fields of science and technology in Japan (Sato 2017). There is a large number of researchers per capita in Japan, but relatively few Japanese PhD holders relative to other OECD countries. Tables 13.3 and 13.4 summarize these relationships. Although the number of researchers per capita in Japan is lower than in the highest ranked countries such as Denmark and Finland, it is higher than in the US and Germany. Conversely, the number of master's and doctoral degree holders in relation to the total Japanese population is much lower than

Table 13.3 Number of researchers per 1000 employed (2015)

Country	Researchers
Denmark	14.99
Finland	14.98
Korea	13.74
Belgium	11.56
France	10.12
Japan	9.99
USA	9.13
UK	9.09
Germany	9.01
China	2.09
35 OECD Countries Average	8.32

Source: OECD (2018)

Table 13.4 Number of degrees granted per thousand population

	Bachelors (2015)	Masters (2012)	Doctoral (2012)
UK	6338	3765	348
Germany	2598	2208	333
USA	5862	2395	255
Korea	5974	1651	251
France	2697	1973	180
Japan	4438	607	125
China	2312	336	38

Source: Adapted from National Institute of Science and Technology Policy (2017, pp. 122–124)

in the US and Germany. These statistics demonstrate that Japanese science and technology have been driven by non-doctoral researchers working in the industrial sector.

This unique system of industrial innovation has been shaped by the Research and Development (R&D) strategies of the private sector. A lot of central research institutes were established as attached enterprises by manufacturing companies in the 1980s in the context of the trade friction between Japan and the US. At that time, Japan's industrial competitiveness had increased dramatically, and the US government had fulminated against Japan's free ride on basic research outcomes developed in the US (Kanemoto 2015). Major companies had accumulated abundant financial resources in the 1980s and had accrued the capacity to launch consistently integrated research centres. Instead of relying on universities, both applied R&D and basic research were carried out in these research institutes under the purview of in-house R&D policies. These ideas were consistent with the hiring and employment customs and policies prevalent in Japan. Companies recruited fresh graduates and assigned them to in-house research activities. Unlike professional research scholars, the firm's researchers could easily be reallocated to non-R&D sections on the eventuality of an economic downturn or financial shortage. Consistent with states illustrated in Fig. 13.5, large-size manufacturing companies accepted job applicants holding a master's degree in engineering in abundant numbers for years both as researchers and as employees in diverse sections. The in-house system has been preserved in Japan's low growth economy since the 1990s, whereas the US shifted to an open innovation model in the 1980s. In America, as represented by Silicon Valley, human resources move reciprocally between the industrial and academic sectors.

Japanese companies also recognize that there are disadvantages to maintaining the in-house system, but the arrangement is extremely congruent with Japanese long-term employment structures. Japanese firms are thus still struggling to emerge from their successful experiences of the past.

13.2.5 The Challenge of Adult Education at Graduate School

Despite years of enormous effort by government to promote the lifelong learning policy, the concept has not been fully accepted by Japanese society. According to a survey of adult workers who have attended graduate programmes, the challenges of adult learners may be summarized into three issues: (1) tuition fees and financial aid, (2) the learning environment and (3) the relevance of the curriculum and the value of the degree in social terms (Kobayashi 2018).

First, the cost of returning to university education is considerable for working adults in Japan. As a result, this is a barrier to adult education in graduate schools. Some business companies have set up paid re-education systems to send their employees to graduate schools, but these places are limited to very few personnel and are also mostly restricted to workers who study science and engineering. Moreover, there are inadequate scholarship opportunities for adults, despite the recent expansions in scholarships for traditional students. Adult workers face severe financial difficulties if they make the decision to participate in continuing education courses at universities.

Second, the learning environment at universities is not suitable for adult workers. Campuses are still optimized for traditional students who commute to classes in the daytime and attend face-to-face lectures. A survey result shown in Tozawa (2008) revealed that adult students consider the curriculum and ease of commuting more important when they choose a programme. Evening and weekend classes, branch campuses near terminal stations and online programmes are becoming popular in recent years facilitated by the promotional efforts of educational policies. Nevertheless, most of the adult students surveyed evaluated those efforts as insufficient and stated that further improvement was needed (Tozawa 2008).

Third, business leaders insist that the learning outcomes desired by the industrial sector and academic offerings are still not aligned. The graduate programmes offered by higher education institutions are not attractive to executives and managers in firms, and the lack of convergence affects employee attitudes and breeds avoidance of university instruction. For higher education sector, graduate schools for adult workers are considered to be high-cost programmes, particularly for private institutions, and institutional boards tend to hesitate when asked to invest resources into graduate programmes. The market evaluation of the graduate degree has not improved in tandem with policies to promote lifelong learning.

13.3 Learning for Older Adults and Involvement of Universities

13.3.1 Cultural Study Preferences of Older Adults

The series of educational policies promoting lifelong learning emphasized not only graduate degree programmes for adult workers, but also encouraged learning opportunities for mature citizens through extension courses, which have been traditional

methods of interaction between academia and society in Japan. As discussed above, older adults are more interested in education related to culture and home life than technical and professional topics. Figure 13.6 summarizes survey results pertaining

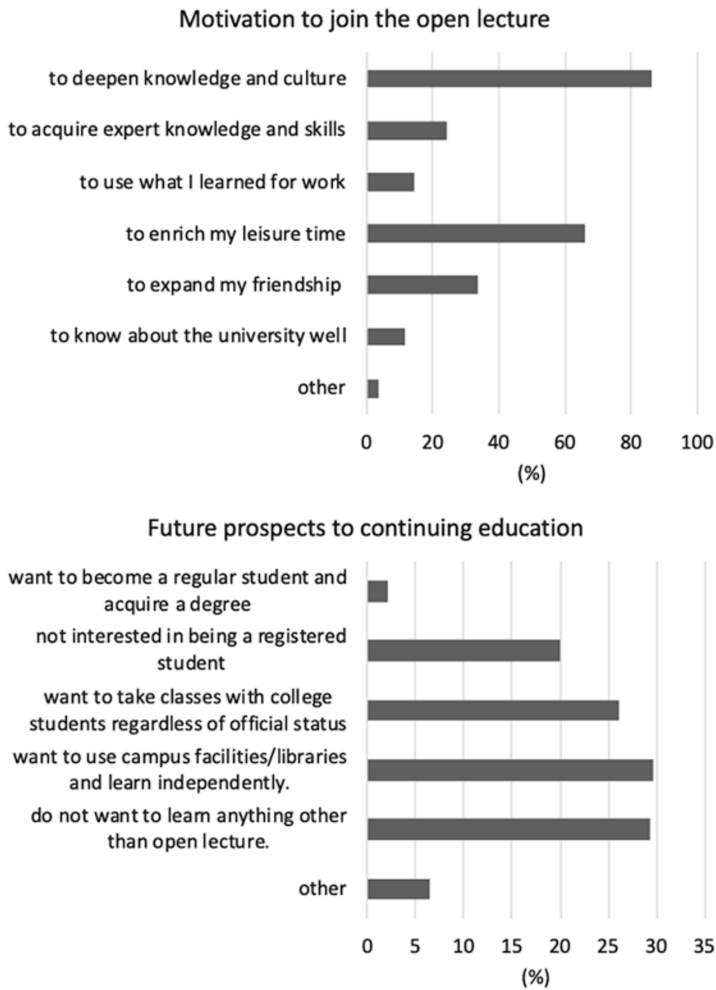

Fig. 13.6 Motivation and preferences for continuing education of senior citizens. (Source: Adapted from Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2011, pp. 20–29)

to participants who have attended at least one extension programme at a university. The investigation revealed that more than 70% of the participants are 60 years or older, and the same percentage applies to those learners who are pensioners or who are not in employment. Therefore, enhancing knowledge and culture, and enriching their leisure time are the most important reasons for senior citizens joining extension courses at higher education institutions.

Taking an extension course appears to increase the interaction and affinity of older citizens with the higher education institutions, and the satisfaction ratings of such programmes are quite high. However, the universities have not succeeded in recruiting older generations into degree programmes. Figure 13.6 also demonstrates that most of the survey participants who have taken extension courses evince almost no interest in pursuing a degree or in gaining professional training. Despite this lack of purpose, it is possible that the experience of learning and intermingling with young students would appeal to Japanese seniors and higher education institutions should consider this approach to recruit more older learners into degree programmes.

13.3.2 Learning in Degree Programmes

Seniors are interested in studying with traditional students at the university. In response to this finding, some institutions have established special programmes that accept senior students into their regular undergraduate courses. Students who attend such special programmes are usually people who previously missed the chance to attain a higher education qualification because of family-related reasons. Academia expects such students to interact with their much younger peers and stimulate learning. Some of the universities exempt tuition or grant a substantial reduction in their fees for older adults who enrol in a regular degree programme. Many senior citizens seem interested in this scheme, and there is a great potential for a larger number of similar programmes by more universities.

Iijima and Nameki (2016) have conducted a comprehensive survey of students over 50 years old who were enrolled in one particular private university from 2008 to 2015. The study showed that the learning experiences of older students registered in degree programmes may be synthesized into two types of appreciation: academic satisfaction and expanding friendship. The former perception proves that some older students do show intense satisfaction in academic achievements. The latter signifies an interest in the sense of fulfilment felt by older learners from the enlargement of their social networks as they meet other seniors, younger students and faculty members on campus.

Iijima and Nameki (2016) also assessed whether the final types of appreciation were different from the motivations held by the senior at the time of enrolment. Table 13.5 describes the results of the quantitative analysis of the association between the older participants' initial motivation for enrolment and the actual learning experience. The participants' initial reasons for attending the degree programmes are classified into four categories: (i) to master technical and professional knowledge and skills, (ii) to learn about culture and activities related to home life, (iii) to

Table 13.5 Correlation between motivation of enrolment and evaluation of learning experience

	Significant experiences	
Motivation of enrolment	Academic achievement	Expanding friendship
to master technical and professional knowledge and skills	+	not significant
to learn about culture and home life	not significant	not significant
to meet diverse people on the campus	+	not significant
no specific motivation and to enjoy leisure time	not significant	+

Source: Iijima and Nameki (2016)

meet different types of people on campus and (iv) no specific motivation other than the enjoyment of spare time. Surprisingly, students who expected to gain cultural and domestic knowledge, which was the most popular stated motivation to attend extension programmes, tended not to evaluate their learning experience as positive, both in terms of academic achievement and expanding friendship. This result suggests that the outcomes for older students who enrol on degree programmes do not correspond with those for individuals who traditionally attend extension courses.

In addition, the results indicate that older learners who expected to meet diverse people on campus when they enrolled into a special degree programme, marked a sense of academic achievement and not expanding friendship as their final perception. This discrepancy points to the fact that the experience of learning through interaction with traditional students helps older students with a more comprehensive understanding of the subject as most of these special programmes are designed for the seniors to work collaboratively with young students as they learn the curriculum. Thus, although they may initially be interested in meeting other people, the focus of many seniors transitions to the academic content through discussion and collaboration with other students and faculty members. Hence, the induction of older adults should not be restricted to programmes especially designated or designed for them, as these special programmes are. Rather, the programme should permit mature students to interact freely with varied traditional students both at the course and at the curriculum level.

13.4 Concluding Remarks

Although policies instituted since the 1990s have encouraged universities to offer continuing learning programmes for mature adults, these efforts have not yielded the intended results. This deficiency may be attributed in part to the educational sector's lack of drive to initiate such programmes. However, Japanese employment practices and social security system are also responsible for the deficits visible in the execution of the idea of lifelong learning in a society that is rapidly ageing and requires such re-skilling and re-education initiatives. Nonetheless, the policies cannot be regarded as failed initiatives, as increasing numbers of mature adults are eager to register at universities and avail of education opportunities.

As Yamamoto (2012) has elucidated, the acceptance of a diverse body of students would facilitate the social contribution mission of universities. It would, in addition, lead to the improvement of the quality of existing educational programmes and to the amelioration of the quality of the learning experiences of students. It is incumbent on universities in Japan to draft an educational strategy that will allow them to accept adult students in increasing numbers in this Japanese era of demographic change and multi-cultural environments.

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Chapter 14
Older Adults, Social Inequalities and Higher Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Brian Findsen

14.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the structure and functions of higher education institutions (universities) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how they interface with the lives of older adults, especially those experiencing severe marginalization. It is nothing new to assert that older adults as an entity are often rendered 'invisible' in many societies (Phillipson 1998), as the seemingly important agendas of younger generations take precedence in governmental policy proclamations and funding priorities. How does the university sector in this country relate to initiatives such as *active ageing* and *age friendliness* and to exhortations for a lifelong learning society? While there are sporadic attempts to connect with seniors throughout the higher education system, I argue that there is insufficient coherence in the engagement of universities with older people, significant numbers of whom are experiencing poverty, neglect and social isolation (ACNZ 2018).

To appreciate the fuller context of the above scenario, I initially explain the broader socio-cultural context of this bi-cultural country, Aotearoa/New Zealand. I then pursue the conditions under which older people conduct their lives exposing serious cleavages in resource allocation, particularly in educational opportunities. I interrogate the sub-themes of *lifelong learning* and how they relate to the circumstances of older people, emphasizing how efforts at social inclusion of seniors help to ameliorate some aspects of social inequalities. I discuss the priorities of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) for higher education, especially how these impact upon seniors, defined here as people aged 65+ years (linked to the provision

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of a universal government pension). Higher education is a prominent player in the tertiary education landscape of this country, but it is by no means free of the constraints shared by a multitude of other providers of educational opportunities open to the public and funded by the TEC. Next, I review the position of universities and their attempts, albeit lacking co-ordination, to meaningfully engage with older adults and particularly those most oppressed by social inequalities. Finally, in a spirit of optimism, I point to three ways forward that may engender more proactive engagement of universities with seniors.

14.2 The Broader Socio-cultural Context

It is not by accident that I refer to this country as Aotearoa/New Zealand (as opposed to New Zealand). This is to acknowledge the bi-cultural character of this nation stemming from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 in which the partners were British Government representatives (Pākehā) and mainly northern *iwi* (tribes) of Māori. While interpretations of the document(s) may differ, this agreement at least set a platform for more congenial relationships between colonizer and colonized. From a Māori perspective, the issue of *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty) was of utmost importance and this aspiration continues in contemporary New Zealand society as a driver for Māori initiatives within *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) and in collaboration with Pākehā. In current educational policy, the main principles from the Treaty are those of *protection* (of *te reo*, the language), *partnership* and *participation.* The last mentioned is especially significant in terms of social inclusion because historically Māori have been over-represented statistically in terms of marginalization in the mainstream Pākehā social institutions such as education, health, corrections and housing (Bishop and Glynn 2003; Walker 1990).

This country, while historically strongly connected with the UK and Europe, has increasingly embraced its identity as an Asia-Pacific rim nation. Its consciousness of identity is as much aligned to China as it is to the UK/Europe and North America, all important trade partners. This re-orientation is reflected in the 2013 statistics of ethnic groups: European 74%; Māori 14.9%; Pacific Peoples 7.4%; Asian 11.8%; Middle Eastern, Latin American, African 1.2% and other 1.7% (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Arguably, Aotearoa New Zealand is multi-cultural as well as bi-cultural but legally te reo Māori is an official language and Māori take precedence in many social policy imperatives. In regard to multi-culturalism, the rapid influx of Asians, particularly Chinese, has impacted seriously upon social services, of which housing is paramount.

In terms of social inequalities, differences between rich and poor have always existed but since neo-liberalism took hold in governmental policy from 1984, the social cleavages have accelerated. Neo-liberalism has been manifested in lessened governmental intervention, greater accountability, deregulation, increasing privatization and users-pay systems (Olssen et al. 2004). Disproportionately more Māori and Pasifika peoples are in the lower socio-economic groups and poverty continues to affect growing numbers of all New Zealanders, especially as housing costs in the

principal cities, particularly Auckland, escalate beyond the 'average person's' affordability. In the schooling system, the current decile regime of funding (1 for the lowest socio-economic locations and 10 for the richest) has endeavoured to equalize the resource allocation to individual schools but is now under review from the Labour-led coalition government because of its failure to address social inequalities. In general terms, older adults are heterogeneous so that while some (mainly the Pākehā middle-class) are financially stable, there are increasing numbers of seniors fighting to stay financially viable (CffC 2018).

14.3 Older Adults in Aotearoa New Zealand

The phrase *older adults* covers an enormous range of people, but in the context of this country is normally associated with the award of national superannuation at age 65, regardless of gender. As commented by Phillipson (1998), chronological age is a crude indicator of what might constitute later life. We know that ageing affects individuals differentially in terms of biological, cognitive, social and cultural dimensions (Koopman-Boyden 1993). Associating *older age* with key transitions such as *retirement* is also fraught. In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, compulsory retirement does not exist. Given sustained financial pressure on people beyond 65, there are more seniors staying on in the workforce for a variety of reasons, primarily fiscal (Beatty and Visser 2005; Davey and Cornwall 2003; Findsen 2014). According to the 2013 census, there were 22.1% of those aged 65 years or more employed in the workforce, compared with 11.4% in 2001. Overall, the dominant characteristic of older adults is their heterogeneity (Findsen 2005).

Social divisions among older people in this society exist in the rural-urban divide and unsurprisingly in terms of ethnicities (Boston and Davey 2006). The familiar story of marginalized groups such as new immigrants, those forced into premature retirement and people living with disabilities, has its parallels in older adulthood. In effect, many seniors experience multiple disadvantages across gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and other areas of social stratification (Phillipson 2013). While such divisions can be traced across family incomes, housing and health conditions, in older adult education these too can be fairly readily observed (Withnall 2010).

14.4 Lifelong Learning and Tertiary Education

The term *lifelong learning* has multiple meanings. Historically, it has strong connections with the Faure et al. (1972) and the Delors (1996) reports. Both these international reports argue for a holistic vision of how individuals, communities and nations should prioritize learning as a basic ingredient of daily living. Importantly, too, there is acknowledgement of not only the cognitive dimension of learning but also the social and affective (Illeris 2004). The major themes arising from a

discussion of lifelong learning are identified as the economic imperative, personal fulfilment, active citizenship and social inclusion (Findsen and Formosa 2011; Wain 2004).

14.4.1 The Economic Imperative

In relation to economic performance, few people would argue against the need for nations to be proficient in the development of their workforces and for the training/education of individuals who work within them. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, competition within the workforce is increasing and at times intergenerational rivalry can surface as more seniors remain in the workforce beyond 65 (Davey 2006). While current younger generations sometimes complain about the perceived more favourable financial conditions of the 'baby-boomers' compared with themselves (many of whom need to take out student loans to procure a degree and in the process accumulate significant debt), older adults also face financial stringencies as the generation now sandwiched between older parents and their own children/grandchildren. As previously mentioned, Māori and Pasifika seniors are more than likely to be in the lowest socio-economic stratum and face special expectations and obligations associated with the collective and communal orientation of *whānau* (extended family) and *iwi* (tribe) (Bishop and Glynn 2003). In relation to social inequalities faced by seniors, their economic viability is crucial in continuing to meet unexpected changes as they age.

14.4.2 Personal Fulfilment

Personal fulfilment has commonly been identified as a second strand of lifelong learning discourse. Emanating from the classic liberal tradition of adult education (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982; Wain 2004), this theme stresses the rights of individuals for continuing learning/education throughout the lifecourse, including in older age. Commonly in older adulthood, informal learning takes precedence amid familiar surroundings of family and social networks or seniors engage in non-formal education (Findsen 2006). In this country, opportunities for self-expression in later life learning exist in such agencies as the University of the Third Age (U3A), primarily a middle-class pre-occupation (Swindell 1999), and in a multitude of socially-oriented agencies.

14.4.3 Active Citizenship

The notion of active citizenship is a third component of a lifelong learning agenda. In this regard, the provision of learning/education from non-formal education agencies assumes more significance. As identified by Golding (2012), there are numerous clubs and organizations which depend upon the membership of older people for their continuing viability. Prominent among these agencies, men's sheds have become popular in many countries, primarily from within the Western world as a location for establishing social relationships while conducting projects (Golding 2015). Older people are members of many social movements (environmental; church-based; work-related) in which their engagement is very significant. Through volunteering in social agencies, many seniors not only fulfil some of their own desire to 'pay back' society but also contribute positively to its welfare (Milligan and Conradson 2006).

14.4.4 Social Inclusion

Linked to the active citizenship theme of lifelong learning is the notion of social inclusion (or the avoidance of social exclusion). In tertiary education, this concept has special salience for Māori and Pasifika older people, given that the 'priority groups' for tertiary education are Māori, Pasifika and under 25 s (TEC 2012). Many groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand feel that they are marginalized (e.g. new immigrants) and governmental policies have been implemented to try to lessen the social dislocation of these people. Included in this list, older adults are often left out of consideration and the higher education sector is guilty of this neglect. Fortunately, outside of the university sector there are emergent groups and agencies that are geared to meet the (learning) needs of seniors, such as Seniornet and welfare-oriented agencies.

Having discussed the key strands of lifelong learning, it is now useful to review how tertiary education (and higher education as a subset) in Aotearoa New Zealand is structured and how this system works for and against seniors' (learning) aspirations.

14.5 The Tertiary Education Commission

The key Governmental body associated with tertiary and higher education is the Tertiary Education Commission established in 1989. Essentially, it is the primary funder of a vast array of post-compulsory education opportunities and works with providers, including universities, to establish investment plans as guides for future provision. In accord with these agreements, the TEC enacts quality assurance and accountability mechanisms to this sector. The composition of tertiary education is described as follows:

- Eight universities,
- Sixteen polytechnics, some remodelled as institutes of technology in main urban areas,
- Three *whare wānanga* (Māori controlled tertiary education "houses of learning"),
- Several hundred Private Training Establishments (PTEs) in domains such as travel and hospitality, language schools, business, vocational training and so on,
- Adult and Community Education, to include Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs), community education in high schools, adult literacy and numeracy and so on (TEC 2019).

While there is considerable diversity of provision, there is still significant social stratification across the providers – for instance, universities are usually regarded as higher status institutions, and have a very different orientation from private institutions required to generate profit. In each of the above categories of education provider, older adults are among the participants and the commitment to this group varies among individual agencies (Findsen 2005).

14.6 Higher Education in Aotearoa New Zealand

The system of Higher Education (HE) in New Zealand reflects its colonial past in that the universities have been modelled from British antecedents (Dakin 1992). Institutions of higher education are part of the state's apparatus in disseminating traditions, values and ideologies. The neo-liberal reforms from the 1980s onwards have had a serious impact on the directions of higher education in this country. In many aspects, universities feel like corporations rather than not-for-profits as Vice-Chancellors endeavour to balance educational and fiscal goals. The primary 'targets' for university recruitment are school-leavers and the institutions remain oriented towards their needs (as in managing accommodation requirements). Internationalization is an important contributor to the coffers of higher education and to other post-compulsory providers. While it engenders diversity and cultural enrichment, the economic bottom-line is not far from management's psyche.

The massification of higher education throughout the Western world (Layer 2005; Thomas 2001) produced a more diversified body of students in most universities. Historically, Māori and Pasifika students have still struggled in universities for equivalence in terms of recruitment, retention and educational outcomes (Smith 2012). As pointed out by the Ministry of Education (MoE) New Zealand (2006, 2007), the majority of Māori students do not come directly from high school but are mature-aged when they enrol in post-compulsory education. According to the MoE, over 30% of all tertiary students are 'older students' (defined as over 40 years) and nearly 8% of all New Zealanders over 40 are enrolled in tertiary education, even if the majority are enrolled in sub-degree certificates and diplomas (MoE 2006, p. 1). Scott (2010, p. 1) has observed that the participation patterns include:

- Nearly half (48%) of New Zealanders aged 25–64 were in some form of study in 2006
- Participation decreased with age for formal study but peaked in the 45–54 age group for non-formal study
- 77% of those who did non-formal study in 2006, did so for job reasons.

Amid the observations concerning participation patterns of older people (e.g. Tuckett and McAulay 2005; Oduaran and Bhola 2006), the trend of more older people undertaking education/training for vocational purposes (e.g. preparing for an encore career) signifies the complexity of motives of older people engaging in tertiary and higher education. Clearly, both expressive and instrumental motives for training/education are relevant (Hiemstra 1976).

If a system-wide analysis of seniors' participation in universities in Aotearoa/New Zealand were to be undertaken, it would be hampered by the lack of statistical data emanating from either the TEC or the MoE. The failure to collect data on people's participation beyond 60 years is testimony to the relative insignificance of seniors to the Government and to the purposes of universities. What we do know is anecdotal and/or related to the specifics of individual institutions. At the institution of this author (the University of Waikato), there has been previously a solid relationship built up between the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) and several older people's groups in the city of Hamilton, both Pākehā and Māori. From a Pākehā perspective, the CCE worked alongside a large contingent of seniors in Hamilton (known as the 60+ Continuing Education group) and several groups from regional towns in the University's region. From a Māori perspective, the CCE established a memorandum of agreement with the Rauawaawa Trust, a local Māori-based agency concerned with the holistic development of well-being among *kaumātua* (elders) in respect to housing, education, social welfare and health promotion. The University adhered to the priorities for adult and community education (ACE) set by the Tertiary Education Commission in deciding which programmes were appropriate for a university, while the Trust developed the teaching staff and logistics of implementation of a *kaupapa*-based (using Māori values and pedagogy) programme. The model has been based on peer learning, essentially of kaumātua working with kaumātua, and is distinctive because of its focus on elders.

Unfortunately, in 2012 the then National-led government decided to curtail all funding to universities for ACE through the Tertiary Education Commission. What were the consequences? The University of Waikato closed its doors on its Centre for Continuing Education, in effect, its major interface with communities for non-credit programmes. The bulk of the 60+ groups survived due to voluntary labour and small donations. The Rauawaawa Trust reduced its offerings and again depended on goodwill to continue. The monetarist orientation of the University over-rode the need to engage with community, more particularly, with older adults in the region. An irony is that given the Government's stated focus through the Tertiary Education Commission on the learning needs of Māori, Pasifika and under 25 s as 'priority groups', the elimination of funding to universities for ACE severely reduced provision to older adults, and Māori especially.

14.7 Older Adult Education in New Zealand

As already established, the priorities of the TEC, the main funding source for higher education, are not those attuned to the learning needs of older people. As a consequence, from the institutions' financial stance, there is little incentive to engage proactively with seniors. One framework for determining the utility of education for seniors is that of the three 'faces' of educational gerontology as proposed by pioneer, Peterson (1976, 1980). He scoped the field as the interface of adult education with social gerontology to include the following dimensions:

- Education for and with older adults
- Public education about ageing
- Education of (para)professionals in the field of ageing

The next section deals with each of these domains in turn and the operations of higher education.

14.7.1 Education with and for Older Adults

The dominant pattern of universities' provision, especially for qualifications, is to adopt a paternalistic attitude towards seniors and provision for older people, either specific programmes geared at their overt needs (e.g. Preparing for retirement) or more generalized programming that might also attract older citizens (Findsen 2005). When continuing education in universities in this country was stronger than its current dismal state, reduced staff resources under a neo-liberal ethos meant that more indirect support be directed towards older adult education agencies to encourage greater independence. This approach arguably promoted seniors' self-empowerment and reflected an approach of engagement *with* rather than *for* older adults. The above instances of the 60+ Continuing Education groups and the Rauawaawa Trust engagement with the University have echoed this model.

14.7.2 Public Education About Ageing

The diversity of institutional structures and subjects taught in universities makes it difficult to judge how much public education about ageing is actually occurring. In the universities where medical schools operate (Auckland and Otago), there is greater awareness of the links between ageing, health and social issues. In research programmes such as the National Science Challenge on Ageing Well (2018), in which there are five research strands connected to 15 projects, there are periodical public announcements of how research is progressing as part of a dissemination phase. In most universities, the social sciences (including Education) provide a

basis for either credit-driven qualifications in areas such as Social Work or Psychology, and to a lesser extent, seminars for the public. This space around public education is certainly downplayed by higher education and has been hampered by the curtailment in continuing education in almost all eight universities.

14.7.3 Education of (para) Professionals in the Field of Ageing

Professional Continuing Education (credit-awarding) is still available in higher education and reflects the relative strengths of particular universities. Programmes in the health sciences, the legal profession, management, architecture, leisure and sports, all have the potential to embrace aspects of ageing into their curriculum. Given the growing proportions of older adults in Aotearoa/New Zealand over ensuing decades, the expectation is that Continuing Professional Education in (active) ageing will expand in accord with a trend towards an *aged society* (Boston and Davey 2006). Anticipated trends in this arena should include expansion of online programmes, greater provision of in-service training and a more cross-disciplinary approach to understanding ageing.

14.8 Future Potential in Higher Education

Education, including higher education, has the potential to domesticate or to liberate (Freire 1972). Greater engagement of older people in the work of universities in and of itself is insufficient in terms of dealing with social inequalities experienced by seniors. However, it is a starting point or a stage of re-engagement. There are at least three ways in which higher education could seriously look to consolidate for greater effectiveness of social connectedness of elders, in terms of Peterson's (1976) three dimensions, as follows.

14.8.1 Age Friendly Universities

The concept of age-friendly organizations, cities and regions has received increased attention in recent years (Slowey 2015). In particular, the notion of an age-friendly university has been explored by at least three universities (Dublin City University; Strathclyde University; Arizona State University) as examined in an article by Talmage et al. (2016). This concept fits comfortably with the strands of lifelong learning – in this case, the social inclusion element is significant. Talmage et al. (2016), on the assumption that greater engagement of older adults is expected and

beneficial, put forward 10 principles to be implemented by universities. Most of these principles have strong congruence with Peterson's (1976) three domains and the following selected principles demonstrate the best likelihood of social inclusion for seniors in the work of universities:

- To encourage the participation of older adults in all the core activities of the university, including educational and research programmes
- To actively engage with the university's own retired community
- To ensure regular dialogue with organizations representing the interests of older people.

The three universities identified above exhibit varying priorities but have in common a commitment to better meeting the aspirations of seniors, including those besieged by unfortunate material and social circumstances. All three universities practice these fundamental principles to varying degrees.

14.8.2 The Adoption of Māori Pedagogy

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, disproportionate numbers of kaumātua (older adults) are experiencing at least double or multiple disadvantages (Bourdieu 1974) – in health, housing and education particularly. For Māori, an approach that is fully compatible with their *kaupapa* (purpose; philosophy) can develop greater self-esteem and resilience. The adoption of a holistic lifelong learning perspective that emphasizes their strengths in accord with appropriate cultural dimensions is a sensible way forward for this indigenous group (Findsen 2012). The following principles, as expounded by Smith (2000, pp. 66–68), should help to empower kaumātua to support one another towards greater autonomy. The principles of:

- Self-determination or relative autonomy
- Validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity
- Incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
- Incorporating cultural structures that emphasize collectivity rather than individuality such as the notion of the extended family
- A shared and collective vision and philosophy.

Smith's framework draws upon a critical approach akin to Freire's but he has modified it to address the political, cultural and economic realities of many Māori seniors. These principles are now deemed central to Māori (seniors) moving forward, in accord with self-determination and away from deficit conceptualizations of the past. The work of the Rauawaawa Trust already embraces these principles in practice.

14.8.3 Inter-generational Learning/Education

A third way forward is to more consciously weigh up the advantages of enhancing inter-generational learning/education. In Europe, the publication entitled *Learning across generations in Europe: Contemporary issues in older adult education* (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014) has drawn attention to the prospects of cross-generational interaction, whether planned or more informally-induced. The concept has potential for enriching the lives of different cohorts in Aotearoa/New Zealand: through the mentoring of the older generations towards the younger (occasionally the reverse), including in the workplace; heterogeneous groups of learners working together on community projects; in situational life experience exchanges (such as pre-school children engaging with members of a retirement centre). Higher education could take a lead in promoting this kind of interchange either more formally through structured learning in classrooms or via joint experiences such as field trips). As Mezirow would attest (Mezirow 1981), the possibilities for *perspective transformation* and informed social action could be enhanced through inter-generational learning.

14.9 A Voluntary Contribution

While it is rather easy to lambast universities for a relative failure to engage with senior citizens and offer educational programmes akin to the U3A movement or the American Lifelong Learning Institutes equivalents, there is likely to be indirect assistance afforded to agencies whose concerns are directed towards the well-being of older citizens. Significant numbers of older adults feel the need to 'give back' to society through volunteering roles (Findsen 2014). On a personal level, the author has worked for several years, more latterly as President of Age Concern Hamilton, in one of 34 sites where the Age Concern movement operates in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The purpose of Age Concern New Zealand is described as:

> Age Concern is a charitable organisation dedicated solely to people over 65. We promote dignity, wellbeing, equity and respect and provide expert information and support services in response to older people's needs. We are active and vocal on relevant issues and work to ensure older people stay connected with their family, friends and community (ACNZ 2018).

In the Hamilton and surrounding Waikato region, this agency provides services financed through Governmental and local contracts and grants, to work with older people in significantly impoverished conditions and/or social isolation. Age Concern Hamilton offers support through an accredited visiting service (matching usually older volunteers to lonely elders), a shopping service for elders, a health promotion programmes (including falls prevention; an Eat Well, Live Well course), an education programme and an elder abuse and neglect service. As a volunteer in this governance role, my discretionary time has been donated by myself and the University when incidents require my attention. My contribution, as for many older people, has

been in part courtesy of the University system and has been not usually visible and nor does it match teaching and research as a strategic imperative of the institution. Nevertheless, the University has tacitly approved my involvement, especially as this governance work intersects with my research agenda.

14.10 Concluding Comments

Higher education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has not historically embraced the potential of engaging with older adults, especially the more marginalized, in its vision or operations. At best, initiatives have been sporadic and inconsistent though on occasion some innovation does occur. Social inequalities have been endured by distinctive minorities in this country, especially among Māori and Pasifika, despite these two groups' needs being among the espoused top priorities of respective governments. Added to this scenario, is the reality that even middle-class Pākehā have not been well treated by the universities. The destructive policy actions against universities by the TEC in regard to adult and community education have further impeded progress.

There are instances of proactive engagement with seniors, more often than not in indirect engagement of staff with volunteer agencies or via research. The apparent neglect of older adults by higher education may be over-emphasized, given the difficulties in collecting valid data. There is undoubted potential for more successful engagement along the three dimensions enunciated by Peterson – working directly with seniors; through public education about ageing; via continuing professional education.

Finally, some optimism can be expressed through advocates following one or more of the pathways of embracing the concept of age-friendliness of universities and demanding implementation; through more systematically tracking appropriate pedagogy for respective ethnic groups, especially kaumātua; through intelligently operationalizing inter-generational learning/education that should benefit both socially-marginalized seniors and younger generations.

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Chapter 15
Adult Workers as Learners in the USA Higher Education Landscape

Carol Kasworm

15.1 Introduction

Over the last 20 years, the USA economy has experienced a major restructuring of its workforce in relation to changing industrial challenges and competitive global markets. Further, the changing roles of women and increased multicultural diversity impacting the workforce culture, as well as the more demanding expectations for updated knowledge and skills in the workplace have all generated significant challenges. These challenges have repositioned higher education and its mission concerning the dynamic and evolving nature of knowledge and skill in relation to the knowledge work economy and a lifelong learning society. Higher education is being challenged to become an institution grounded in lifelong learning. No longer is it sufficient to solely focus its mission on educating traditional-aged college students. In the USA, these younger students make up approximately 68% of the 2015 undergraduate population; however, many do not complete college during their younger years. Approximately 42.1% of first-year entry undergraduate students complete a postsecondary credential in 4 years, while 23.5% were no longer enrolled by the end of the fourth year (National Student Clearinghouse Center 2018).

Although these drop-outs desire to return to college and complete their college education, they often face few opportunities to re-enter because of competing time demands based in their complex lifestyle of work and family. Of equal importance to the future of higher education are the growing number of adult learners (25 years of age or older) with limited or no prior college experiences who face many challenges in starting college at an older age. These potential postsecondary learners represent approximately 32 million adults who have previous college credits, but do

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not currently attend college. In addition, there are an estimated additional two million first-time entry adult learners (Erisman and Steele 2015).

Given these dilemmas, USA higher education is facing a critical disjuncture between its historic paradigm of serving young full-time students, and the growing lifelong learning needs to serve the broad spectrum of adults, many of whom can only participate in limited time periods due to family and work obligations. As noted by Merisotis, president and CEO of the Lumina Foundation, only 5% of current US college students represent the assumed profile of the young, full-time college student. Rather, the majority of today's college students now represent a wide variety of patterns of episodic participation, part-time enrolment, attendance at multiple institutions, and co-responsibility for family along with student commitments (Friedersdorf 2016). In addition, the majority of these undergraduate students (both younger and older adults) are now workers who are more likely to work off-campus for 20 h or more per week. Because this current student profile differs from the assumed prototypical student, these students are often perceived as more fragile and vulnerable. Moreover, in examining past patterns of participation and completion, the work commitments of students are often assumed to be a key deterrent to continuous participation, and therefore these students are considered to be at high-risk. They often also represent other risk factors including being first-generation attendees, and often are individuals who struggle with lower socio-economic incomes.

This chapter will focus on higher education in relation to this important subset of undergraduate students, adult collegiate students, who actively participate in the workforce while also participating in collegiate coursework. This discussion will highlight background research on adult workers who are undergraduates, as well as the current dissonance and related dilemmas between higher education and the business and industrial employer community. The second half of this chapter will focus upon current and future policy reforms for access and support of these adult learners. Through enhanced policy focused upon formal, nonformal and informal education and the currency of collegiate credit and certificates in the USA workforce, it is projected that reimaged structures and services in higher education can more dramatically support the knowledge economy. Through a broad focus on lifelong learning, this last section will re-examine alternative policies for higher education to engage in new constructs for identifying viable knowledge that is cutting-edge and in closer alignment with the current knowledge economy.

15.2 College Students as Workers and Workers as College Students

15.2.1 Context of Changing Demographics of Worker Participation in USA Higher Education

As noted by the American Council on Education,

> Working students are ubiquitous in American higher education. Students are more likely to work than they are to live on campus, to study full time, to attend a four-year college or university, or to apply for or receive financial aid. Students work regardless of the type of institution they attend, their age or family responsibilities, or even their family income or educational and living expenses. Working while enrolled is perhaps the single most common major activity among America's diverse undergraduate population. (American Council on Education 2006, p. 2)

The most recent statistics suggests that 72% of younger and older adults are undergraduate students who also work. This group is comprised of 20% full-time, year-round workers and 52% who work less or intermittently through part-time and episodic full-time employment. These students work for many reasons, including having sufficient funds to pay for college, responding to employer expectations for upgrading knowledge through completion of college credentials, as well as engaging in the workforce to create a stronger portfolio of prior work experiences when seeking entry into full-time career roles. Although collegiate leaders question the advisability of attending college while also participating in full-time (and often part-time) work roles, these students believe that their current livelihood and future careers are significantly enhanced with collegiate credentials. One clear indicator for these students was experienced with the Post-Recession economy and related job growth. Out of 11.6 million of the new jobs, 11.5 million, or 99%, had gone to workers with at least some college education (Carnevale et al. 2016). From a contrasting comparison,

> Of the 7.2 million jobs lost in the recession, 5.6 million were jobs for workers with a high school diploma or less. These workers have recovered only 1 percent of those job losses over the past six years. This group also saw no growth among well-paying jobs with benefits. (Carnevale et al. 2016, p. 1)

This shifting in business and industry's expectations towards initial job entry with post-secondary credentials has challenged traditional society pathways for high school graduates, and placed new demands upon both the attending college student and the business and industrial employer sector.

Of equal importance, over the last 50 years, there has been a growing awareness and responsiveness of specific higher education institutions, continuing education and adult degree programmes to provide access, support, curricular and learning options to adult workers. Key examples have included 2-year community colleges (with close relationships with business and industry) and adult-oriented institutions and adult-customized programmes (recruiting students and collaborating with the business and industrial sector). These innovative higher education programmes have been typically customized to specific careers/business and industry sectors, often placed in compartmentalized divisions or units to support innovation and customization, and often utilizing both student input, as well as feedback from business advisory councils. In the last 10 years, a growing number of public and private institutions have specifically courted business and industry to create partnerships and support. There has also been a presumed subsidiary benefit of creating additional access and support for new adult workers who become students. However, there is still a big gap between desired equality of access and support for adult

workers and the realities of current higher education policy and practice. And there is a continued gap between business and industrial beliefs of their educational needs for entry-workers and their limited training and development programmes for the current workforce. Lastly, the past paradigm of formal education credentialing through classroom-based learning is becoming only one avenue for current adult learning models.

15.2.2 Relationship of College Participation to Adult Workers

Although many college leaders have often presumed that students who do not work while in college are more academically successful, there has been limited research exploring academic success and various levels of student work efforts. The majority of studies of young college students suggest that limited work (typically on campus connected to academic majors) is the most beneficial. Limited studies of older adult worker participation have reported adequate to high academic performance while working (Kasworm et al. 2002).

There have been a few research investigations exploring more complex insights into the relationship of work to adult learner pursuits of undergraduate studies. One of the more significant investigations was *Work first, study second: Adults who combine employment and postsecondary enrolment* (Berker et al. 2003). This study examined how adults (age 24 and above) perceived their co-engagement with work and college attendance. Two groups were identified: one group represented themselves as primarily *employees who also study* and a second group suggested that they were primarily *students who work* to pay for study. Although not clearly delineated in relation to academic performance or quality of collegiate involvements, these differing perspectives suggested different influencers on the type of participation and also the higher education setting more often selected by each grouping. Among the first group, employees who study [representing two thirds of working undergraduates age 24 or older], nearly 70% combined full-time work with part-time attendance. Of this larger group of employees who were also college students, nearly one-half received some sort of financial aid, including one-quarter who received aid from their employers (Berker et al. 2003). ‘These working adults made up a large percentage of the undergraduate population (of adult learners) and most of them pursued postsecondary education to obtain skills necessary to advance in their careers’ (Berker et al. 2003, p. ix). Because of their part-time enrolment, these students took longer to gain a degree, were more likely to attend 2-year or for-profit institutions, and were more likely to have a parent with no more than a high school education. They more often suggested they would continue their careers/work in similar areas to their current employment and aligned with their college degree.

The second group, those who identified as *students who work*, were more likely to be full-time students (70%) within this group. Within this group, students were more likely to attend 4-year institutions (both public and private not-for-profit

institutions). These adult students were also projecting their futures in more broad and diverse career options after college completion and suggesting different career paths from their current employment.

Because of the datedness of this study, it is problematic to assume current adult students now represent similar understandings and actions. In particular, the current higher education scene now reflects a more complex set of programmes and institutions, such as the significant growth of e-learning programmes and adult-oriented curricular structures. Approximately 30% of the 2015 total collegiate population participated in distance education offerings, representing a 4% increase over the last 2 years. Those online learners were split almost evenly between students who are exclusively online (14%) and those who took some courses in person (16%) (Allen and Seaman 2017). However, adult students (25 years of age or older) represented over 83% of those students enrolled in an exclusively online programme. In addition, there has been significant growth of adult-degree and accelerated degree programmes targeted to adult learners in the last 15 years. These adult-degree and accelerated degree programmes are configured so that adults can gain equivalent course hours as they would with a full-time student load, but presented and sequenced with one or two courses at a time in an extensive condensed learning format. Thus, unlike the earlier study based upon traditional semester on-campus participation of 16 weeks and a load of 12 course hours per semester for a full-time student, these adults can now do equivalent full-time enrolment in a sequenced course load in new formats (often distance learning structures) and learning experiences based upon adult experiential learning options. These new contexts for access and more dominant curricular designs sensitive to serve adult workers have fostered changing student participation patterns in select higher education institutions (growing numbers of full-time equivalent adult students).

15.3 Context of Upskilling Adult Workers for the Knowledge Economy

As one of many voices regarding the growing demands for educated knowledge workers, King (2015) suggests that business and industry is facing momentous change and disruption. He notes that the workforce of today now requires a more complex, cutting-edge, and relevant level of advanced knowledge and skills. Higher education is criticized for its slowness to adapt and to provide the required up-to-date knowledge and skills for the business community needs, and to produce knowledge and skill ready students. This rapidly changing knowledge economy presses upon higher education to create partnerships and new efforts to work with business and industry to continuously update curricula and needed knowledge and skills, offer relevant operational knowledge for current business environments, as well as provide access and support with educational options for their workforce.

15.3.1 Perspectives of Knowledge Needs, Higher Education, and Adult Students Who Are Workers

Although much of the concern in business and industry has focused upon revamping curricula to create a more relevant and up-to-date knowledge and skill base, there has been other significant concerns beyond just updating the higher education curricula and related reforms to meet the current needs of the knowledge economy. Three perspectives suggest alternative considerations in reforming higher education to better align with the work economy and preparing an adult workforce.

The first perspective considers the current focus of business leaders upon revamping higher education curricula and their often-unstated diminishing role in on-the-job training of entry employees. Many suggest that the lack of updated college curriculum has led to a skills gap for business and industry. This skills gap represents a serious disjuncture between employer-designated knowledge and skills needs for their workforce, the current levels of knowledge and skills in the applicant pool, and the concomitant responses by higher education and business training departments. A study by Career Builder (2014) found that more than half of surveyed employers had vacant job openings and were looking for qualified candidates. Eighty-one percent of these employers claimed that it was at least somewhat difficult to fill certain positions, blaming a skills gap between their required skills for a position and the skills possessed by applicants. However,

> only 33 percent of employers said they would consider [conducting] on-the-job training if they were having trouble finding candidates for a particular job, while 31 percent reported they would consider cross-training current employees. (Career Builder 2014, p. 6)

These employers had an expectation that postsecondary, adult, and continuing education should prepare workers to make a direct transition into a specifically configured work environment. In the Career Builder study, 50% of employers believed that applicants should already possess specific job skills, while 60% of the applicants preferred to believe those skills should be acquired on the job through workplace learning.

The second perspective examined current understandings of professional development and training opportunities offered by business and industry. O'Donnell (2006) examined the role of higher education for employee development. Ninety-three percent (93%) of adult learners noted their involvement in continuing education activities, with 63% involved in formal work-related courses. They noted that they were urged by employers to engage or stay in continuing education to enhance knowledge and skills.

The third perspective explores the knowledge outcomes of adult workers who are college students. Past discussions presume that the classroom learner enters as a 'tabula rasa' (blank slate) and views learning as a simple transmission of updated curricula and instruction to be memorized. However, a paradoxical understanding

has surfaced in a study of adult undergraduate workers who bring work and life experiences into the classroom learning context. A sizeable number of adults who were workers reported active learning engagement and were able to create new understandings and connection applications of classroom and work knowledge, and thus integrated these past experiences, classroom knowledge and understandings with their current work environment (Kasworm 2003). In essence, they believed that the classroom experience enhanced or changed their work efforts. However, there was also a small subset of adult worker undergraduates (approximately 20% in this study) who were anchored to past beliefs and experiences and therefore disavowed embracing new perspectives and theories from the classroom. They were anchored in past understandings from their work world and would not consider new or contradictory understandings presented in the classroom. They saw no relevance and connection of the classroom knowledge to their current work situations. Thus, engaging adult students in learning new knowledge and skill also involves attitudinal and critically reflective engagement. With these two adult worker groups, they may have attended the same class, but left the room with extremely different understandings and therefore may not have been fully prepared for the changing knowledge economy of business and industry.

Thus, these three perspectives suggest there is a more complex relationship between the changing knowledge economy, the needs for business and industry to have workers who have advanced and relevant knowledge and skills, the learning outcomes for adult workers, and higher education's role in the nature of classroom instruction and adult learner engagement.

15.3.2 Implications for Reform of Higher Education

The following discussion will suggest a variety of reforms focused upon credit and non-credit offerings through formal, nonformal and informal learning and in alignment with higher education's role to generate, validate, and certify advanced knowledge for society.

One of the dominant challenges for reforming USA higher education is to create a more seamless, accessible, and supportive set of policies and related services for credit-oriented collegiate student learners who are adult workers. These reforms would include: (1) academic policies models and support structures for adult workers, (2) policies which support innovation and generative knowledge creation models infused into credit coursework aligned with best practices in business and industry, and (3) related state and federal governance policies focused on strengthening access and participation for all adult learners towards a lifelong learning society.

15.4 Academic Policy Models and Support Structures for Adult Workers as Students

Institutions, both public and private, should embrace policy reforms reflecting equity access and support for diverse collegiate learners. These key academic policy reforms would focus on four areas that have significantly influenced adult learners, and specifically adult workers, and would broaden equity access and support for all learners.

15.4.1 Equity Model Reforms Based in Valuing Knowledge beyond an Instructor-Led Classroom

Historically, collegiate institutions have only valued knowledge based in instructor-led courses taught in accredited institutions, and defined by 'credit hour' measures. This policy reform provides a support for relevant knowledge generated through past life experiences, beyond classroom-generated knowledge, and would be equated with the currency towards certification through credit hour equivalence. A growing number of institutions serving adult learners have demonstrated the efficacy of prior learning assessment and competency-based education models, privileging academically equivalent prior knowledge of adults through their work, their self-directed learning, and related training and continuing education offerings. This model of policy reform would create mechanisms and supports for systematic acceptance of alternative credit assessment and award structures (including Prior Learning Assessment (PLA) based in either portfolio assessment or USA knowledge assessment tests to include CLEP, DDST, CREDIT, and other alternative credit systems) (Kasworm et al. 2002). There are growing trends also towards competency-based education, independent of classroom-based learning models (Carnevale et al. 2015). Several institutional studies have found positive impact on adult persistence and completion of degree programmes supported by prior learning assessment credit awards, as well as competency-based models.

These equity policy structures for institutional postsecondary education would be invaluable for stylized access and support to significant numbers of adult learners. Academic policies that create and support equity-equivalent knowledge assessment structures also support recognition of cutting edge knowledge generated from work situations, as well as the impact of business and industrial professional development and training. This policy would be a significant component in creating stronger partnerships between business and industry and higher education.

15.4.2 Equity Policy Structures Accommodating the Unique Backgrounds of Re-entry Adult Workers

Many re-entry adults (who had dropped-out at a younger age) often return to college with a different motivation and a focused commitment to college pursuits. However, these adults had often initially left college with earlier lackluster academic performance and often are currently experiencing discouragement based in their earlier transcript of poor grades that continue to be part of their cumulative GPA. Collegiate equity policies and structures focus upon supporting quality performance through a support structure for institutional review of past collegiate records and current academic performance. Focused on re-entry students who have had two or more semesters of strong academic performance, this policy is based in the concept of 'academic bankruptcy', creating a revised record for cumulative grade point average, based in current re-entry academic performance. These adult students would petition to waive earlier college credit, representing less than C grades from 5 to 10 earlier years, to not be part of their current computed cumulative grade point average. This policy has proven invaluable for the motivation and performance of re-entry adults and in studies has shown impact upon higher retention and completion rates of these re-entry students.

Another set of equity policies of significance to many returning adult workers is the full-access to academic skills development and time management skills. This policy would have significant impact on most adult learners and be of significant value to those who desire to participate in online learning and distance education. These learners need structures targeted to the development of a stronger set of self-regulated knowledge and behaviour to handle learning at a distance. Because online learning and distance education are of growing importance to adult worker access to college, these policies would also be significant for the retention and completion success of adult students (Kasworm et al. 2002).

15.4.3 Equity Targeted to Customized Support Services

Adult workers require a differentiated set of support services to be successful and effective in collegiate environments. Policy reforms would create services that mesh with the lifestyle and time commitments of adult collegiate students and specifically adult workers. These equity supports would customize specialized admissions practices for adults 25 years of age and older (such as waiving of SAT/ACT requirements). They would offer stylized entry advising and orientation sessions crafted to the needs and concerns of adults. In addition, adult workers have complex needs regarding funding for college participation, thus financial aids counselling is a pivotal equity support. For subsets of adults, equity supports would create specialized career counselling sessions, as well as developmental academic skills courses and related tutoring. Lastly, adults require flexible hours and access to key services

offered by face-to-face, phone, and online services during the day, evening, and weekend. Thus, collegiate services and policies need to be customized to the life-style and needs of the adult student worker.

15.4.4 Equity Focus upon Financial Aid Reforms for Adult Learners

Perhaps the most important and the most difficult of policy reforms is focused upon the increasing costs of attending college and the limited resources to support adult participation. Thus, as noted above, financial costs are often one of the top two reasons for nonparticipation or for dropping out of college.

In the last 15 years, concerns regarding financial aid support have dramatically increased, impacting both the younger and older undergraduate. Analysis by the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) found that in just 5 years the proportion of all college students who had low incomes rose dramatically from 40% of undergraduate students with incomes under 200% of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL) in 2008, to 51% in 2012 (Gault et al. 2014, February). In addition, between 2008 and 2012, the proportion of students who were under 100% of the FPL rose from 30% to 40%. Of equal importance, there has also been an ideological shift in state and federal equity-oriented policies towards individual responsibility for funding college attendance. In the last 30 years, the federal government has decreased investment in grants-in-aid and shifted focus towards subsidized loans. At this same time, most states have shifted responsibility for college support toward students and their parents and away from state support. In addition, while funding from the states to support higher education have declined 40% since 1978, 'at the same time, tuition rates have increased substantially' (Chen and St. John 2011, p. 631).

Although there have been no research studies of financial aid issues directly focused upon adult workers who are college students, three related studies provide a partial portrait. One study was of independent students (for financial aid purposes), noting that those students (most often characterized by adult age status) were less likely to apply for financial aid, were more likely to seek out smaller loans based upon part-time enrolment, and were more often experiencing incomes that were below 125% of the federal poverty level (approximately 29% of independent students in 1999–2000) (Wei et al. 2005). A second study examined statistics on adult student non-completion of degree programmes, noting that the highest factor reported for dropping out was the lack of financial aid support (Kasworm 2014, June). A final study examined a sample of adult students who participated in undergraduate studies and were workers. They reported key support and value of

> being paid while taking work-related courses was a primary perquisite, followed closely by having time during business hours to devote to work-related learning, and employer financing of work-related learning through tuition reimbursement programme and paying for books or materials. (Paulson and Boeke 2006, p. 28)

However, this last study also noted that tuition reimbursement programmes by employers only benefitted approximately 15% of independent students. Other studies of employer support for workers have noted a diminishment in employer reimbursement programmes over the last 20 years.

15.4.5 Innovative and Generative Knowledge Creation Models in Formal Education

Because collegiate higher education is typically based in often dated knowledge, there is a growing need to reframe learning models towards experiential and generative knowledge creation as a second area of higher education reform. Of primary importance for collegiate programmes targeted to adult learners and particularly targeted to adult workers is developing a faculty who have knowledge and skills based in adult learning, experiential and generative learning, and particularly the development of attitudinal and cognitive advanced problem-solving. As noted in the current literature on adult learning, faculty need to be skilled in developing critical reflection in their course offerings, to mesh current understandings of business and industrial practices with these disruptive innovations, and to provide critically reflective experiences to develop alternative analytic perspectives in their adult learners.

One grouping of these generative knowledge models has focused on partnership models between workplace learning and higher education. Because of the growing necessity for infusion of advanced knowledge and skills into the labour force, this model focuses upon democratization of organizational knowledge and skills portfolios across the workforce. No longer are senior executives or older workers considered the more knowledgeable workers. Rather, all workers from entry to long-term employees need continuous updating; they need to be lifelong learners focused upon innovation. Specifically, frontline workers are requiring more of education that has been traditionally reserved for managers and executives; this new knowledge supports rapid prototyping responses to changing demands in the knowledge economy (Stokes 2015, p. xiv).

A second set of models has reflected the tenets of lifelong learning – formal episodic engagement. A key unique example is Georgia Tech University, which has attempted a prototype with its recently developed forward-thinking planning model. They are considering having learners/students initially attend college for 1 or 2 years and enter the workforce with a limited contract.

> We [Georgia Tech] imaged that these students would come back six or seven times throughout their career … [H]aving often experienced eight or nine jobs in their lifetime … [our university will attend] … to the needs of the adult learner. (Stokes 2015, p. 80)

Although this model is one of a number of alternatives, it has focused Georgia Tech upon alternative curricula and structures that include an integration of alumni services as part of their focus upon learning for a lifetime, as well as recognizing the short-term viability of knowledge in the workforce.

A third set of knowledge generative models provides parallel structures for course instruction with both workers enrolled in courses, and business/industrial knowledge experts in on-sites experiential modules also lending expertise for integrating knowledge innovation into course offerings. Select courses would have workers identify work problems and focus upon one key element of concern, selecting specific components of the problem and applying knowledge and skills from the course content, but also testing and redefining needed knowledge and skill for problem-solving potentially within the work setting or a simulated work setting. Pivotal to these efforts would be both potential outcomes from problem-solving, but more so critical reflection upon worker understandings, critiques, and applications. Many work problems are highly complex and multi-layered. Thus, these courses often would lead to a more refined narrowing of the focus upon one sub-aspect of the problem issue and of related identification of potential interwoven areas to be explored.

15.5 State and Select Federal Based Policies and Reforms Focused on Adult Learners

The third area for higher education reform has focused upon state-based and federal-based policies. Although the USA has limited governance at the state and federal level for higher education, this area has identified current and future opportunities for policy action that would impact public colleges/universities, as well as those that currently accept federal funding for either financial aid, building initiatives, or research.

15.5.1 Policies for Recruiting and Re-entry Services

There are a number of states which have specifically targeted adult learners who have not previously entered college or who are drop-outs or stop-outs. These policy reforms have typically focused upon supporting the development of the state's workforce economy and have offered funding and policy supports for specialized entry support services, free or reduced tuition, and other incentives. For example, Connecticut has a policy to identify and enrol college dropouts and provides free tuition; Tennessee offers a Reconnect grant to eligible adults for tuition-free training at a technical college; Indiana has established 'You Can, Go Back' to lure back adults into college; and Kentucky has offered a comprehensive entry and support structure set of initiatives. In addition, the Lumina Foundation has been working with WICHE (Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education) and higher education leaders in six states to improve policies and practices to increase adult degree completion.

15.5.2 Equity Policies Focused upon Viability of Transfer Credit

Because the majority of students now attend multiple collegiate institutions during their degree programme pursuits, adult workers face significant barriers and would value policies encouraging and expediting participation across institutions. There are a number of states which have recently established state policies to accept validated transfer credit across institutions. These equity policies would also generate new institutional models for specialized admissions and advisement units for adults, offering customized review of transcripts, transfer equivalency guides, and options to assess past learning equivalent to academic credit, impacting adult participation and persistence in completing undergraduate degrees.

15.5.3 Equity Policies for Financial Aid

Many of the reforms regarding financial aid are unique to the US system of funding, such as modifying rules of Pell grants (a financial aid support from the federal government), as well as creating federal public-funded loans with lower rates of interest and loan policies focused upon debt forgiveness targeted to critical areas of societal need such as supporting individuals who enter the medical and teaching fields. Lastly, business and industry should establish policies which support sufficient tuition reimbursement for employees to attend college. Thus, state and federal policies must reflect support particularly for adult workers to enter and to participate in undergraduate studies.

15.6 Concluding Comments: Academic Reforms for Nonformal and Informal Learning and Adult Learners

In the USA, nonformal and informal learning environments for adults are a significant component of lifelong learning, but are considered an individual right/privilege and not regulated by governmental entities. Although institutions and professional regulatory agencies may have policies for nonformal learning (often with assessment and non-credit certificates or credentials for professional expertise), informal learning is based in the learners' self-directed efforts without assessment or validation. Although the historic focus for much of the knowledge economy has been based in formal credit education, the vitality of innovative knowledge and skill is more often conveyed through nonformal and informal environments. These arenas are very dynamic, fluid, and somewhat idiosyncratic.

In this knowledge economy, significant new knowledge is being created and applied outside of the traditional academy. Thus, this arena of policy reform would

recognize nonformal and informal learning as potential substantive knowledge for validated credit. In considering nonformal education and certification, formal structures are most often based in either specific professional association governance structures or in informal group mutual associations. Recent innovative offerings including MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses), badges and boot camps, are often more valued by business and industry than by traditional higher education institutions. It should also be noted that sectors of nonformal education (which may include forms of informal learning) have been the leading contributors for continuing professional education, workplace learning, and community adult learning programmes. Coordinated systems of assessment and recognition would be important in moving into lifelong learning validation of innovative knowledge for workers.

Key professional groups have developed professional continuing education standards and best practices, and typically have similar structures and policies focused upon key learning outcomes, quality assessment structures, expertise of instructors, and certification of vendors to deliver instructional programmes. In addition, PLA's often utilize business standardized courses for validation and equivalence for alternative credit.

There has been some concern because many of these nonformal learning experiences are not based in an academic world nor crafted by traditional instructors. New policies and reform structures could create systematic linkages between higher education and professional continuing education providers and nonformal learning associational groups. These linkages would establish a common platform for learning outcomes that could be acknowledged and assessed by higher education for credit or non-credit, as well as validation of nonformal education through these professional continuing education associations and nonformal learning groups. This linkage would offer new avenues, policies, and practices for continuous up-dating of both higher education and professional development programmes, as well as bring in key expertise of new knowledge innovation into this circle as co-equal members of the knowledge development team.

Lastly, exploration of policies that provide assessment and validation of informal learning would be strongly valued by adult learners. It has been hypothesized that the future of the knowledge economy rests with the vast territory of innovative informal learning. Although lacking in formal governance structures, the future challenge for higher education reform will be to orchestrate new understandings, structures, and validating assessment translating self-directed, informal learning in relation to credible certification to support the continuum of credit/non-credit, as well as formal, nonformal and informal learning in support of adult workers.

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Chapter 16
Implications of New Life Course Patterns for Higher Education and Workforce Dynamics in Ireland

Maria Slowey and Tanya Zubrzycki

16.1 Introduction: Europe is Ageing

Speaking on Ireland and the future of Europe, the Irish Deputy Prime Minister (Tánaiste) Simon Coveney drew attention to the significant social, economic and personal challenges posed by changing life course patterns and ageing populations across Europe:

> In 1900, Europe represented about a quarter of the world's population. By 2060, it will account for only 5% of the global population. Our share of global GDP is getting smaller too.
>
> So Europe is getting smaller in relative terms and we are getting older as well. In 1900 life expectancy in Europe was 45 years of age. Soon that will be the average age for Europeans. That's great news. It means we are living longer. But it also means we are becoming the oldest continent in the world. The average age in Africa will be just 21.
>
> These changes in society will have huge repercussions for all of us, young and old. Will there be enough people active in the labour force to pay for our pensions? What are the skill-sets needed for people entering the labour market now? How can we ready ourselves for an employment landscape which will be radically re-shaped by robotics and artificial intelligence? Children starting school today will probably end up working in jobs that do not exist yet. Half of today's work activities could be automated by 2055. (Coveney 2018)

As reflected in this speech, current demographic trends show that Ireland is no exception to the global phenomenon referred to as 'population ageing', resulting primarily from stalling fertility rates and increasing longevity (as discussed in

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Chap. 1). A review of ageing population trends in *The Lancet* highlights that if the pace of the past two centuries continues, 'most babies born since 2000 in France, Germany, Italy, the UK, the USA, Canada, Japan, and other countries with long life expectancies will celebrate their 100th birthdays' (Christensen et al. 2009, p. 1196). This study also suggests that increasing numbers of people in their 60s and 70s are capable of contributing to the economy and wider society as a result not only of improvements in health, but also due to changes in the nature of skills required in a post-industrial society, with a shift from roles requiring physical strength to those based more on knowledge and, as other literature indicates, 'soft skills' such as communications, creativity and entrepreneurship.

Recent census data for Ireland show that, of a total population of 4.74 million, the number of people aged 65 and over reached 629,900 in 2016 – an increase of 98,300 since 2011 – making older people the fastest growing segment of the population (CSO 2017, Table 7). In contrast, the number of people aged 15–64 increased by just 37,700, and those aged 0–14 by 29,000. This is a trend which seems set to continue as further projections estimate that the population of people 65 and over in Ireland will reach between 1.5 and 1.6 million by 2051 (CSO 2018). Thus, while in 2009 the median population age of 35 in Ireland was lower than that of other European countries, Ireland's population structure is projected to become more similar to the rest of Europe by 2050 (McCarthy 2010, p. 6). The most notable improvements in life expectancy in Ireland have been in the older age groups, with main contributing factors considered to be the 'improved living conditions coupled with further developments in medical care' (CSO 2013b, p. 13).

These trends carry important implications both for individuals and the wider society. In this chapter we focus in particular on the intersection of three aspects, drawing on the case of Ireland. In the first part (Sect. 16.2), we look at the wider implications for society and public policy. In the second (Sect. 16.3), we turn our attention to implications for higher education and lifelong learning. The third part (Sect. 16.4) connects these through consideration of implications of more people working longer – whether by choice or necessity. In our concluding comments (Sect. 16.5), we highlight the potential value of comparative work in this arena.

16.2 New Life Course Patterns: The Centrality of Lifelong Education and Training

The fact that more people are living longer than previous generations should be a 'good news' story. However, all too often the focus of attention on policy level is on the 'problems' of ageing associated with, for example, pension and health costs. The language of deficit can be all too noticeable in some arenas, and can be misleading – a point taken up by David Istance (Chap. 20). For example, the terminology of commonly used socio-economic statistical measures such as the *Old Age*

Dependency Ratio (the number of people aged 65 and over relative to those of traditional working age of 15–64) and the *Potential Support Ratio* (the number of working age people 20–64 years old for every person aged 65 or above) present the topic as a problem.

This chapter takes a different perspective and explores new opportunities opening up for people at different stages of life with changing dynamics of lifelong learning and work (paid and unpaid). While countries are responding to population ageing in various ways, raising the age of retirement and eligibility for state pensions is on the agenda of most. A number of countries have already abolished the mandatory age of retirement. This is the case, for example, in the United Kingdom and the United States (apart from some industries and occupations which are regulated by law as being exempt). Comparative projections of future retirement ages suggests that age for eligibility for a State Pension in Ireland may in fact be increasing at a more rapid pace than in some other comparable countries – with major implications for individuals, employers and society (Finnish Centre for Pensions 2019).

In response to these developments, the idea that people should (or can, or might) wish to work longer is being promoted on both European and wider international levels. The issues raised by these significant developments cannot be addressed in isolation but require a cross-sectoral and inter-departmental approach – in the case of Ireland, the Government established a high level Interdepartmental Working Group comprising the key ministries and chaired by the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform (DPER). The outcome from this Group resulted in one of the main policy reports aimed at addressing the issue of longevity and longer working in Ireland – Report of the Interdepartmental Group on Fuller Working Lives (DPER 2016). Similarly, from a research perspective, while much of the literature on ageing focuses on health, the key issues involved necessitate an interdisciplinary social science approach drawing, for example, on education, sociology, psychology, economics and demography.

16.2.1 Working Longer – Learning longer?

It is well recognized that higher education plays a crucial role in *initial* access to the labour market in the contemporary knowledge economy. What is less well understood however, is the potential role which higher education might play over people's lengthening lifespans. Increasingly, lifelong learning has featured as an important element in both Irish and international policies as part of wider strategies for both tackling social inequalities as well as helping address skill shortages. However, the link between a person's early educational attainment and their learning opportunities later in life clearly points to an accumulation of educational (dis)advantages over the life course – with those who are already highly qualified and in skilled occupations being more likely to gain access to additional training (Blossfeld et al. 2014).

These issues are not just of academic interest but are attracting increasing public attention. In 2017, *The Economist* published a Special Report on Lifelong Education *Learning and Earning:*

> A college degree at the start of a working career does not answer the need for the continuous acquisition of new skills, especially as career spans are lengthening. Vocational training is good at giving people job-specific skills, but those, too, will need to be updated over and over again during a career lasting decades. (p. 2)
>
> The faint outlines of a new ecosystem for connecting employment and education are becoming discernible.… But for now this nascent ecosystem is disproportionately likely to benefit those who least need help. It concentrates on advanced technological skills, which offer the clearest returns and are relatively easy to measure. And it assumes that people have the money, time, motivation and basic skills to retrain. (p. 10)

Despite rhetoric about lifelong learning, in Ireland the focus in meeting skill needs continues to be primarily on young people. At the same time, recent legislative changes in Ireland have increased the age of eligibility for the State Pension from 65 to 66 in 2014, with a further increase to 67 scheduled for 2021, and to 68 in 2028. Mandatory retirement ages are raising as well, at least in the Irish public sector where, since legislation introduced in 2018, employees have the opportunity to work until 70 if they so choose (with continuing separate arrangements for particular categories such as Gardaí or Prison Officers) (Government of Ireland 2018a; DPER 2018).

In fact it appears that many people would like – whether by choice or necessity – to continue working beyond the traditional retirement age. Results of a large scale survey in Ireland of employees aged 50–64 show that 15% of men and 10% of women planned to continue working beyond the State Pension age; and a further 11% of men and 16% of women indicated that they did not plan to retire (Mosca and Barrett 2011, p. 232). At the same time, the needs of cohorts that are retiring and interested in further learning need to be considered and supported. The maintenance and updating of individuals' skills and knowledge and widening access to educational opportunities at all levels, including higher education, is an important issue for all stakeholders – including, as outlined in Fig. 1.1 (Chap. 1) policymakers, educational providers, civic society, employers and individuals/learners themselves.

16.2.2 Intergenerational Differences and Later Life Educational Inequalities

Evidence points to the importance of supporting individuals at all ages, both before and after formal retirement, to develop their knowledge and skills – as they face rapidly changing work practices, employment opportunities and wider societal challenges (Findsen and Formosa 2011). From this perspective, two major (interconnected) challenges can be identified in the Irish context: first, the relatively low levels of assessed basic skills in the adult population; and second, the fact that participation in education and training declines with age (CSO 2013a; SOLAS 2016).

In terms of international comparisons, Ireland performs significantly above the OECD average in relation to attainment of young people (15-year-olds), as measured by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Shiel et al. 2016). In contrast, Ireland performs below average in relation to the assessment of adult competencies among people aged 16-65, as measured by the OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC). In the PIAAC – survey, Ireland ranked 19th out of 24 countries in the assessment of numeracy skills, and 17th out of 24 in the assessment of literacy skills (CSO 2013a, pp. 3,4). According to the OECD Economic Survey of Ireland, this could be partially explained by the fact that those in the 45-65 age group had fewer opportunities for formal educational attainment (OECD 2015).

PIAAC data for Ireland clearly show this correlation between assessment results, age and levels of initial formal education, in addition to employment status (CSO 2013a). Arguably, one unintended consequence of increasing levels of participation in higher education by young people is a growing intergenerational educational gap – hence much of the differential results between various age groups is likely to be due to the dramatic expansion of secondary and higher education opportunities available to younger cohorts (Slowey 2012).

In terms of engagement in lifelong learning, referring to participation of adults aged 25–64 in formal and non-formal education and training, recent statistics show a rate of 12.5% in 2018, placing Ireland slightly above the EU-28 average of 11.1%, but below the EU target of reaching 15% by 2020 (Eurostat 2019). Eurostat data also show that the rates of participation in lifelong learning decline sharply with age reaching the lowest point among workers in their 60's: in 2014, only 4.8% of people in the 45–54 age group participated in lifelong learning in Ireland (EU average was 9%), and 2.9% of people in the 55–64 age group (EU average was 5.9%) (SOLAS 2016, p. 4). Participation in lifelong learning tends, of course, to be strongly associated with higher levels of initial educational attainment (ibid.).

It is important to note that many official statistics and studies of skills, including the PIAAC survey, continue to use the age 64 as the 'end' of working life. With extension of the retirement age in many countries there is, in our view, a strong case to be made that this arbitrary cut-off at 64 is out of kilter with realities of the new demography.

The interaction of relatively low levels of basic skills among some adults, coupled with low levels of participation in lifelong learning as people get older, point to an important area for public policy intervention as support for adult continuing education could play a part in addressing educational inequalities – assisting older adults to 'catch up' educationally with younger age cohorts – a point supported by evidence discussed by Richard Desjardins (Chap. 12). Such interventions would offer practical benefits, providing people over 50 with needed education and training (including higher education) to help them maintain and enhance their skills and knowledge to generally assist active ageing, including potentially longer working.

The impact that PIAAC assessment has had on national policy developments in Ireland is evident in various initiatives relating to lifelong learning and adult education and training as reflected, for example, in the *Further Education and Training Strategy*

2014–2019 for Ireland (SOLAS 2014). In relation to higher education, mature students and part-time students feature as important target groups within *The National Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education 2015–2019*, with active engagement by universities and other higher education institutions in providing alternative routes to higher education, such as access courses or distance learning (HEA 2015).

Providers (public and private), including higher education institutions, potentially have a major role in supporting lifelong learning and developing a discourse in which the continuing acquisition of new knowledge and skills is seen as both socially desirable and possible. The combination of these factors point to the need for urgent responses on the part of policy makers and providers to extend access for adults – of *all* ages – to higher education over the life course. As discussed below, higher education has the potential to make a substantial contribution to promoting greater intergenerational equality, as well as supporting older individuals to continue to engage with the world of work and wider society (Slowey 2015).

16.3 Continuing Acquisition of Knowledge and Skills: The Role of Higher Education

One part of the response to challenges resulting from ageing of the population involves widening access for adults of all ages to higher education. How can higher education institutions respond to support individuals, employers and other relevant stakeholders and facilitate upskilling and retraining of adults, particularly in the context of extended working lives? Here we briefly consider developments at two levels – national and institutional.

16.3.1 Widening Access to Higher Education at the National Level

At the national level, Ireland arguably demonstrates above average performance in terms of progression of school leavers to tertiary study, reaching 53.5% in 2017 (compared to 39.9% EU average) (EC 2018). However, educational attainment still depends in large part on socio-economic background of the individuals, calling attention to the need to address persisting inequalities in access and participation (Clancy 2015).

Higher education policy and funding in Ireland falls under the remit of Higher Education Authority (Slowey 2020). Each higher education institution engages in an annual discussion with the HEA outlining targets in certain priority areas, resulting in a formal agreement entitled a 'Mission-based Performance Compact'. This Compact aims to align institutional mission and goals with national priorities, such as improving equality of opportunity and expanding access to higher education for underrepresented groups. Labour market activation policies for upskilling and

reskilling through higher education such as, for example, the Springboard+ programme, are also facilitated through these Compacts. Originally intended as a policy response to high unemployment rates following the 2008 economic recession, the Springboard initiative now also addresses areas of national skill shortages such as information and communication technology (Long Hogarty and Mc Guckin 2018). Importantly from an access perspective, entry criteria extend beyond academic performance to include, for example, knowledge and skills gained in work or in domestic responsibilities (DES 2018).

These developments involve a complicated balancing of university autonomy with state policy interests as reflected in the *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030*, which highlighted the role of higher education as being 'central to the economic renewal we need to support individual well-being and social development' (Government of Ireland 2011, p. 9).

The importance of addressing the needs of learners of all ages is also incorporated into national policy for the future landscape of higher education in connection with proposals for the establishment of Technological Universities (TUs) in Ireland. Largely involving mergers among existing institutes of technology, the criteria for eligibility for the applicant institutions clearly promotes inclusion of mature students, development of flexible programmes (part time, online or distance learning), and programmes with the involvement of stakeholders in the local region (Government of Ireland 2018b). The Irish Government news release (2017) states that the new TUs are expected to be 'effectively supporting lifelong learning, upskilling and reskilling to support career development for citizens *throughout their lives'* [emphasis added].

16.3.2 Widening Access to Higher Education at the Institutional Level

While many barriers remain, universities and institutes of technology in Ireland have been active for several decades in seeking innovative approaches to widen access to underrepresented groups – although, a good deal of momentum was lost as a result of the 2008 financial crisis on Irish higher education (Pritchard and Slowey 2017). Some initiatives involve part-time and blended learning programmes aimed directly at adult learners, regardless of age (often provided through specialist centres for adult and continuing education and/or e-learning) (HEA 2013). Others involve engagement by higher education with a wide range of community organizations and NGOs which represent the interests of diverse groups including older adults. In this respect it is an indication of such a commitment – at least at the aspirational level – that the Presidents of most higher education institutions in Ireland signed the *Campus Engage Charter* for Civic and Community Engagement in 2014 (Campus Engage n.d.).

One example of an innovative response at the institutional level is the Age Friendly University (AFU) – a strategic approach initially piloted by Dublin City University, and developed further in collaboration with national and international

partners (AFU n.d.). This sets the challenge of trying to incorporate the ten Principles of Age Friendly University into the university's core activities – teaching, research and service (Slowey 2015). The ten principles of an Age Friendly University include a number aimed directly at supporting longer working lives, with commitments to, for example, promote 'personal and career development in the second half of life and to support those who wish to pursue "second careers"' (AFU n.d.).

Part of the AFU approach involves an intergenerational learning programme in which older and younger students can learn from each other to their mutual benefit (Corrigan et al. 2013) which, as we discuss below, has the potential to help both younger and older people adapt to intergenerational work teams in the workplace.

16.4 Longer Working Lives – Implications for Changing Workforce Dynamics

It is something of a cliché, but the only certainty concerning the future shape of work is that it is uncertain, requiring adaptability, flexibility and the continuing acquisition of new knowledge and skills. While for some individuals this may mean self-employment, for employers (public as well as private) this points to the creation of workplaces where lifelong learning is supported for employees of all ages and stages as critical. This could help address existing talent shortages in organizations and reconcile the interests of employers in relation to productivity and other business objectives with those of individuals who – whether by choice or from necessity – might wish to work longer. In the United Kingdom, for example, the case has been made that argues that 'older people are the main untapped source of labour' (McNair et al. 2012, p. 4).

An analysis by Flynn (2014) suggests that 'one of the biggest misconceptions about older workers is that they are unwilling to train and develop in order to keep up with advances in technology and practice' (Flynn 2014, p. 36). Several studies confirm that, while participation in training tends to decline with age, this may be associated more with the opportunities offered to older workers than a lack of motivation as where they do participate, on average they are as likely to succeed as younger colleagues (Employing Older Workers 2013, p. 11). O'Neill argues that there is evidence of the importance of training with 'a statistically significant correlation between training after 55 and retention in the workplace', but notes also that the 'incidence of training with age declines in all European countries, Ireland ranking mid-place, with under 25% of employees over 55 undergoing training in the previous 12 months' (2010, p. 11).

16.4.1 Who Is an 'Older Worker'?

Adding to the complexity of the issue is the apparent lack of consensus in the literature on who is considered an 'older worker', with an associated danger of treating older workers as a homogenous group (McCarthy et al. 2014). An empirical study conducted by McCarthy et al. explored the views of organizational decision makers in Ireland on who constitutes an 'older worker'. From the perspective of how higher education might support active ageing and longer working, the results are striking: a majority of respondents define an 'older worker' as an 'employee who has reached the age of 52 years (mean age of 52.4 years) (ibid., p. 387). Among the reasons provided for describing a worker as 'older' at 52 (which is 14 years below the current age of eligibility for the State Pension), most decision makers rationalized their view in terms of perceiving employees in the mid-fifties as starting to plan for retirement; having reached the peak of their career; or simply being older than the organizational or industry norm.

16.4.2 Older Workers – Myths and Evidence

The above perceptions about older workers – and also, potentially older higher education students – may partially arise from some age-related misconceptions, or myths about the needs and motivations of older workers and older learners. Our analysis of the literature (Slowey and Zubrzycki 2018) reveals some common misconceptions that could form a basis for employer (or, where applicable, an educational provider) concerns such as, for example:

- ageing and its effect on cognitive abilities
- work performance of older employees
- potential issues with health
- the use of multi-generational teams
- performance management
- succession planning.

Our review of the evidence suggests that many such age stereotypes are unsubstantiated – pointing to the need for policy-led, research-informed campaigns aimed at employers, higher education and other educational and training providers, as well as individuals. For example, one research review concludes that, while there is some evidence of age-related cognitive decline, this is often compensated for by experience and skills, and that older people ('in good health, with up to date skill sets') tend to perform as well as younger colleagues (Weyman et al. 2013, p.1), with the exception of some specific types of work.

In a similar vein, a meta-analysis of over 800 articles found that relationships between the age and attitudes toward work are 'weak' and 'weak to moderate' in strength (Ng and Feldman 2010, p. 710). The authors conclude that, based on the evidence gathered as part of their review, at least some of the negative age

stereotypes in the workplace 'are incorrect and/or outdated': for example, older workers were found to report higher levels of intrinsic work motivation and job involvement, and lower levels of job depersonalization than younger workers (pp. 710–711). Another meta-analysis examined the relationships between the age and ten dimensions of job performance, and concluded that either older workers are as motivated as younger colleagues in contributing to their organization, or they engage in discretionary behaviours more intentionally in order to compensate for any losses in performance on the technical core side:

> older workers tend to demonstrate more citizenship behaviours and greater safety-related behavior. At the same time, older workers appear to engage in fewer counterproductive work behaviors in general and exhibit less workplace aggression, on-the-job substance use, tardiness, and voluntary absence in particular. (Ng and Feldman 2008, p. 403)

Common concerns also include a fear that there may be greater sickness and absence rates in an ageing workforce (Aviva 2012). Empirical research, however, suggests that it is the patterns that may be different among older workers from what is observed in younger colleagues – for example, absences may be fewer but of longer duration (Benjamin and Wilson 2005).

The use of intergenerational settings and work teams in the workplace has shown potential advantages. For example, in the UK a National Health Service report suggests that such teams had greater strengths but required a more careful management (Weyman et al. 2013). Furthermore, older employees' involvement in mentoring roles has also shown benefits for both older and younger employees (ibid.).

Another area of concern that sometimes emerges in discussions of longer working lives relates to succession issues. For example, in a UK survey exploring the effects of the abolition of the Default Retirement Age, 55% of participating employers indicated that lower turnover had created issues, with the most commonly affected area being succession planning (30%) (Wolff 2013, p. 2). The study also revealed that employers, in particular larger ones, would find workforce planning more challenging if they did not know early on when employees nearing retirement would actually leave the organization (ibid.).

Succession planning concerns are summarized in the Report of the Interdepartmental Group more generally as a perception that 'the amount of work in an economy is fixed so therefore one more job for an older person means one less job for a younger person' (DPER 2016, p.34). According to the Interdepartmental Group, this view may be associated with the 'lump-of-labour' theory and the authors emphasize that:

> research has shown this theory to be a fallacy and… the number of jobs in an economy is elastic and not finite, labour markets are dynamic and economies adapt to labour force changes. (ibid., p. 11)

This argument can be further supported by drawing a parallel to gender inequality in Ireland where, until 1973, women had to resign from public sector positions when they married (referred to locally as 'the marriage bar'). At the time, concerns were raised that if the marriage bar was abolished, the employment of women might

be at the expense of 'men's jobs' – while in fact, with economic development and changing family patterns an expansion of opportunities for employment for both men and women has occurred (Slowey and Zubrzycki 2018).

16.5 Concluding Comments: Implications for Public Policy, Higher Education and Lifelong Learning

While the policy context relating to new life course and workforce patterns is important in terms of welfare, pensions and economic and social policy, as we have discussed in this chapter, it is also imperative in supporting upskilling, reskilling and lifelong learning for adults *of all ages* – and at *all levels*, including higher education. Overall, engagement by adults in continuing education or training appears to be increasing across OECD countries. However, as analysis by Richard Desjardins (Chap. 12) shows, engagement in employer-sponsored continuing education is growing at a faster rate than that in public (or non-profit) provision. We know that employers are more likely to invest in workers who already possess good levels of knowledge and skills and/or are at more senior levels. This trend consequently carries significant implications for public policy in relation to equality of opportunity. If it is those with the highest levels of education and training who are most likely to benefit from employer support to further their knowledge and skills, then if simply left to market forces, lifelong learning has the potential to exacerbate, rather than reduce, socio-economic and other inequalities including intergenerational (Desjardins et al. 2006; Desjardins 2017).

As individuals face rapidly changing work practices and employment opportunities, policy in Ireland can help address such inequalities by supporting education and training for those with lower educational and skill levels. However, beyond this, it is also important for the wellbeing of both individuals (over their longer lives) and wider society to support the development of higher levels of knowledge and skills, targeting particular sections of the community including: older people; migrant groups; those engaged in caring responsibilities; unemployed individuals; and many others who do not have access to employer-supported training. The situation facing many women can be particularly challenging as a consequence of the cumulative impact of earnings differentials, pension coverage and engagement in caring responsibilities. In addition to flexible responses on the part of higher education providers and employers, this complex array of equality issues requires action at a policy level on a variety of fronts.

In this chapter, we have looked at the situation in Ireland – however it is evident that the issues affect many other European countries, presenting an opportunity for mutual learning. Life course patterns are changing, therefore, in our view, it is important not to look at older people in isolation but to see this cohort in the overall context of wider changes affecting also the younger and middle-age groups. Older workers and older students are not a homogenous group: some have already

benefitted from higher education, but many have not; some are economically secure, but many are not. It is therefore important to address the diversity within the age group, including gender inequalities and the specific situation of women, many of whom do not experience 'traditional' career trajectories.

Reflecting on the situation of changing workforce dynamics in a small open economy such as Ireland, there is much to be gained from comparative research addressing these issues as well as misconceptions, areas of potential discrimination, and the interactions in relation to ageing populations between public policy, higher education providers, employers, trade unions and other representative organizations.

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Chapter 17
Older Adult Learners: An Opportunity for Universities

Walter Archer and William (Bill) J. Kops

17.1 The Demographic Issue

In many developed countries, including Japan, Canada, and several countries in Europe, older adults comprise an ever increasing proportion of the population. This is almost universally seen as a problem – for societies that have to support this ever-growing 'dependent' segment of the population, and for the governments that have to find some way to cover the ever increasing costs of providing support for seniors while the 'working age' portion of the population continues to decline in both relative and in some cases even absolute numbers. In Canada, this shrinking portion of the population includes the traditional university undergraduate age group, which is expected to decline at least until the middle of the next decade (AUCC 2011).

Responses to the 'problem' of the ageing of the population have been developed in various parts of the public and voluntary sectors of the affected societies for several decades. Partly in order to deal with the relative decline of the young adult population, higher education institutions are being forced to compete with each other for the remaining domestic students in the traditional age group, and in many cases for international students as well. However, even doing well in this competition for young adult students may not be enough to ensure the future of higher education institutions in developed countries. Regarding the situation in Canada, in particular, a report on enrolment at Canadian universities carried out by the AUCC (2011) suggests that in addition to international students, universities will need to

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expand access to untapped segments of the Canadian population, which could well include older adults.

However, despite overall enrolment increases in credential bearing programmes at Canadian universities through the first decade of this century (and beyond), including an increase in the *absolute number* of older students (over 35), the *proportion* of older students has remained constant at 2% of the full-time undergraduate population (AUCC 2011, p. 7). So recruiting adult students into credential-bearing programmes does not seem to be a very effective response to the squeeze on university enrolments caused by the static or shrinking population of young adults in developed countries.

Schuetze and Slowey (2002) looked at non-traditional students in higher education (including older adult learners), and the reforms needed for higher education to accommodate these learners. They suggested that this accommodation becomes more of a reality when non-traditional learners are thought of as lifelong learners, and when the commitment of universities to them goes beyond providing professional continuing education programmes. They conclude:

> Our analysis across ten countries strongly suggests that traditional missions, structures, and concepts of higher education are indeed under considerable pressure to give way to new forms… two of the key reform objectives of educational policy continue to be relevant to all [non-traditional and lifelong learners]: namely, the role of higher education in contributing to the achievement of greater equality, and *the opportunity for individuals to be able to gain access to higher education over the entire life-course* (Schuetze and Slowey 2002, pp. 324–325. Emphasis added).

In a later publication the same two authors propose a typology of lifelong learners within higher education in the twenty-first century, in which one of the seven categories is 'learners in later life' (Slowey and Schuetze 2012, pp. 14–16). It is this category of learners – individuals who are very unlikely to form part of the 'full time undergraduate population' mentioned above – that is the focus of the present chapter. This focus on older adult learners requires a rather different conception of higher education, but one that fits well into the broader view of higher education suggested by Slowey and Schuetze (2012).

17.2 Older Adult Learners and Higher Education Institutions

The literature about the education of older adults suggests that educational programmes keep older adults cognitively and socially engaged, thereby increasing their health and wellbeing, which in turn potentially reduces some of the burdens on society associated with an ageing population (Menec 2003; Merriam and Kee 2014). So there are benefits to both the individuals participating in higher education programmes aimed at older adults as well as to the societies they live in. We would like to point out, as well, that there can also be important benefits to the higher education institutions that offer programmes for older adults.

The benefit to be gained by higher education institutions relates to the concept of the 'service university', the ideal that drove the creation of the land-grant universities in the U.S. beginning in the 1860s (Kellogg Commission 1999) as well as many state-supported universities elsewhere. The latest articulation of this concept of the university as not merely a training ground for the elite but rather a public service to the entire population is the idea of 'community-university engagement', the very opposite of the idea of the university as an ivory tower for the education of the young (and often socially elite).

Viewing contemporary and future education for older adults through a lens of community-university engagement, a partnership between conventional universities and outside entities devoted to the education of older adults, as in the cases described by Ratsoy (2016), seems to be a development that can and should be fostered. Such partnerships can not only provide benefits to the older adult participants but also help state-supported universities recover and strengthen their community service functions – i.e., to help them to 'return to their roots' as the Kellogg Commission expressed it (1999).

It is in support of this community engagement function of higher education institutions that older adults represent an opportunity. The already well educated and energetic retirees who currently constitute the majority of participants in educational programmes for older adults in developed countries are potentially a valuable (and cost-free) resource that can be mobilized as participants in university community engagement activities. By making older adults active participants in this way, educational programmes aimed at older adults can help higher education institutions address important social issues.

The following sections provide some background about higher education in Canada, followed by a discussion of what needs to happen if educational programmes for older adults are to contribute substantially to a strengthening of the community-university engagement function of higher education institutions in Canada and elsewhere.

17.3 Demographic Change and its Effects on Higher Education

The older adult population in Canada will continue to grow, particularly as more 'baby boomers' (born following World War II, roughly 1946–1965) move into their 60s and beyond. Between 2005 and 2036 the number of older adults (65 or older) is predicted to increase from 4.2 to 9.8 million, and the older adults' proportion of the population will almost double, increasing from 13.2% to 24.5% (Schellenberg and Turcotte 2007). Along with older age usually comes retirement from paid employment. Retirement today is often thought of by the retirees themselves as 'creative retirement' – a search for challenges, intellectual stimulation, and *a chance to contribute to their communities* (AARP survey on lifelong learning 2000; Thompson and Foth 2003). At the same time, older adults are dealing with role changes resulting from not only their increased leisure time after retirement, but also changes in

housing requirements, deaths of spouses/partners, and reduced finances (Imel 2003). Also, for some, retirement provides new employment opportunities, either in new paid careers or in volunteer work. These multiple factors can motivate them to participate in educational activities that can positively support these transitional processes, contribute to a good quality of life for themselves and others, and increase their chances of successful ageing, while at the same time contributing to community and societal wellbeing (AARP 2000; Glendenning 2001; Istance 2015; Menec 2003; Merriam and Kee 2014; Novak and Campbell 2001; Thompson and Foth 2003; Withnall 2002). These factors have contributed to the creation of organizations dedicated to the education of older adults.

17.4 Development of the University of the Third age

In the higher education sector, the most prominent among responses to the ageing of the population has been the emergence of the 'University of the Third Age' (U3A), along with other variants of postsecondary education aimed at older adults that go under various names (Swindell 2009). The emergence of the U3A and other forms of education for older adults could be seen as one aspect of what Martin Trow (2007) has described as the evolution towards 'universal' higher education – inclusive of not only a majority of the young adults who traditionally participate in higher education, but also a substantial proportion of other age groups, including older adults.

Definitions of what is meant by third age learning (what we are referring to as 'education of older adults') vary somewhat; Ratsoy (2016) described it simply in terms of participants' age (50 to 75+ years), life stage (retired, or at least not primarily employed), and comprised of formal learning (as contrasted with casual or informal learning) although not necessarily for credit towards a credential (p. 79). Given this broad definition, probably the best known organization dedicated to the education of older adults is the University of the Third Age (U3A).

Formosa (2014) states that U3As 'have become the most successful educational institutions engaged in later-life learning' (p. 42). The connection of U3As to traditional universities varies from a direct connection, as in France, where universities have been obliged to provide lifelong education since the late 1960s, to the model adopted in Britain, where U3As, for the most part, operate independently from formal institutions. Formosa further notes that the U3A movement has spread worldwide to more than 60 countries, with models of practice that follow either the French or British models or form hybrids incorporating elements of the two. Third age learning in North American universities has typically developed alongside already established adult education programmes offered by extension or continuing education units of higher education institutions.

We will briefly describe the development of U3As in France, Britain, Australia, the U.S., and Canada. Formosa (2010, 2014) and Swindell and Thompson (1995) provide good historical accounts of the development of U3As in a number of countries. Much of what follows is based on their accounts.

17.4.1 France

In the late 1960s the government of France legislated that universities must provide lifelong learning. That led to the creation, in 1973, of the first *Université du troisième age* (UTA) within the University of Toulouse. Formosa (2010) states that, ‘there was nothing exceptional about this program’ (p. 2), but its success quickly spawned a great number of other UTAs/U3As throughout France and in neighbouring countries. UTAs were based on four goals: to increase the quality of life of older people; to develop educational programmes for older adults; to coordinate gerontological research; and to create programmes of study on ageing (Formosa 2010, p. 2). The French UTA/U3A model is generally characterized by affiliation with a traditional university and use of university facilities (classrooms). Courses are taught by university faculty, commonly using lecture format along with interactive approaches, with topics focused on issues of interest to older adults. Academic activities are combined with recreational and social activities.

17.4.2 Britain

U3As began in Britain a few years after their creation in France, with the first British U3A being established in Cambridge in 1981. The British model differed significantly from the French U3As because, rather than being affiliated with traditional universities, these U3As were purposely independent from conventional universities and did not offer the typical lecture-style, instructor-led courses. The British U3A model was based on ‘self-help’, where members with appropriate expertise would be the teachers – in other words, members would be teachers as well as learners. Programmes are held in community halls, libraries, private homes, and schools; classes have flexible timetables, negotiable curriculum and teaching styles; courses are member led; participation is centred on learning and socializing, requiring no entrance requirements or examinations.

17.4.3 Australia

Australian U3As began in Melbourne in 1984, then spread quickly to other parts of the country over the next decade, all based on the British model. There was no national organizing body or support from government; rather, it appears that this nation-wide development of U3As was a reaction to a federal government policy paper that expressed concern that the rapidly increasing number of mature age students in higher education should not be at the expense of educational opportunities for young people (Swindell and Thompson 1995). Something unique about developments in Australia was the creation of U3A Online in 1993 to serve older adult

learners who are isolated geographically and otherwise excluded from face-to-face U3As, including older adult learners from outside Australia.

17.4.4 United States

Even though U3As were introduced in the mid-1970s (the first was in San Diego), the U3A movement never took hold in the U.S. Formosa (2010) attributed this to the fact that other programmes for older adults (Institutes for Learning in Retirement, and Elderhostel) started at about the same time, and Osher Lifelong Learning Institutes emerged later. Institutes for Learning in Retirement are member driven, college-sponsored institutes and centres that create learning, travel, and social opportunities for adults aged 55+ (Institute for Learning in Retirement n.d.). Elderhostel, later renamed Road Scholar, began in 1975 and is a non-profit organization that early in its history was connected with universities to offer residential programmes on university campuses, and later non-credit travel adventure programmes (Road Scholar n.d.). Osher Lifelong Learning Institutes began in 2000 in an attempt to create educational programmes more able than traditional continuing education programmes to meet the interests of older adults (Bernard Osher Foundation n.d.). The U.S. approach to serving older adult learners can best be characterized as multiple major providers that have varying degrees of connection to traditional universities.

17.4.5 Canada

Formosa (2014) identified only a small number of U3As in Canada, all in francophone areas of the country. The first was created in Quebec at l'Université de Sherbrooke (a francophone institution in Sherbrooke, Quebec) in 1976 (University of Sherbrooke n.d.), and the second at Université Laval (in Quebec City) in 1983 (Lusignan and Charbonneau 2009). At about the same time (1978), U3As began in the province of New Brunswick in collaboration with the University of Moncton, another francophone university (AUTANB n.d.). Swindell and Thompson (1995) note that the Quebec U3As are academic, with varied learning opportunities for older adults including: self-guided learning; free access to university facilities such as libraries, conferences, and auditing of regular university courses; non-credit courses and lectures designed for older adults; and programmes for older adults leading to credentials. The U3As established in Quebec and New Brunswick to a considerable extent mirror the French model, although Formosa (2014, p. 47), refers to them as a separate, hybrid model of U3A, the 'Frenchspeaking North American' model.

In addition to the development of educational programmes for older adults in francophone Canada, there are a considerable number of such programmes in anglophone Canada, although not necessarily known as U3As. A recent study

carried out by one of the authors (Kops 2016) examined university-based older adult (55+) education at anglophone universities in Canada. Overall, the programmes offered appeared to be a hybrid of the British and French U3A models. A summary of the study results follows, outlining how educational programming for older adults is practiced in these universities, why universities offer such programmes, what challenges they face in developing and sustaining these programmes, and how older adult education programmes fit into the university structure.

17.4.5.1 Education of Older Adults in Canadian Universities: Study Results

While francophone universities in Canada have taken the French model of the U3A for development of education for older adults, anglophone institutions have developed educational programmes mainly as part of existing continuing education units. The longer-established of these continuing education units were originally university extension units modelled on their counterparts at U.S. land-grant universities whose mission was to discover and serve the needs of all the people, and reach them wherever they lived. With the recent refocusing of this outreach mission under the banner of community-university engagement (Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities 1999), some continuing education units at Canada's anglophone universities have come to see engagement with older adults as part of their mission (Archer and Wright 1999).

As a result, the logical starting point for Kops' 2016 study of older adult education at Canadian universities was the continuing education unit of each university. The initial survey was emailed to deans or directors of continuing education at fifty universities that are members of the national continuing education association. Follow-up long surveys and interviews were done with the 18 universities that indicated they were offering educational programmes targeted to older adults. The following sections detail some of the findings from the Kops (2016) survey.

1. ***What programmes are offered, and how?***

The topics and types of courses targeted at older adults and offered by responding Canadian universities are generally academically-oriented non-credit courses. Traditional lecture-style delivery is most common, but seminar-style discussion formats are popular as well. There are virtually no online courses offered in the programmes studied. Courses offered vary in length with short (one day or less) courses offered by just under half of responding universities, with about one-third of them offering longer, term-length courses of 5–10 weeks. While there is an opportunity at some universities to attain a credential for courses completed, for the most part courses have no assignments, no tests or examinations, and no grades or credentials.

These programmes for older adults employ a range of qualified individuals to teach. All universities reported attracting university faculty to teach, including full-time faculty, sessional instructors, graduate students, and retired faculty. Another popular source of instructors is community-based experts, with older adult

volunteers representing a third source of instructors. The proportion of university faculty teaching in these programmes ranges from a high of 95% to a low of 20% at a given institution. Older adult volunteers typically teach in peer-led courses, where their role is to act as an informed leader rather than a content expert. Most universities pay instructors teaching in the programmes for older adults, although it is not uncommon for instructors to work as volunteers.

2. ***Who participates?***

The demographic characteristics of participants in anglophone Canada are similar to those in programmes targeted to older adults in most other countries – an average age of 69, at least 70% retired, and with a higher proportion of women (70–80%) than men. Those who participate are active learners, with almost 90% taking between 2 and 4 courses each year. People participate in these programmes for a number of reasons. However, to a question about motivation to participate based on Houle's (1961) typology of motivations for adults to participate in learning activities, well over 80% of responding universities ranked *learn for the sake of learning* highest as the reason older adults take courses, with *socializing with others* ranked second (70% of respondents). At the same time, older adults were said to experience barriers to participation that respondents listed, in order of mention, as insufficient time, limited money, physical disability, and lack of transportation.

However, the respondent institutions admitted that their educational programmes for older adults do not attract very diverse participation when described in terms of ethnicity, socio-economic status, and level of education. This suggests that universities need to be proactive in efforts to recruit older adult participants from underserved communities, including finding topics and learning formats that will interest and engage them. Formosa (2014) discusses at some length how class bias and other forms of bias may lead to U3As missing many opportunities to expand their clientele to the extent that it mirrors the diversity of the surrounding community.

In some cases, efforts have been made to address the diversity issue through community-based programming. For example, the University of Regina's Lifelong Learning Centre has created two programmes, *Aboriginal Grandmothers Caring for Grandchildren Support Network,* and *Intercultural Grandmothers Uniting,* that are outreach initiatives designed to connect with primarily older Indigenous women in the community who might not otherwise participate.

While there continues to be a high demand for the current offerings, universities also need to consider how the changing characteristics of older adults who make up their existing clientele could impact these programmes in future. For example, as more older adults become adopters of technology (Smith 2014), online courses could be more attractive, specifically to those beyond local catchment areas and/or unable to leave their homes, thereby reducing institutional and situational barriers to participation (Cross 1981). Changing retirement patterns whereby older adults either retire earlier or work longer could also impact these programmes. For those retiring earlier, courses and programmes geared to later life changes and transitions could be of interest, while for those delaying retirement the schedule, as well as the content, could change: courses could be offered in the evening and on weekends,

and courses could be designed to prepare participants for second or third careers. For some older adults, pursuing studies that are new and completely different from their lifetime careers may be appealing – i.e., picking up on latent interests, and, in some cases, acquiring credentials either in the form of certificates or degrees.

3. ***How programmes for older adults fit into the university's structure***

The administration of these programmes can be described as either fully embedded within the university structure (usually the continuing education unit) or else as affiliated, whereby a partner organization works with the university to design and deliver the programme – a hybrid model described earlier. The partnership arrangements may be compared to an affiliation continuum, with programmes characterized by shared operational functions referred to as highly affiliated at one end, and those where functions are more fully devolved to partner organizations and having low/little affiliation with the university at the other end.

The commitment of the continuing education unit ranges across a number of functions and services. For those programmes embedded in the continuing education unit, the older adult programmes are fully supported, like any other programme in continuing education. This support includes financial assistance to pay for overhead and administrative expenses not covered by programme revenues. For affiliated programmes, where a partner organization assumes some responsibility for the operation of the programme, the support from continuing education varies. At a bare minimum, classroom space is provided, but often assistance with technology, marketing design and production, financial and registration services, and office space are also provided.

Regardless of support provided, key to the success of these older adult programmes, particularly affiliated ones, is the university brand. Branding them as university programmes distinguishes them from community-based older adult programmes in terms of quality, academic substance, and value, and, according to respondents in the study, is a significant factor in attracting participants.

4. ***Why universities offer programmes for older adults***

Ninety-three percent (93%) of respondents in the study indicated that programmes for older adults are encouraged by their universities. Respondents ranked the top three reasons that their universities offer older adult programmes as (a) to serve the growing population of older adults, (b) to satisfy the mandate of the continuing education unit, and (c) to fulfil a commitment of the university to community engagement. Because the programmes are usually connected to continuing education units, these units, particularly their deans or directors, are generally supportive of older adult programming. This support is strongest and longest-lasting when deans and directors view this programming from a community engagement/community service perspective, in contrast to a revenue-cost perspective. Whatever the level of commitment of the dean or director, educational programmes for older adults readily fit the outreach and lifelong learning mandates of continuing education units.

Encouragement and support from the university beyond that provided by the continuing education unit is more difficult to detect. Most respondents indicated

that the university president is aware (and, in a few instances, highly aware) of the programme. While the level of awareness differs, it is clear that, should existing programmes be discontinued or drastically modified, the president's office would become involved because of the pushback from older adult learners. Tangible support across universities for these programmes comes from faculty members who regularly teach in them, and, in some cases, teach as unpaid volunteers.

5. ***Challenges and future considerations***

Education of older adults is alive and well at many Canadian universities, with a good number of long-standing programmes in place. These programmes began for different reasons, sometimes because of available funding, as was the case in British Columbia in the 1990s, and in other cases because of a commitment by a champion within the university or by people advocating on behalf of an interested community group. Programmes have changed over time, growing in size, reforming organizationally within or in affiliation with universities, and in some cases disappearing. Most noticeably, the fit of older adult programmes within the structure of universities has changed, particularly as continuing education units have experienced budgetary and financial pressures, with some universities actually disbanding their continued education units. The effect has been twofold: university-based older adult programmes have become more independent of universities and operated by community organizations in various affiliated arrangements; and some programmes have been blended into community or general public ones that do not define participants by age. In both cases, the intent has been to reduce costs either by shifting operational functions to affiliated organizations or by combining programmes in order to gain internal resource efficiencies.

About 60% (11) of the responding universities operate the older adults programme completely within the continuing education unit. Almost half of those (five) do not offer age-designated programmes restricted to older adults, but they do offer general ones that are marketed to and heavily subscribed to by older adults. The other seven universities that responded to the survey offer programmes for the education of older adults in affiliation with community organizations. Within both models, the supports, functions, and services provided by the university vary. Of the seven universities with affiliated arrangements, five have what might be termed, 'arms-length' partnerships, whereby partner organizations have increasingly become more responsible for multiple functions of programme design and delivery, making these organizations even more important in sustaining their respective programmes. This devolution of responsibilities has resulted from budgetary changes and the resulting pressures on the usual cost recovery financial models in continuing education.

This suggests that changes in affiliation arrangements between universities and their community partners have not been strategic but, instead, driven by financial necessities. Regardless, in some cases this change may have resulted in an opportunity for universities to continue to engage and serve older adults through mutually beneficial partnerships. A recommendation supported by Ratsoy (2016) is for universities to seriously consider the benefits of multiple approaches to the education of older adults, particularly the benefits gained from partnerships with community organizations.

17.4.6 Community-University Engagement and the Education of Older Adults

Community-university engagement has appeared in the mission statements of many if not most universities in Canada and elsewhere over the past three decades. However, making community-university engagement into an integral aspect of an institution's operations, rather than just empty words on its web page, is easier said than done. Much of the institution's resources and available faculty time is devoted to the research function, now the major source not only of advancement of individual faculty members but also of institutional prestige via national and international rankings. Particularly at 'research intensive' universities, the teaching function is a distant second, with much of undergraduate teaching now delegated to an academic 'precariate' of non-tenured instructors. Building trust and partnerships with community organizations takes time, and faculty time left over from the rankings-crucial functions of research and publication, as well as that part of teaching still performed by faculty, is now in very short supply and needs to be distributed carefully. This is particularly true for young, not yet tenured faculty, who are aware that devoting their time to engagement with communities outside academia may be harmful to their career prospects (Doberneck 2016).

Given this context, the education of older adults can provide an opportunity to fulfil the university's community engagement mission without weakening the functions of research and the teaching of 'regular' students. Many respondents in the study (Kops 2016) mentioned the university's strategic commitment to community engagement, and that the education of older adults is one way to meet this commitment by extending university resources into the community. This becomes more of a reality when much of the development, administration, promotion, and delivery (including teaching) of programmes is done by older adult volunteers.

In addition, collaboration with community organizations can also be extended to the *research* function. Those who participate in educational programmes for older adults are typically well educated, energetic, and knowledgeable members of the community. They are quite capable, in collaboration with university faculty, of identifying research projects of value to the community (e.g., homelessness, social isolation, abuse of older adults) and helping to carry them out. In this way the communities could benefit, as could the university faculty members in such collaborations who could publish the results of these community-engaged research projects.

Some instances of such collaborations already exist. As noted by Swindell (2012, p. 47):

> The fundamental strength of the constituency [i.e., in collaboration with community organizations] research approach is that it entails research 'with' rather than research 'on' older people. The difference between 'with' and 'on' may not matter too much in large-scale tick-a-box surveys. However, if much richer findings are needed, these are more likely to arise from interviews carried out by peers who are perceived to have primary empathy with the participants, rather than by younger researchers whose appearance, manner of dress, language, general persona and time constraints may create barriers to in-depth communication.

Examples of this type of research collaborations in Canada include: Fletcher's (2008) community-based participatory research that partnered Indigenous communities, other ethnic groups, and university continuing education units; Ratsoy's (2016) description of her own work in Kamloops, British Columbia; and collaborative research partnerships between McGill University and the University of Toronto and their respective communities reported in Ratsoy (2016).

These and other similar initiatives can fit well into a more comprehensive *university-wide mandate to engage older adults*. Such a mandate requires commitment by universities at the highest level. The Age-Friendly University Network, an initiative of Dublin City University in Ireland, is a good example of a framework designed to guide action towards this kind of commitment. The initiative began in 2012 with the development of 10 principles to guide higher education institutions in addressing the needs of older adults (Dublin City University n.d.). Programmes for older adults are a feature of educational programming at a number of Canadian universities, some of which have joined the Age-Friendly University Global Network developed by Dublin City University and partners (Chap. 16). More universities need to take such steps to signal the inclusion of older adults in the academic community of the university and make an institutional commitment to engage older adults, while at the same time meeting their strategic goals for community engagement.

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Chapter 18
Blurring Boundaries: Exploring the Potential for 'Big Data' to Address Inequalities in Lifewide Learning Engagement

Catherine Lido, Kate Reid, and Mike Osborne

18.1 Context

Despite longstanding worldwide government initiatives to support and promote inclusion into post-compulsory education, inequalities persist in access, retention, attainment and subsequent economic outcomes (Schofer and Meyer 2005; Varghese and Püttmann 2011; Osborne et al. 2015) and continue to be of primary political concern in the UK. As recently as 2016, the Social Mobility Advisory Group of Universities UK has reported that 'socio-economic disadvantage continues to be the most significant driver of inequality in terms of access to and outcomes from higher education' (UUK 2016, p. 4). In particular, 'eighteen year-olds from the most advantaged groups remain 2.4 times more likely to enter university than their disadvantaged peers, and 6.3 times more likely to attend one of the most selective institutions in the UK' (ibid.). Those from lower socio-economic status backgrounds are less likely to acquire professional jobs, of equivalent salaries, even when entering skilled employment after University (ibid.).

Therefore, this chapter explores an example of urban educational inclusion in the UK, of Glasgow in Scotland, where the government echoes a global issue that 'current approaches to widening access to higher education in universities have not produced the step change in participation that we would have liked' (Scottish Government 2011, p. 13). This statement concurs with wider international resonances concerning equity issues in the sector (see for example, Asian Development Bank 2012). In this chapter, we consider the range of work in tackling educational inequalities, not just within formal learning settings, but also those that capture the

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range of informal learning engagements as individuals interact with the city and its learning resources. We introduce the concept of 'big data' within a learning city framework and present a case study (integrated Multimedia City Data, iMCD) project as an illustration of the ways in which more diverse technologies, big open datasets and novel visualisations can offer higher education institutions novel approaches to inform the design and delivery of effective educational inclusion interventions, specific to regional environs and marginalised groups. We offer this chapter in an attempt to blur the lines between formal higher education institutions offering classroom-based learning to community-facing, publicly engaged facilitators of knowledge **and** data co-created with citizens. Whilst doing this, we also blur boundaries regarding methodologies for assessing learning engagement across all forms of learning, highlighting the less formal modes of learning with which universities engage. We conclude by calling for more novel methods to better capture the role of higher education institutions in learning cities, societies and regions.

We begin by exploring the concept of UNESCO's 'Learning City', particularly its emphasis on inclusion in lifelong learning. In particular, we embed our discussions with reference to specific 'lifewide literacies', and how these may be potentially operationalised for measurement and onward comparison purposes. Secondly, we approach definitions of big data and novel methodology. Thirdly, we present the iMCD project as case study of how higher education institutions can better explore educational inclusion for marginalised groups from a position of 'open data' usage. Finally, we illustrate impact upon citizens within their cities through engagement in meaningful discourses around lifelong and lifewide learning, thus closing the research feedback loop. Thus, we offer Glasgow as a case study for how 'open' data can be used to inform, explore and improve learning engagement in modern urban contexts. Data, big data, and open data are terms which have been firmly aligned within wider discourses of empirical, evidence-based research, particularly in educational inclusion. Ultimately, we present innovations and associated challenges in using big and novel data in a mixed-methods context, to explore educational inclusion in the city using the framework of a learning city, arguing the case for universities to be a full and active player in such a framework.

18.2 Learning Cities and Lifewide Learning Engagement

The concept of 'Learning City/Region' provides a framework for placing higher education institutions within place and purpose. Interestingly, we recognised that within this framework higher education institutions are not positioned as standalone providers of valued and trusted knowledge. Instead, they are defined in terms of their potential to promote and support novel, cross-disciplinary methods to address both local and global challenges with a variety of stakeholders. Longworth (2006) and Longworth and Osborne (2010) provide a historical and political overview of learning regions, societies and cities, and how these concepts have developed in many countries to become cornerstones of lifelong policy. The concept of a

learning society was originally conceptualised as the necessity to create conditions to promote continuous learning, including into and beyond formal education systems (Hutchins 1968). It has become a contested idea not least since it has been interpreted by critics as a tool for governments and inter-governmental agencies, such as the OECD, to invoke continuous lifelong learning as a necessity rather than a choice to ensure individual competitiveness in the knowledge society (see Husén 1986, Edwards 1997 and Ranson 1998, amongst others). This perhaps is well illustrated in an influential OECD (2001) report, which considers how individual and organisational learning contribute to regional development. Although the social dimension is currently most prominent, such an economic imperative remains core within ideas of the learning city (or region) and can be traced back to early proponents such as Florida (1995) and Anheim (2012) who focused not only on individual learning, but also on learning within and between organisations based on regionally-based networking. This, they argued, would lead to continuous innovation and competitiveness within a given place.

The current Global Learning Cities Network (GLCN) initiative on learning cities developed by the UNESCO’s Institute for Lifelong Learning acknowledges the workplace, but provides a much wider definition of a UNESCO Learning City as one which:

> promotes inclusive learning (from ‘basic’ to higher education); re-vitalises learning in families and communities; facilitates learning for and in the workplace; extends the use of modern learning technologies; and fosters a culture of learning throughout life. (UNESCO 2013, p. 2-3)

Osborne (2014) further addresses the importance of lifelong learning and the development of ‘Learning City’ agenda at both the national and international level, and equally for social and economic benefits of citizens and their nations. Osborne adds that ‘in order that such aspirations are achieved, it is cities themselves who should take the lead, and exchange their practices, working alongside their stakeholders and academics’ (2014, p. 1075). However, at the heart of any learning city movement is governmental and political will, most often occurring in times of economic prosperity, albeit perhaps most urgently needed in times of economic precarity.

The UNESCO model outlining key features of learning cities was created in Beijing in 2013 as a response to the need for objective criteria to define, and potentially evaluate, cities’ successes. It embedded learning at the heart of urban success and argued that wider benefits of a Learning City are three-fold: (1) individual empowerment and social cohesion; (2) economic development; and (3) cultural prosperity and sustainable development. The Learning City indicators consist of 42 features in total, open to diverse methods of measurement, and at multiple levels (individual, city and national; see UNESCO 2013). For instance, UNESCO proposes that inclusion in learning could be measured using existing baseline statistics, drawn from local or national government data. We operationalized and measured many of these factors within the iMCD survey, as discussed later in this chapter.

It should be noted that UNESCO’s objectives were not to make distinctions between cities, acknowledging that ‘Each city is different and its progress towards

a learning city can only be measured within the context of its own cultural, economic and social history and traditions' (UNESCO 2013, p. 5). Therefore, the key features of UNESCO Learning Cities in a lifelong learning context had not been specifically operationalised in terms of methods of measurement, allowing flexibility, autonomy and cultural ownership in the cities' self-evaluation. However, this inherent individualisation of the indicators has limited the potential of standardised knowledge exchange and international, cross-cultural comparisons. The Educational Disadvantage and Place team at the University of Glasgow seeks to address this gap and provide recommendations of how UNESCO Learning City metrics might provide much-needed evidence-based insights into societal challenges, such as attainment gaps in schools, higher education and lifelong learning engagement.

Higher education institutions play a key role in the development of a learning society and of the learning city – although in contemporary times, in the pursuit of global income, Universities have in some instances been posited to neglect their locality. Laurillard (1999) argued for an ideal learning society, where:

> the university's role in society is precisely to learn and understand itself and its environment…The more it addresses the concerns of society in its research, and the more it widens access to all members of society to benefit from the fruits of the research, the more it supports a genuine 'learning society'. (Rotimi 2014, Section 3)

It is the learning city that can be the vehicle through which universities actualise their contribution to the development of the learning society, along with the ever-increasing pressure upon UK universities to be accountable for public money spent – by challenging them inter alia to widen participation and to demonstrate impact of their research.

What we see in the UK, and specifically in Scotland, in terms of equity in educational attainment is in many cases comparable throughout the world. In many countries, despite decades of intervention, the challenges seem intractable to close the attainment gap and engage the learning potential of all citizens, particularly as outcomes for some specific groups of learners have worsened. These include mature adult learners and those from areas of socio-economic deprivation, as well as other non-traditional learner groups (Moore et al. 2013; Stuart et al. 2011). Rasak (2015), President of the International Association of Universities, points out that to achieve the goals of equitable access as promoted in the Incheon World Education Forum of 2015, we must consider the connectedness of all parts of the formal and non-formal education. He argues for a 'lifewide' perspective, which as the European Commission's *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* stated, 'enriches the picture by drawing attention to the spread of learning, which can take place across the full range of our lives at any one stage in our lives' (European Commission 2000, p. 8).

UNESCO (2004, p. 13) defines literacy as the 'ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts'. It derives from learning in formal, non-formal and informal settings and may be self-directed. Lifewide learning acknowledges that much of our learning life happens outside a formal classroom setting. Core to the notion of Lifewide Literacies then, is not just skills or achievement, but active

knowledge and competencies which enable citizens to participate fully within their society, enabling individuals to self-actualise their potential (ibid). The concept of the UNESCO's Learning City gives functional literacy a spatial dimension, moving the conversation beyond a simplistic notion of reading or numeracy, and towards a model of full participation, empowerment of the individual (or citizen) rooted within place. We argue therefore that lifewide learning engagement and lifewide literacies may be seen as indicators for the 'success' of the learning city in terms of empowerment and participation of its population. But how can such engagement best be captured in modern urban environs?

To break this impasse apparently facing equitable access, we argue that more triangulated, multi-method, evidence-based research is needed to better understand the complexity of learner engagement across the lifespan, particularly with transitions into higher education, and beyond into lifewide learning. Such research needs to capture substantial factors beyond those contained within administrative datasets, and to explore what is not typically captured in conventional research through the integration of multi-modal data.

18.3 Research Context: Educational Disadvantage and Place Agenda @UBDC

The context of the worldwide reform of higher education institutions offers an opportunity to address the increasing emphasis on demonstrating social impact imposed by government funders of research. One such example at a national level is UK's Global Challenges Research Fund, which seeks to harness the expertise of researchers to tackle the major issues faced by developing countries and in so doing strengthen local capability (Research Councils UK [RCUK] 2016). More widely, the European Commission (2014) has acknowledged that political steering of the research and innovation system has not delivered the expected rewards in the form of marketable or practicable innovations addressing large societal challenges, such as sustainability and health and well-being. They clearly assert 'The grand societal challenges that lie before us will have a far better chance of being tackled if all societal stakeholders are fully engaged in the co-construction of innovative solutions, products and services' (European Commission 2014, p. 2). Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI) thus refers to the capacity of the institution to work in networks with multiple, diverse actors providing solutions for the grand challenges. Our input contributes to debates concerning the role of higher education institutions and their partners in social inclusion (Benneworth 2013; Benneworth and Osborne 2014), and our approach encompasses the engagement of citizen-users in knowledge exchange. Such work fits well within frameworks for transparent 'open science', and the push to see behind the walls of academic research, with and in communities for more embedded higher education institutions.

One such initiative is the Urban Big Data Centre (UBDC),[1] offering an opportunity to frame and form more collaborative efforts and engage a variety of stakeholders in utilising both new and existing data to respond to wide urban challenges. Launched in 2013, UBDC is a strategic investment to improve the use, and re-use, of existing data, in order to contribute to solutions for current social, economic, and environmental challenges faced by the cities. UBDC's mission is to improve urban citizens' lives and, unlike other centres, it has placed learning at the heart of this mission, working collaboratively with and within higher education institutions to engage non-academic partners in its interdisciplinary remit. It prioritises research on transport, housing, technology, civic and cultural participation and educational inclusion, and offers networking and training opportunities both within and across these domains. By opening the use of data to researchers and the public, supported through its own training for data usage and linkage, the centre offers users the opportunity to work with real-time, naturalistic data, bypassing the need for costly and often unnecessary primary data collection.

Considering international agendas on widening participation in all forms of learning, the Educational Place and Disadvantage team at UBDC was formed to conduct mixed-methods, multi-level research into educational transitions, exploring age and place-based differences in participation in all forms of learning in the Greater Glasgow area. Participation in lifelong and lifewide learning is associated with improved health and well-being, and our research suggests that as well as social mobility, physical 'spatial' mobility plays a role in positive life outcomes, including degree of learning engagement (Geddes et al. 2010; Marmot Review 2010). Therefore, a better understanding of options to become more mobile through, for example, flexible and sustainable transport options, may be an important component of how we engage older learners (Lido et al. 2016). The team are in the process of amassing, linking and indexing (improving metadata for) a host of education-related datasets, for instance, related to secondary schools' exams and transition data, as well as further and higher education applications and educational outcomes, and finally on employment destinations.

An example of a quantitative exploration of educational disadvantage embedded within place in Glasgow, summarised by Mason (2018), utilizes secondary school data from 2006–2007 to 2014–2015 for the Greater Glasgow area, where we can look at period trends and cohort effects of pupils' personal characteristics, backgrounds, locational data (area deprivation, urban versus rural location, distance travelled to school, etc.) and school characteristics' impact on educational outcomes and subsequent educational and employment destinations. In this project, we have the opportunity to examine such effects simultaneously and over time using multivariate, multilevel statistical modelling methods. This project illustrates not only the usefulness of linking and visualising novel datasets to better address the attainment gap, but also the role of the university in exploring educational attainment embedded

[1] Located at The University of Glasgow, supported by the Economic and Social Research Council under Grant [number 651920/1].

within place (areas of deprivation within the city, urban-rural local authorities), so that issues such as accessibility of schools and the relationship to transport services can better be examined. In such ways we can broaden the parameters used to understand the widening of access, particularly for those in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

We now offer definitions of what constitutes big data and novel methodology, and then present the iMCD project as case study of how higher education institutions can better explore educational inclusion, and gauge impact upon citizens within their cities through engaging them in meaningful discourses around lifelong and lifewide learning.

18.4 Big Data and Novel Methodological Approaches

Given UBDC's goals of addressing urban challenges, we have accessed innovative data collected using novel methods, to explore, for example, educational inclusion across diverse forms of learning, including learning leading up to further and higher education, and extending beyond into the full lifespan. Many educationalists rely primarily on qualitative, constructionist and/or phenomenological approaches, viewing quantitative approaches as an over-simplification of experiences in favour of nomothetic 'positivist' focus on trends and outcomes (Panhwar et al. 2017). However, more recently, there have been calls at the policy level to utilise existing, rich research data resources more effectively and to critically inform the evidence base using 'more objective' indices relevant to adult inclusion and educational equality (Moore et al. 2013). We argue neither emphasis is suitable when attempting to 'level the playing field' of education and promote engagement in lifelong learning (formal and otherwise), as the picture is complex. This chapter instead calls for moving the discussion beyond that of whether or not to use quantitative or qualitative methods in exploring access to educational opportunity. We advocate greater use of existing data, whilst arguing for triangulating as many data sources as necessary to yield a more naturalistic and holistic approach to inclusion in learning. We acknowledge that these opportunities in making use of novel data methods, including greater use of open source data, GPS monitoring and visually derived data such as lifelogging methods, require recognition of potential ethical sensitivities including privacy issues. However, this synthesis of epistemologies allows the researcher to consider 'big-data' place-based factors, such as deprivation and neighbourhood characteristics, whilst also retaining opportunities to preserve individual, local and spatially relevant information which affects individual inclusion and participation.

Big data usually refers to the vast amounts of information created and routinely stored by organisations. According to Lynch (2008), there are various ways in which data can be 'big'. Therefore, there is no specific size or shape to such data, although such datasets are likely to be beyond the capacity of most traditional database systems to manage, and can require complex analytical approaches, inviting a range of methodological specialism. Most significant is the potential complexity of the data,

particularly in its format, rapidity of development and change, and requirements for capture, standardisation, analysis and visualisation of patterns within the data. The true potential of big data approaches lies in the methods by which existing data (administrative and otherwise) can be harnessed through traditional databases (such as performance indicators in formal education, population and census data) and linked with technologically diverse sources of data such as social media, geographical 'spatial' mapping data and weather (see Lido et al. n.d. for review of diverse data resources at UBDC).

There is growing consensus that the concept of big data is best understood and applied when it is considered beyond its potential for quantitative power, and more for its explanatory effectiveness – namely: is it useful, reliable and valid for the question at hand? For instance, big data may be large numerically, or it may be beyond the capacity of existing database/management systems where it is housed, or both, or neither. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of big data is that it can be collected continuously in 'real-time'; therefore, it will likely be complex, thus needing novel methodologies for capturing, analysing and visualising (Osborne and Lido 2015). The data may be numerical (e.g. large administrative data on benefits or student demographics), textual (e.g. tweets, news media) or pictorial (e.g. surveillance images, GPS trails). Interestingly, big data can display a combination of these properties due to the integration of mixed-methodologies at the design stage. Using UBDC's data, we will now illustrate one example of this approach – the integrated Multimedia City Data Project (iMCD) and other Educational (and non-educational) archives it holds. We will discuss how these types of data reveal a multi-faceted picture of educational inclusion in the city, whilst acknowledging the limits and challenges of secondary data usage. The UBDC's approach to addressing social challenges is perhaps best illustrated by the iMCD project (and associated data housed and hosted within their data archive), allowing higher education institutions to explore education-related datasets through novel methods, to blur the lines between formal and non-formal/informal learning, engaging communities and citizens in co-created data/knowledge exchange. Such an open science and knowledge sharing approach is perhaps a key role for higher education institutions that often represent the most diverse of knowledge producers within a Learning City framework.

18.5 Case Study for Big, Novel, Open Data Addressing Educational Inclusion: The Integrated Multimedia City Data Project

UBDC's integrated Multimedia City Data (iMCD) project developed an open-use dataset accessible (by application) to academics, policy practitioners and the public alike. It offers an evidence base for addressing a range of urban challenges. The iMCD data is housed alongside other large publicly available datasets within

UBDC's data archive and consists of four strands of data: (1) Large-scale, representative survey 'Understanding Glasgow' of 1500 households in the Greater Glasgow area; (2) GPS trails for 1 week's worth of travel; (3) 'Lifelogging' camera images of 48 h of travels; and (4) 12-month large-scale social media capture (textual and visual, some geolocated within the city). The iMCD data complements other administrative data for the city, in domains that include education and a range of urban indicator data, as well as cycling app (STRAVA) and mobile phone data.

Exploring only a single strand of the iMCD data, the 'Understanding Glasgow' representative household survey (of every eligible adult in the household), we can see that it holds a host of usable data of interest to educationalists and social scientists more widely. This includes measuring attitudes, behaviours and literacies, operationalised as 'knowledge', in the domains of education, transport, sustainability, health, technology, and cultural and civic engagement, as well as a travel diary assessing adults' spatial patterns of travel activity and daily tasks. Developing a survey for 'open data use' by academic and non-academic stakeholders alike was a significant challenge. Although we designed the survey with specific research domains in mind, we did not adopt a traditional scientific model of research enquiry, which would be hypothesis-led or situated within a specific theoretical domain of knowledge. Instead, we sought to collect data that could be used by a variety of potential users, from academics to citizen hacktivists. Following widespread scoping and knowledge exchange activities with potential users and future stakeholders, we developed the survey iteratively, with a review of national survey questions (largely for the UK) in the domains of interest. Content validity was assessed by a team of eight subject matter experts from inter-disciplinary backgrounds. The draft survey content was compared against the 42 UNESCO (2013) features of Learning Cities to ensure we could link to key concepts for social inclusion and learning participation.

The survey collected a rich variety of demographic information including age, ethnicity, nationality and religion, as well as household demographic information such as children, housing and employment (full income and benefits information). The survey assessed learner engagement in the past (educational qualifications obtained) and present (within the last 12 months) across formal, non-formal and informal learning (in line with the European adult education surveys). In this way, we assessed those in formal programmes leading to formal qualifications, those with past formal qualifications, as well as those engaged in non-formal and informal learning environments within the last year. Thus, we sought to capture structured and organised learning undertaken outside the confines of the formal sector, as well as informal or 'self-initiated' learning, which typically is unstructured and a component of an individual's everyday learning, for instance learning in the pursuit of leisure or 'bettering oneself'.

In addition, we collected information on literacies, or informal competencies, through quiz-type knowledge questions and self-reported skills in specific scenarios. Barriers to participation and access to information regarding future learning opportunities were also assessed. Finally, general attitudes toward the value of education and learning, as well as satisfaction with local school systems were also

gathered. We defined and operationalised the main lifewide literacy domains of interest, such as: financial literacy, political literacy, health literacy, data literacy, foreign language skills, numeracy (in everyday life), and Maths and English in the workplace. A detailed explanation of the full operationalisation of Learning City indicators is beyond the scope of this paper (see Lido et al. 2016). Every attempt was made to operationalise indicators with individual (survey) and city-level metrics. For instance, the 'Pediment' of the UNESCO (2013) model of a successful Learning City focuses on the wider benefits of the modern learning city, with the first measurable set of indicators being associated with 'individual empowerment and social cohesion' of which adult literacy rates have been proposed as one of the possible components. One of the major 'Building Blocks' of the UNESCO model is enrolment rates in various stages of formal education. Through our work we were able to measure levels of lifewide literacy, as well as participation in all forms of education. We also captured voting, volunteering and other civic behaviours related to community activity, and included social mobility and social support, which are components of other building blocks of learning cities as suggested by UNESCO.

18.6 Situating Our Work Back in 'Place': Engaging the Public

Our statistical work with the literacies above found that all 'lifewide literacies' we measured, including health literacy, correlated negatively with area deprivation of household (according to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation rankings), as well as with proxy measures of household precarity. These measures included number of people divided by number of bedrooms, paid employment versus receipt of state benefits, and access to the internet, and all yielded negative literacy correlations (t-tests all $p < .05$). Precarity differences were also found, with higher lifewide literacies for those who were Scottish (versus non-Scottish), home-owners (versus those who rent or have other status) and/or employed (versus those seeking work or with a zero hours contract; t-tests all $p < .05$).

The research team decided that such findings, held by academics within an institutional setting and delivered solely via academic outputs (peer reviewed journals), would be of little benefit to those who needed to be included in the 'literacies conversation', in line with the Learning City Empowerment indicators. We therefore sought to reach out to precarious groups in order to use our data to support dialogue within families and between different citizens about the role of lifewide literacies in promoting engagement in city life. We focused on literacy 'friendliness' of various settings and built environments in which people work, live and play (a lifewide perspective) with the aim of supporting effective citizen conversations and, more ambitiously, community action, to address lifewide literacy inequalities, particularly in areas of deprivation and households facing precarity.

We secured further funding to engage members of the public focused on these statistical iMCD survey findings by creating touchable, interactive, colourful 3D

models made using a Laser cutting and 3D printing techniques. After thorough engagement with two social enterprises specialising in design, Maklab and Creative Stirling, we were able to collaboratively develop public-facing objects in a way that aimed to promote meaningful, accessible dialogue with a range of audiences of all ages, at public events such as Glasgow Science Sunday and the Festival of Social Science event at IKEA. For a more detailed commentary about how we fused big data and design together for public consumption, please see Reid and Lido (2017).

The final objects created included a moving map of Glasgow, which visualised the relative mean scores of Health, Ecological and Financial literacies in eight Greater Glasgow local authorities. The second object was a digital and static quiz, with participants receiving a token for the correct answer. Finally, participants were invited to create their own literacy persona by attaching limbs to a central badge to represent the literacy skills they see as their strengths (e.g. reading/writing, maths, science, artistic/creative, cultural, digital, foreign language, and geo-literacy). At our first event (Glasgow Science Sunday), over 150 badges were created, coloured and taken away, and our second event at IKEA saw over 300 badges created (as part of the Economic and Social Research Council, Festival of Social Sciences).

Creating tangible objects to visualise inequalities in lifewide learning, and developing hands-on activities for the general public, gave us the opportunity to discuss the University of Glasgow, and within this discussion, the role of educational data, and how our research can better serve community needs. We presented participants with GPS visualisations of men and women's physical mobility in the city centre, offering families the opportunity to win a school visit from our team, thus directly engaging with kids and learning practitioners about the role of lifewide literacies within early years' education. We were invited to share this work at a series of knowledge exchange awards and learning and teaching conferences. Our public engagement project has been picked up and promoted through various academic channels such as the Royal Society Edinburgh #LifeinData network, ESRC, and the British Psychological Society. We see our research and public engagement activities as symbiotic to the success and sustainability of educational research. We are confident that the public and practitioners who shared this experience with us are now better able to engage in family discussions surrounding educational inequalities in Glasgow and can embed some of these discussions in the context of lifewide domains including health, financial, environmental and digital literacies.

18.7 Sustainability in Developing 'Big Data' Educational Strands

The iMCD project described above illustrates one way in which the University of Glasgow has engaged its community in responding to current citywide challenges. Not only through providing data resources, but also including community voices to inform survey design and data collection, to view educational engagement in the city from a 'bird's eye view'.

Our research focus continues to evolve and respond to the learning challenges faced by a wide range of learners. For instance, we have conducted research in exploring how older adults engage in formal, non-formal and informal learning, revealing that the Greater Glasgow population was less engaged than their younger age counterparts in Glasgow, as well as national UK and Scotland averages (Lido et al. 2016). Yet, those who do engage in any form of learning are more likely to be engaged also in online, cultural and civic activity, as well as being more physically mobile across the city, and across Scotland. Another example features work that we are undertaking in partnership with ESRC-funded Centre for Population Change, exploring Polish populations, both nationally and locally in Glasgow, revealing the ways in which this sub-population are more physically and socially mobile due to the precarity of their working lives. Such hyper-mobility affects ability to fully participate in learning (formally and informally), despite many individuals arriving in Scotland with prior qualifications. Such learning engagement is also linked to social belonging and relationship to one's area. Thus, our work explores educational access from a traditional 'widening access' educational inclusion lens, as well as the wider learning engagement advocated by lifelong and lifewide approaches. We must therefore continue to explore the continued marginalisation of older adults, as well as learners from areas of deprivation, from formal and non-formal learning opportunities in our cities. We must harness the drive from higher education institutions for greater community engagement and 'real-world' impact, as providing impetus to reverse the tide against older adult learner engagement, and the widening attainment gap.

These two pieces of work, exploring older adult and Polish migrant populations within the city of Glasgow, illustrate how 'big data' can assist higher education institutions in interpreting trends of engagement around their city, and develop programmes to bring learning to precarious and hyper-mobile populations, such as older adults and Eastern European migrant groups in Glasgow. Preliminary findings also reveal that lifewide literacies are indeed related to formal educational engagement in higher education institutions, and follow the same educational exclusion pattern of deprivation and precarity, such as benefits received, and housing tenure factors. We can see that lifewide literacies also follow the same pattern as the formal educational 'attainment gaps', indicating that less tangible, implicit forms of 'knowing' may play a role in educational participation, as well as successful life outcomes, such as general health and social inclusion. Thus, this data informs us that for certain demographic groups, it is those that are less physically and socially mobile (e.g. non-engaged older adults), who would most benefit from outreach/community-engagement from higher education institutions. However, there is complexity in this data-driven picture of mobility, where other populations that are more physically and socially mobile are in fact less likely to engage (e.g. Polish migrant groups with precarious work situations), and therefore might benefit from more flexible, distance and part-time provision, as well as specifically designed community outreach.

18.8 Situating Our Work Within and Out with Higher Education Institutions: Engaging New Networks

UBDC and our research team are also contributing partners in the Life in Data research network (funded by the Royal Society Edinburgh), bringing together academic, private and third-party stakeholders to exchange knowledge around 'literacy, openness, education policy and creative data innovation' in Scotland (Borges Rey 2018). We have found this network useful to disseminate our own iMCD project findings to a multidisciplinary network of scholars, creative and social entrepreneurs, policy makers, industry, educators and civic, public, and voluntary sectors. This network has opened up new discursive spaces for us, as social scientists, to explore creative as well as pedagogical challenges promoting data literacy. The network was developed in response to the Open Data Charter (UK Cabinet Office 2013), intended to facilitate citizens' access to information, but to date citizens have not made enough use of open data, and certainly not using academic-non-academic partnerships and multidisciplinary working groups. Our knowledge exchange workshops have dealt mainly with operationalising data literacy, exploring why it matters (from different stakeholder views), the current state of data literacy in Scotland, and how can it be fostered by universities and non-academic partners alike to better meet the needs of future employers in Scotland. We have actively participated in the #Lifeindata network as a way to operationalise data literacies, and to engage with non-academic partners such as Wikimedia, Data Lab and the Scottish Cities Alliance, to determine the skills needed for the next generation of learners, as well as how we might go about assessing what a 'data literate' or empowered citizen might 'look like'.

The Learning City framework provides access to networks beyond the UK, such as UNESCO's Learning Cities Network and the PASCAL International Observatory's Learning Cities Networks. These provide shared language around which higher education institutions may embed learning at the heart of their regions and reach outside their physical walls to research with and for citizens, particularly those previously marginalised from education participation (e.g. older learners from deprived areas of Glasgow). Many higher education institutions have already embedded long-term commitments to enable the next generation of social science researchers to be 'big data' literate, and for them to move more freely within and between epistemological boundaries which have traditionally separated qualitative 'social science' approaches from quantitative 'science' methods.

The Q-Step Programme is one such cross-institutional initiative with which we have engaged (supported by the Nuffield Foundation), embedded across higher education institutions into postgraduate and employability programmes. Q-step is designed to address a notable absence of quantitative skills amongst UK social science graduates, to develop a new approach to embed data skills early in the careers of social scientists, making such data skills inseparable from deep engagement with discipline-specific learning, such as in education, geography, international relations, law, linguistics, political science, population health, PPE and sociology. This

programme of digital literacy is aimed at overcoming maths anxiety amongst women in the social sciences, seeking to equip them with not just coding skills, through engagement with packages like R and Python, but with data empowered attitudes. Students and higher education staff alike are able to access Q-Step 'upskilling' within higher education institutions, and additionally access funded studentships and work placements as part of Q-Step programme. This engagement with employers is a critical 'test' stage for the skills being developed and ensures that the HE learning maintains its 'cutting-edge' quality. The data behind this present paper acknowledges the work of our Q-Step intern, and illustrates the knowledge exchange and capacity building potential of such programmes for training and employment within and out with higher education institutions.

18.9 Conclusions

This chapter introduced the concept of big data within a Learning City framework and presents case study of the integrated Multimedia City Data (iMCD) project, within the educational data archives, as an illustration of the ways in which more diverse technologies, big open datasets and novel visualisations can offer higher education institutions valuable and underutilised data. There is great potential within open source, big data sets for both local and global issues to be addressed in the context of learning engagement, and how learning engagement operates at complex intersections related to health, social inclusion and 'place'.

The Learning City framework has provided a common language for embedding our research on lifewide literacies in current policy orientated discourse. This framework has also enabled our research to objectively explore educational inclusion in lifelong and lifewide learning, from 'cradle to grave', within and out with educational institutions. We offered this case study in an attempt to blur the lines between higher education institutions as formal institutions offering classroom-based learning to community-facing, publicly-engaged facilitators of knowledge and data co-created with citizens. We illustrated how our team is researching educational disadvantage, embedding it within place, and using the learning city indicators, such as regarding empowerment and social cohesion to assess the city's successes, as well as groups still marginalised from such learning. We also illustrated our attempts to reach out and open dialogues with such marginalised groups, bringing the 'literacies conversation' to communities – in schools, but also in public engagement at Ikea. Finally, we presented the work of our partners in furthering the impact and engagement work in the area of data literacy – operationalising and creating curriculum around the research methods skills future employers might need. In this way, we blur the lines between methodologies and disciplines, but also regarding the role of higher education institutions in formal, and less formal literacies and learning in a fast-changing data and technology landscape.

Researchers must move beyond simple dichotomies of quantitative versus qualitative camps, toward a more holistic approach, revealing the naturalistic experience

of citizens, particularly as it concerns engagement in learning opportunities. Triangulated, mixed-methods, learning city indicator data is useful to academics and policy-makers, but also to citizens for use and interpretation of their own neighbourhood opportunities. UBDC was created to address urban challenges, such as educational inclusion. Utilising their data, we can see that such inequalities are pervasive, affecting formal and informal participation, specifically with place-based barriers, such as belonging, feeling safe and having the socio-economic and work conditions to allow stability and opportunity for such engagement. This research has allowed us to identify, and even map areas (and educational organisations) that might benefit most from interventions promoting formal and informal (e.g. Lifewide Literacy) learning opportunities. This chapter is not an exhaustive analysis, but rather an exemplar of how big data and novel methods can inform approaches of 'where' to widen participation and 'how' we can engage marginalised groups in different forms of learning. It is essential, though, that such data are not just used by academics and policy-makers to suggest top-down decisions, but rather by engaged citizens in discourse to improve their own lives, and that of their neighbours, as evidenced in our public-facing outreach work.

18.9.1 Potential and Limitations of the Data

The full iMCD dataset is a combination of novel multi-methodological approaches, the first of its kind available as an open data resource, allowing immersion in learning environments, as opposed to 2-dimensional exploration of learning metrics. Such rich multi-level information is being used to inform educational expansion at the University of Glasgow, where we are presently undergoing one of the largest expansions of any urban-based University Campus in the world. Evidence-based expansion and provision of further and higher education learning approaches, combined with community outreach and blurring the lines between the formal and informal, sits firmly within the Learning Cities agenda. The success of such outreach initiatives could, in future, be assessed by changes in travel patterns around the campus and city (through comparison of pre-post GPS trails).

It is important to emphasize that the use of big and open data in education, research and the public and private sector require almost continuous reform of scientific governance that can keep pace with the greater interest, investment and availability of its use. This chapter has emphasized the public good that can come from the use of big data when it is orientated to address social problems such as inequality in educational attainment. However, all researchers who utilize this type of data must be fluent in recognizing potential privacy issues including legal requirements and limits of its use. For instance, how and where the data is stored, limits of confidentiality, individual rights and who is able to access it. As a team of social science researchers, we were able to abide by the ethical codes of research provided by our own professional body, The British Psychological Society, to guide our professional conduct. In addition, when applying for and utilizing the iMCD survey, we signed

a license agreement and operated within the clearly stated responsibilities and usage policies. This fast-moving climate of data privacy will be informed through new General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) which replaces the Data Protection Directive 95/46/EC and extends the scope of EU data protection law to all data provided and held by EU residents. This protection regulation is designed to be a living document, able to be updated and revised as new issues related to data privacy continue to evolve in an increasingly complex, digitally based world and where research is now being framed within a climate of 'open science'. While data may be 'big', we are all responsible for ensuring that the rights of the individual who the data relates to are held in highest regard, which ties back to the role of higher education institutions at the forefront of the push for data transparency and openness with the opposing obligations to uphold data protection and ensure ethical privacy practices.

Whilst we are in the infancy of the 'Big Data Revolution', and we have much to negotiate in terms of the balance between privacy and open data, we feel that 'Data Literacy' is at the forefront of learning for the next generation of learners and researchers. More specifically, the complex, real-time learner data on engagement and mobilities should continue to be systematically gathered over a longer time span, and across cities, in efforts to evaluate learning participations (in all forms of learning) and promote attainment and literacies for improved lifelong and lifewide learning. In this way, we will have a better picture of 'active learner citizens' engaging with and contributing to their cities/local environments, versus those who feel marginalized, lack a sense of belonging and safety within their physical environs. There has been a plethora of funding initiatives to promote learning in marginalized groups over the years, but little attention given to their sustainability and 'success'. Given the recent push for open science and transparent investment, social scientists are well placed to get ahead of the curve by recognizing the opportunities of big data in helping to understand and respond to modern, urban challenges.

18.9.2 Big Data Implications for Higher Education Institutions Reform

Previous chapters of this book have explored global trends, such as increasing urbanization and migration, and showed the overlap of many higher education institutions, and the shared urban challenges many of us face. These chapters have woven interconnected trends of ageing and emerging immigrant populations, increasing diversity of learner needs, and increased concern over inequality of access/participation, particularly in regards of socio-economic status. Such global trends provide pressing evidence for universities to play a more visible role in regional and national development. Public outreach to engage citizens through equitable access to further and higher education, as well as lifelong and lifewide learning, sits well within new UK frameworks for making real-world impact and

'opening' data up to citizens. The Learning City framework provides access to networks, such as UNESCO's Learning Cities Network and the PASCAL International Observatory Learning Cities Networks and International Exchanges. These provide shared language around which higher education institutions may embed learning at the heart of their regions and reach outside their physical walls to research with and for citizens, particularly those previously marginalised from education participation; for example, as we have demonstrated in the case of older learners from deprived areas of Glasgow.

Multi-stranded data, such as the iMCD project, may reveal a more holistic picture beyond 'the student lifecycle' to the individual's 'learning lifecourse' and allow universities and cities to better target interventions promoting learning within and outside of formal institutions, particularly for marginalised learners. Thus far, UBDC data has revealed a need for more targeted, place-based community learning outreach for some demographic populations, such as non-learning engaged older adults in areas of deprivation. In addition, more virtual, technological, flexible learning may be more inclusive for other marginalised learners, such as migrant groups in precarious work situations. Such interventions to reach out and engage the public in lifewide learning, in turn provide valuable data for educational providers, including higher education institutions, to identify who is and is not involved in the lifewide learning 'conversation. Such diverse data on inclusion can be a real tool for change and HE reform, offering outcomes of increased educational participation by under-represented groups, as well as providing interdisciplinary research that is impactful. Therefore, we advocate higher education institutions, and interdisciplinary teams, to harness innovative technology and existing big datasets for helping their city-regions develop happy, healthy citizens actively engaged in lifelong learning, including further and higher education, but also non-formal and informal learning in the community and household, and in all aspects of civic life.

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Part IV
Reflections and Outlooks

Chapter 19
Mobility and Migration: Freedom and Threat?

Pavel Zgaga

19.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for an investigation of important issues facing higher education in responding to two major trends: migration and an ageing population. According to many indicators, the 2015–2016 'refugee crisis' marks a turning point in the current period in Europe. The changes that we have seen in the broad context of the present have a great influence on higher education as well.

Today, there is perhaps a belief that the 'refugee crisis' has been successfully halted at the Schengen borders of the European Union. However, neither the reasons for it nor the consequences have yet disappeared. On the contrary, many problems have deepened, and in addition, we encounter them in a rather fluid form. In parallel with the issues of refugees and migration, issues which are very important for the functioning of democratic societies have been re-opened or re-formulated, such as, for example, free movement of people and goods, access to personal data, privacy of communication, etc. These issues, around which a consensus has been gradually established in Europe over the last decades, are deeply linked to broader themes such as freedom and security, goals and means, knowledge and power, peace and war, etc. Media news about 'anti-refugees' or 'pro-refugees' manifestations warn us that in our societies there are again completely opposing views on these fundamental issues. A variety of policies are being implemented to address problems in a wide range from re-establishing control at the internal Schengen borders to the integration of refugees and migrants into education. There is, however, little evidence of their (positive) impact. Only a few attempts have been made to map systematically,

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for example, the situation of migrant education (exceptions include Essomba et al. 2017; Jungblut and Pietkiewicz 2017).

The history of Europe has large-scale and complex migration and refugee flows. These historical experiences include both the roles of those who were fleeing either from direct threats, or from economic or social neglect, as well as those who gave shelter and those that have opposed it. Some experienced both roles. No social group could completely avoid this experience, even though their experiences went in very different ways. Of course, neither intellectual nor academic circles can claim to be untouched by this, and their reflections are particularly valuable and important also for us today.

Hannah Arendt, the renowned philosopher and political theorist, wrote in 1943:

> If it is true that men seldom learn from history, it is also true that they may learn from personal experiences which, as in our case, are repeated time and again. […] If we should start telling the truth that we are nothing but Jews, it would mean that we expose ourselves to the fate of human beings who, unprotected by any specific law or political convention, are nothing but human beings. I can hardly imagine an attitude more dangerous, since we actually live in a world in which human beings as such have ceased to exist for quite a while, since society has discovered discrimination as the great social weapon by which one may kill men without any bloodshed […]. It is true that most of us depend entirely upon social standards, we lose confidence in ourselves if society does not approve us; we are—and always were—ready to pay any price in order to be accepted by society.
>
> […] Refugees driven from country to country represent the vanguard of their peoples—if they keep their identity. […] The comity of European peoples went to pieces when, and because, it allowed its weakest member to be excluded and persecuted. (Arendt 1994, pp. 118–119)

The context of her essay is the middle of World War II, and perhaps things have changed since then. But the Holocaust must be understood as a general human experience, which should provoke a general humanity test. There is no serious reason to treat refugees, driven today from country to country, outside of this context, and we should be concerned that the comity of European peoples could go into pieces again. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the world has changed dramatically. The above warning from Hannah Arendt must be read in a new context. International migration today is remarkably different. The analysis of the causes and consequences of migrations also requires 'an alternative way of thinking', from 'the ways in which international migration 'challenges' nation states' toward

> seeing international migration as a dependent variable that acquires meaning when it meets the borders (territorial, organisational and conceptual) of destination states. […] As such, international migration is defined by the categorisations and classifications that occur at Europe's borders. These differences between categories have hugely important effects because being labelled a 'high skilled migrant' leads to an entirely different relationship to the host society compared to that experienced by an 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee'. (Geddes and Scholten 2016, p. 4)

This alternative way of thinking has important consequences even when we focus on specific issues of migration from the point of view of higher education. Whom do we have in mind when we are talking today about the relationship between universities and migrants: 'refugees', 'asylum seekers' or 'high skilled candidates'? Are European educational policies and practices 'spaces of hospitality' (De Haene et al. 2018) – or is integration of migrants just a 'business' (Kurki et al. 2018) like any other?

19.2 Some Considerations on International Mobility and Migration

Why is the topic of migration relevant for higher education? One answer to this question is related to the general right to education and to the access to education, recognized in a number of international conventions. It is clear that this is important when people try to provide humanitarian aid to those who need it, and to defend the fundamental principles of a democratic society. However, the question should not be reduced to this dimension alone. This chapter will make this argument by focusing on two concepts, *mobility* and *migration*. The first has been very popular in the ongoing discussion on higher education – among policy makers, students and their parents, higher education leaders and, last but not least, researchers. In everyday discourse, this concept seems to contain a rather strong value dimension, while migration is more technical in character. It has become normal to believe that *mobility* is about *freedom*; no obstacle to our life journey, no obstacle for new experiences and for new opportunities. It's good to be mobile, and if you want to be mobile, you should be able to migrate freely from one place to another. A metaphor for the opposite concept, *immobility*, is prison – but it could also be a refugee camp. It seems, however, that the definition of these two concepts is now changing and this change may also affect understanding of the role that higher education should play in our societies.

In recent decades, increasing student and university teacher mobility has become a key point of European higher education policy, aiming 'to harness the full intellectual potential of the universities', to improve 'the quality of the education and training', thus 'securing the competitiveness of the Community in the world market' (Council Decision 1987, pp. 21–22). In Europe, with the Bologna Process (1999), mobility has become one of the priorities around which all the key higher education policy ideas have been circulating until today. In one of their communiques, just before the solemn announcement that the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) was finally built, European ministers responsible for higher education listed a number of (value) dimensions that higher education mobility can significantly enhance:

> We believe that mobility of students, early stage researchers and staff enhances the quality of programmes and excellence in research; it strengthens the academic and cultural internationalization of European higher education. Mobility is important for personal development and employability, it fosters respect for diversity and a capacity to deal with other cultures. It encourages linguistic pluralism, thus underpinning the multilingual tradition of the European Higher Education Area and it increases cooperation and competition between higher education institutions. Therefore, mobility shall be the hallmark of the European Higher Education Area. (Bologna Process 2009)

The Bologna Declaration of 1999 set the enhancement of student mobility among the major strategic objectives; the increase in student mobility was seen as an uncontroversial goal also in the following years (Teichler 2011). Today, even outside the Euro-skeptic circles, the 'crisis' of the European Union and of the future of European integration is often discussed, but mobility remains a highly appreciated

or at least less disputed topic. ‘Free mobility’ is one of the central educational policy ideas even in the global context; in a specific way, this is reflected in the competition of national higher education systems and institutions to attract as many foreign students and academic staff as possible. Although it is true that mobility and academic migration must not be confused (Dervin 2011), they are at one point related: they are connected to the problem of population trends and population changes and thus both concepts enter the center of political visions of the modern world.

We all know that on a global level there are major population changes going on. On the one hand, populations in developed countries are ageing and shrinking; on the other hand, high population growth is characteristic for developing countries. Developed countries can invest in education much more than developing countries (UNESCO 2017). At a certain level, developed countries promote mobility and encourage immigration; but on the other hand, migration can also be a source of fear, even panic. All this has been particularly evident during the European ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015 and 2016 (Greenhill 2016).

This dual perception of mobility and migration is reflecting also in higher education. Mobility and migration are centuries-old features of university life; for various reasons – from personal ambitions to persecution of various kinds – students and staff were migrating to other countries and other institutions. But these movements in the past were not, as a rule, triggering controversies, at least not as they are triggering today. This was certainly contributed by the fact that higher education migration in the past affected a very small share of the population. With the ascent of *mass higher education* a few decades ago, this situation has changed significantly: higher education migrations, which was once a peripheral issue with respect to population changes and, therefore, manageable, became *mass higher education migration*. According to the Migration Data Portal (2018), there are around five million international students today. Here lies one of the sources of the dual perception mentioned above: on the one hand, new and promising possibilities for the production and dissemination of top-level knowledge are opening up while on the other fears are arising as to the challenges that these movements bring in the fields of general and personal security, the preservation of traditional culture and everyday life, etc.

In other words: on the one hand, migration has been favoured as an injection of (potentially or actually) highly skilled workers to the workforce for the growing markets in developed countries; on the other hand, this has led to concerns about ‘brain drain’ in developing countries. Mass migration has recently started to drive higher education (Robertson and Komljenovic 2016), which in the past did not happen and was not even conceivable. Today, without international students, many reputable higher education institutions could find themselves in financial and status difficulties. Moreover, with mass higher education migration there have been more and more new ‘technical’ challenges such as recognition of foreign qualifications, quality of teaching and learning, academic, linguistic and cultural integration, employment and immigration policy.

However, these problems will not put a stop to migration. On the contrary, global migration – both in higher education and more generally – is steadily growing as it brings a promise of a ‘better life’ and a ‘better future’ to those who are migrating.

Free mobility and migration are therefore associated with one of the deepest human characteristics: with hope and with the construction of various utopias, but also illusions.

Thus, the issue of 'security' has come to the fore of the discussion on migration and has overshadowed previous 'technical' challenges. Mobility and migration in the field of higher education are no more perceived just 'desirable phenomena' that should be promoted by public policies. With mass migratory flows, the meaning of the term 'migration' in popular discourses easily turns into a 'humanitarian problem' or 'migration crisis'. 'Free mobility' turns into a 'threat'. Migration has begun to represent a 'danger'. These shifts challenge understanding of the world in which we live. They transform our value systems and initiate different behaviours. The 'security' issue challenges the established meaning structures: is mobility in higher education truly a positive value? Is it necessary, for safety reasons, to give up some traditional academic values? These challenges have a significant impact on practices of higher education institutions as well as on existing policies.

19.3 Migration and the World in Which We Live

People can quickly forget events from 4 or 5 years ago because they are overshadowed by events from yesterday and today. But forgetting is not the worst what may happen; much more problematic are the reinterpretations of the events, based on the shifted understanding of the world which is also a source of new mythologies. Therefore, we will now try to briefly restore the memory of events from late 2015 and early 2016, while at the same time demonstrating how the images of the 'refugee crisis' have been constructed. This insight will be illustrated with an example from my own country, Slovenia, which is one of the most southeast points of the Schengen area.

In Autumn 2015, the first time since the fall of the Berlin Wall, new walls started to be built across Europe. Much has been written, for example, about the border between Hungary and Serbia, but a wall – less well known – was also built on the border between Slovenia and Croatia. Throughout the long history of this area, there had been no border. In 1991, a border was established between two newly independent states, and then there were hopes that this would be simply an administrative demarcation line between two good neighbours. But these two neighbours failed to agree on the border. Even after a decision by an international court in The Hague (2017), the exact course of the border has not been mutually agreed even today, but the fact is that this contested line is the external Schengen border since 2007. And in Autumn 2015, a barbed wire fence, 157 km long, was stretched through idyllic forests and meadows and riverbanks, which once attracted tourists and nature lovers.

This fence has not only prevented carefree wandering but has also become a deadly trap for wildlife. The reactions of citizens varied: some greeted the wire as bringing greater security, while others strongly opposed it. But the wire was only one of the hot issues around which the public began to strongly polarize. From early

Autumn of 2015, the public's main focus was on a huge flow of refugees through Slovenia, mainly from the Middle East, as well as from Afghanistan and some African countries. Food and emergency accommodation had to be provided for them, but in many cases the local – mainly rural – communities protested and resisted governmental plans for the establishment of refugee shelters. Two contrasting slogans were heard more and more loudly: 'Refugees Not Welcome' versus 'Refugees Welcome', as in many other European countries. Slovenia had faced a refugee crisis already two decades ago, at the beginning of the Balkan Wars in the 1990s, but then refugees were welcomed and accommodated rather warmly. Even then, many refugees were Muslims. What has changed in 20 years? Why were refugees now increasingly 'not welcome'?

In February 2016, the responsible government office intended to install a small group of unaccompanied refugee minors in one of the boarding schools in a small city in Northwest Slovenia. Why in a boarding school? In the past, boarding schools were established in many cities to facilitate access to upper secondary education for young people from rural regions. However, improved transport infrastructure and smaller cohorts caused the boarding schools in Slovenia to be fairly empty today. Consequently, boarding schools might be expected to happily welcome new students and more money from the state budget. However, this intention caused a major excitement (Žurnal24.si 2016, February 23) as within the education community as well as among the general public.

This led to protests by some upset parents who threatened to withdraw their children from the school. Even some teachers from the local grammar school stood up against the so-called 'Islamic threat' in their district (Delo 2016, February 23). This was quite unexpected, since secondary schools have traditionally been the bearers of liberal thought. Thus this protest has activated on the opposing side the greater part of the educational community in the country, with many schools and teacher unions protesting against chauvinism. Soon after that, the refugee minors were accommodated in boarding schools in other cities, where they were warmly received.

Similar stories from other European countries show that our societies have changed quite fundamentally. Half a century ago freedom meant freedom from all barriers and walls, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. Thirty years ago these walls and barriers were demolished in the name of freedom: freedom of movement, of thought and communication. Now, paradoxically, it appears that freedom is provided – or better: protected – by barbed wire and new walls. The new walls of 'Fortress Europe' are erected against immigrants, as well as new fences between EU Members States that are increasingly concerned with their own countries and problems, and forget to look over the fences to their European neighbours and allies.

Indeed, Europe of today does not look like a good example of a united and well-connected entity. The 'migration crisis' coincided with Brexit (the decision of the United Kingdom to quit the European Union), but also with controversies among EU Member States on some key elements of the post-1945 (as well as the fall of the Berlin Wall post-1989) understanding of democracy and human rights. The enthusiasm for European integration from the end of the 1980s and the 1990s has

disappeared; old walls were forgotten and new walls are being built quite easily – both from stone and in the minds. What has changed in 20 years?

This is a difficult question and cannot adequately be dealt with here. However, I shall address the related question of what possible effects has all this on higher education.

19.4 Migrants and Higher Education: Lessons Learned So Far

This is not the first time Europe encounters the migration of refugees – but it is probably true that these flows are now significantly different and perhaps more alarming than in the past. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, a club of mostly rich, industrialized countries, posed the question: 'Is this humanitarian migration crisis different?' (OECD 2015) There are indications that the answer should be affirmative. One, there is – at least in the European perspective – a change in extent and intensity of these flows. These flows are massive. But we must not forget that Europe took over only a small part of this tide.

A report on *Migration and Youth* (United Nations Children's Fund 2014) found that 232 million international migrants worldwide were identified in 2013, of whom about one-eighth (28.2 million) are between 15 and 24 years of age – that is, young people whom one would expect to be enrolled in upper secondary and higher education. If we add those younger than 15 years of age, it is not difficult to conclude that many of today's migrants are children and young people. The problem of migration is therefore not just a problem related to security, unemployment, social affairs and public health; it is also a problem related to education. However, education tends to remain at the margins of the popular debate on migration. There are many reasons why this is so. One is the language, and script, and everything that is often captured under the umbrella of the designation 'different culture'. The problem is even bigger because in populist discourses – which are common in Europe of today – this simple difference is quickly mythologized and expressed in terms such as 'fundamentalism', 'terrorism' and the like. But it is very difficult, however, to connect such terms to children at least.

For these and other reasons, the work of all those educators at various levels of education, who are trying today to respond to the challenges of the time, is extremely difficult. At the organizational level, the challenge of migrants' education is normally approached in the context of existing legislation and policies. The question is whether this is sufficient. Existing policies have been developed to address different populations in different situations, dissimilar to the situation of today's migrants and refugees. Development of new policies and reforms of the existing system are definitely not an easy task – in neither professional nor political terms – and therefore efforts of individual institutions and educators who are trying to solve growing challenges in new and efficient ways are all the more important. At this level, several problems for the integration of refugees into higher education have been

identified. These problems are usually linked to the fact that young migrants 'are often treated as 'regular' students, while not necessarily having similar possibilities to enrol' and that so far 'the policy-making style has been mainly reactive' (Jungblut and Pietkiewicz 2017, pp. 74,82) rather than proactive.

However, there have been a number of positive practices developed over the last two decades, mostly stemming from international human rights conventions and the commitment by signatory states, such as the obligation to provide, at the very least, primary education for all children. On the other hand, practices which have evolved over recent decades from the growing emphasis on the importance of internationalizing (higher) educational systems could also be helpful. Conversely, it is possible to draw important conclusions from the practices developed in solving refugee problems at higher education institutions for the development of institutional strategies for internationalization in the future:

> The local and national networks which have been (or will be) created for the integration of refugees provide a chance for improving integration of other international students in the future. Thus, they hold the potential to significantly foster internationalisation of higher education in Europe as several of the challenges that refugees face are to a certain degree also common for other international students. (Ibid., p. 84)

If we compare today's universities and colleges with those from two or three decades ago, then the differences are enormous: today, they are much more qualified to work with diverse populations coming from different cultural contexts and educational systems, given the internationalization of higher education more generally. Yet, all this is not sufficient to cope with new and different challenges of the 'migration crisis'. For which purposes were the tools for mobility and internationalization built within the EHEA? Do these tools need to respond to these new challenges? Are educational systems able to provide 'world class higher education' for refugees? Should they?

In practical terms, the formal right to access to educational institutions is the first big challenge for a refugee regarding education; this is a person who was forced to leave their home and most probably did not have an opportunity to take school certificates with her or him. In such cases, an important legal principle was provided by the Lisbon Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications (1997), the binding legal document for almost all countries in the EHEA. It contains a section entitled 'Recognition of qualifications held by refugees, displaced persons and persons in a refugee-like situation', which, inter alia, obliges signatory states 'to assess fairly and expeditiously whether refugees, displaced persons and persons in a refugee-like situation fulfil the relevant requirements for access to higher education […] even in cases in which the qualifications obtained in one of the Parties cannot be proven through documentary evidence' (Article VII).

When it comes to refugees, such cases are a rule rather than an exception. Today, higher education institutions make use of this tool but both institutions and migrants still face major problems at this level. This is why the current situation can be regarded as an opportunity for a thorough reflection on how effective this principle has been in practice so far and how this effectiveness can be enhanced in the future.

A good overview of the current situation at European universities – and an encouragement for further initiatives of this kind – has been provided online since 2016 with the European University Association (EUA 2018) 'Refugees Welcome Map'. The interactive map shows how different universities in different countries are developing initiatives tailored to refugee students and staff and have included subjects concerning migrants and refugees into teaching and research. Initiatives primarily familiarize interested individuals not only with opportunities to access (as it is the case with all foreign candidates), but also with specific problems concerning migrant and refugee candidates like recognition of their studies and prior learning, preparatory courses (including learning the local language), integration measures, eventual financial support or employment opportunities for researchers and teaching staff, etc. With this project, the EUA aims to showcase and document the commitment of higher education institutions and organizations in supporting refugees. The campaign began in Europe but EUA stressed that it is open to institutions and organizations around the world (but as is evident on the web, so far unfortunately only few institutions from other regions of the world have joined).

A similar project was launched by the European Commission (2016): 'Higher Education for Migrants and Refugees'. A survey was conducted to collect a wide range of initiatives taken by higher education actors. The objective was twofold: to have a better picture of the initiatives already started by higher education actors in this area, and of the challenges they may have encountered, as well as to continue adapting the Erasmus+ programme to the current situation through a bottom-up approach by asking the higher education sector for their input. This initiative focuses on three main areas: first, access to higher education and awareness in society; second, meeting basic needs and easing social integration; and third, recognition of skills, access to higher education and the integration of researchers.

19.5 Challenges, Opportunities and Policy Issues

Independent of this European programme, we know many universities have opened their doors to migrants and refugees in recent years. Many of them were already known in the past for their open, cosmopolitan orientation. If, however, we would browse through the list of one of the global university rankings, we could quickly find that aspirations for academic excellence often do not coincide with efforts to provide organized assistance to refugees and migrants. This calls for an effort to rethink and discuss the various purposes and the wider role of higher education in society today.

One of the questions that should be asked in this discussion on higher education is what is the purpose and role of universities in the field of developing competences to live together as equals and culturally diverse democratic societies.

The 'migration crisis' is an opportunity to seriously reconsider not only the European idea but also the idea of the European Higher Education Area. In the light

of the events of recent years, a thorough reconsideration is needed of what 'internationalization in higher education' means. Even more, it would be necessary to reconsider the so-called 'external dimension of the Bologna Process' (Bologna Process 2007b), i.e. international cooperation in policy development, and reform of higher education beyond the borders of 'Fortress Europe'. This challenge cannot be reduced to technical issues on the one hand, and on the other it also needs to be protected from populist discourses.

Almost 20 years ago, when the Bologna Declaration was drafted, the idea of an EHEA was by no means restricted to technical issues. It was a vision of something new, a vision which also confronted broader challenges of the time – not only in higher education. In its third paragraph (therefore in a clearly visible place) the Declaration reflected on the broad flow of refugees then running from the Western Balkans to the rest of Europe. It acknowledged 'the importance of education and educational co-operation in the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies' (Bologna Process 1999). It seems that over the past two decades, this aspect has been disappearing and that the current policy sees 'the full potential of higher education' only in instrumental categories like 'employability' and 'cooperation with the industry'.

As we have seen in the case of Brexit, higher education institutions – both those from the UK and other European countries – are well aware of the far-reaching strategic significance of the EHEA. They are also aware of the various dimensions of international cooperation worldwide. The past few years proved that the higher education space is much different from those spaces, where fears of 'the Other' fester. The so-called 'migration crisis' is therefore a kind of a test of the inner strength of higher education institutions and their capacity 'to continue to fulfil their full range of purposes' (Bologna Process 2007a, pt. 1.4), not just instrumental ones. First and foremost, its main task is to provide quality education and life opportunity to all candidates with a migrant background, and an appropriate qualification for (further) studies. However, we must not forget the so-called third mission of higher education, i.e. working for and with communities, which can also importantly contribute to solving many dilemmas related to migrants. Wider access, changing national demographics and international mass migration: these are the themes that require a reflection on the purposes and social roles of higher education in today's and tomorrow's society. These issues should therefore be addressed openly and in the widest possible way, and must be re-examined again and again.

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Chapter 20
Learning, Education and Active Ageing: A Key Policy Agenda for Higher Education

David Istance

20.1 Introduction

Despite population ageing being a significant twenty-first century trend, the importance of education and learning as integral to it barely flickers on most policy radar screens. Such attention instead tends to be focused, however understandably, on the major issues of health provision and costs, care, and the sustainability of pension systems. When learning and education for seniors are considered in policy discussions, it is often through questions regarding older workers and their training and retraining needs, reflecting the widespread prioritisation of economic perspectives in educational policy analysis. However real the vocational learning needs of some seniors may be, this prioritisation has served to obscure consideration of a much larger and ultimately important set of questions, questions that also have profound economic consequences but not to be best understood through the lenses of human capital and employability. This chapter extends an earlier article (Istance 2015) by elaborating what a strong focus on the education and learning of older adults might look like in practice.

To consider education and learning for seniors beyond the issues of retraining older workers, means to focus especially on those conventionally regarded as of retirement age, while recognising that what 'retirement' means is not fixed and that the situations of retirement-age adults vary widely. This chapter deploys terms like 'older adults', the 'retired', '65+ age group' and 'seniors' interchangeably, though there are clearly important differences between the relatively newly-retired (sometimes referred to as in the 'Third Age') and the elderly.

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Countries are facing the challenges of deepening crises over the care and financing of policies for seniors and concerns over potential generational conflicts, on the one hand, while searching for inspiring yet realistic societal projects around which to galvanise political engagement, on the other. In setting the wider scene for this book, the agenda outlined in this chapter could form the basis for such a far-reaching social and political project. The chapter concludes with specific reflection on the potential contribution of higher education to this broad agenda. This could amount to a powerful leadership role in the organisation and planning, building the necessary capacity, and providing the underpinning research for a new sector, in addition to the most obvious role of providing appropriate teaching programmes for senior learners.

20.2 Ageing – An International 'Heavy Trend'

The fact of ageing societies, certainly among the richer countries of the world, is in general a familiar one. Less familiar is the sheer scale and rapidity of the shift, while its connection to education and learning is largely absent. It is worth recalling the basic facts of ageing based on international data, which add up to seismic shifts either already apparent or foreseen for the immediate decades to come.

First, the populations of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries are living longer than ever before. The table heading in a recent international report eschews the conventionally sober OECD language to announce: 'Life expectancy has increased remarkably in OECD countries'. The accompanying text explains: 'In 2014, life expectancy at birth on average across OECD countries reached 80.6 years, an increase of more than ten years since 1970', (OECD 2016, p. 114). This figure combines all OECD countries and men and women together, so it is obviously greater in some places and among some subpopulations. It represents truly rapid change for such a broad social indicator.

Second, the populations aged 65 years and over are rapidly growing in absolute numbers and relative to other age groups:

> In 2015, there were on average across OECD countries 28 persons aged 65 and over for every 100 persons aged 20 to 64, an average level up from 18 in 1970… By 2060, this average ratio is projected to almost double in the OECD area. (OECD 2016, p. 87)

That is, the age distribution of our societies is shifting rapidly towards the older end of the age spectrum. This is commonly discussed in relation to 'financial dependency', a possibly misleading term as many older adults are not dependent and may actually be net contributors across the generations (Albertini et al. 2009), yet signalling the potentially deep problems arising for the sustainability of health and social welfare systems.

Third, older adults are spending significantly longer in retirement than in the recent past. The OECD measures 'expected years in retirement' as life expectancy at the effective age of retirement: in 2014, this stood at 17.6 years for men and

22.3 years for women (OECD 2015, p. 164). In other words, the period spent in retirement is now so extensive that it is as long or longer than the average periods of time spent by young people in education.

There are some important variations around these core international averages, and naturally many countries where the levels exceed those given above (just as there are others below). There remain important gender differences in life expectancy, though the gap between women and men is noticeably narrowing. Particularly relevant in this context, and an integral part of the argument for including education prominently in broad policy strategies relating to seniors, is that those with the highest levels of education, on average, live significantly longer compared with those with lower levels of attainment. [The OECD notes that the gap is especially large in Central and Eastern Europe 'where the life expectancy gap between higher and lower educated men reaches more than 10 years' (OECD 2016, p. 114)]. There are thus important equity issues at stake.

We can distinguish the implications of the life cycle patterns – that people are living much longer and spending a great deal of that in a status (retirement) outside the traditionally core life activities of education, family formation and employment – from the shifting patterns of age distribution i.e. that older adults make up a rapidly-growing proportion of societies' populations. The first raises searching questions about the quality of personal lives and the nature of social connection and of communities more generally. The second invites a focus on the sustainability of current arrangements, with the rising costs of health provision, pension schemes and care, amounting to an increasingly emerging crisis. The first would arise even if fertility rates had remained high after the baby boom years; the second reflects major demographic shifts from one part of the age range to others as more live longer while far fewer children are being born compared with the heady days of the 'baby boom'. Put together, they amount to social change on a truly significant scale.

20.3 Making the Case and What It Would Look Like

At present, the frameworks for considering ageing and older adults remain largely piecemeal, reflecting an earlier era when retirement represented a much shorter period of people's lives, gradual extensions of pension-age entitlements notwithstanding. The extent of ageing demands much greater community and policy engagement in the lives of older and elderly adults than has been common hitherto, and that learning and education for a very wide range of purposes should be prominent in these social arrangements. It would represent a route to significantly greater active lives and policies than reliance on individual choice and personal networks. It would broaden policy paradigms through prioritising the education and learning of seniors from a primary focus on pensions, health and social care, however necessary these may be, while at the same time integrating them within these established foci rather than regarding education as an add-on option largely unconnected to the others.

The unprecedented duration of the retirement phase in our lives, the looming crises of care and pension payments in many systems, and the still under-developed potential of active learning and education policies for older citizens, call for responses on the scale and the boldness of the introduction of compulsory education in many countries over a century ago. Such responses should as much address the needs of the frail and elderly as the younger cohorts of the newly-retired. Part of the case is that systematic opportunities and engagements will not happen if left to the efforts of individuals or even individual institutions and initiatives. Nor will the equity problems be properly addressed; indeed, the gaps in activity, health, and well-being are likely to widen. To create systematic opportunities for the learning of seniors needs the coherence, legitimacy and impetus provided by strong government strategy, even though many of the relevant learning opportunities will not themselves be organised through public policy.

The case being made here depends on a broad and inclusive understanding of what the learning and education that is appropriate for seniors would be for, embracing a wide variety of forms and purposes. In essence, there would be a shift towards much greater entitlement to and expectation for older people to undertake activity that is stimulating – intellectually, artistically, and socially. This may be explicitly educational, and indeed higher education could play a far more prominent role in this than at present. It should embrace peer-to-peer learning communities as well as more conventional courses; on-line opportunities as well as face-to-face classes and workshops. Moving along the spectrum of the non-formal it should embrace 'serious leisure' (Jones and Symon 2001), as well as formal programmes. It should include learning through employment and community action as well as through activities and locations more recognisably educational. And, as discussed below, a key form of learning will be through preparation for and the engagement in activity that would normally be described as teaching rather than being a student.

All this is to argue for a new social status for seniors, one in which their learning, engagement and connection at the core of their individual and social lives will be both much more supported and at the same time more regulated than it is at present. Both the individual and social dimensions are important.

20.3.1 Individual and Social Dimensions

At the *individual* level, the argument is that activity and learning in the broadest sense are among the surest means for enhancing well-being, health and longevity. Instead of reliance exclusively on the essentially remedial approach to ageing of improved health or social care, or leaving to chance that individuals will access education or engage in learning activities by themselves, it would universalise a more preventative approach based on learning. This is a field where there is a growing evidence base but more will be needed to bolster this promising line of empirical study of wider benefits (e.g. Brennan et al. 2013; OECD 2010; Feinstein et al. 2008).

The learning in question can be through activity and work, including community engagement, as well as through more formalised educational programmes. Hence, there would be a concerted society-wide strategy to ensure that all older people would be engaging in stimulating and engaging activities as the surest means of maintaining their physical and mental health; the word 'all' is emphasised as otherwise the existing gaps in health and well-being correlated with education – and particularly higher education – would only widen if strategies simply reinforced the advantages of the already-advantaged.

At the social level, the argument is that older people need to connect up with others in more than haphazard or idiosyncratic ways. The retired and the elderly are especially affected by the individualism of twenty-first century society, greater geographical mobility, and changing family and community structures. This refers to families in which adult children and other family members have often moved away to other parts of the country or other countries altogether to study, work and settle. It refers to the increasing reliance on car ownership and the decline of public transport services in many countries, heightening the risks of isolation. It means the concentration of retail outlets outside conventional centres of residence and the rise of on-line purchasing that removes the need for face-to-face contact altogether. It means societies which are increasingly turning to social media for connectivity, raising a host of questions both about what this means for the nature of relationships with others and where it leaves the older sections of society, especially the elderly.

Education, including higher education, is part of the picture as participation rates in organised learning is lower among those of retirement age than among younger adults (e.g. Aldridge and Tuckett 2007; De Donder et al. 2013; Principi and Lamura 2009) and the development of individualism has gone hand-in-hand with educational expansion and greater affluence. Notwithstanding the critiques of the 'bowling alone' thesis (Putnam 2000), the developments he is portraying weigh heavily on the older members of society, and especially on the less affluent and the less healthy. And just as education may be part of a response to 'bowling alone' social isolation for young people, it has a special role to play for the retired and elderly in addressing the risk of isolation. The retired are also at risk of isolation from their loss of connection to another of the major sources of social contact – the world of work.

20.3.2 Education and Learning

Emphasising both the individual and social is to confirm that both 'education' and 'learning' are important, despite the often-futile arguments in the academic literature seeking to privilege one over the other. The social arguments are central to the case outlined above suggesting that education is critical, and it will need to be both formal and non-formal. This derives too from the sheer range of purposes for

seniors' learning implying a rich variety of educational settings and programmes. Beyond this, the policy argument – that significant change requires a new sector of entitlements and expectations with a strong basis in policy – also emphasises the importance of education, i.e. this must bring in organisations and institutions and cannot be left only to the private endeavours of individuals. This is especially the case if this proposal is to be relevant to those seniors who are least active and who would most benefit from education and learning.

To focus on education is partly to resist, along with authors like Biesta (2004), an overly individualised approach based primarily on the 'lonely' activity of learning. However, learning is fundamental to the case being made through its strong connection to the well-being of adults, and of seniors in particular. And just as education needs to be further distinguished into different forms of the formal and non-formal (and within these into those that are most suitable for different groups of seniors) so does 'learning' need to be further distinguished. Hodkinson et al. (2008) make the fundamental distinction between 'learning as acquisition' and 'learning as becoming'. In the former, learning is about acquiring content as compared in the latter with how people change. Both are relevant to these developments, as, for example, learning to become an effective retiree might be conceived as a form of 'acquisition' even if other relevant examples are much more about development and personal growth. Another distinction can be made between what is learnt – learning summarised through the change it results in – and learning as activity. Again, both are relevant to the case being made in this chapter as the distinction embraces both the idea that learning is an activity that is good in itself no matter what it covers and that learning needs purpose and becomes relevant to people's lives through its content.

Learning may be more fundamental still: we can propose that being active actually depends on learning taking place. This delves into the fundamental process of what happens when learning occurs. Instead of seeing learning as a prerequisite to something else – learning DIY to renovate a house, learning to act so as to participate in a play, learning a language to speak to others in a new country – it might well be more accurate to suggest that such outcomes and activities only really happen when learning is taking place in the present tense and not just beforehand by way of preparation. That is, learning is an integral part of activity itself (relevant to the concept of 'active ageing' – see below).

To summarize, while it is true that adult learning systems may be organised in an excessively individualised way, there is nothing inherently contradictory between education and learning; education, both formal and non-formal, will often be the most effective way for adult learning to take place. Contemporary conceptualisations of learning in any case emphasise its fundamentally social nature and dependence on interaction with others rather than an essentially private individual matter (De Corte 2010), whether someone is a child or an older adult.

20.3.3 Vocational Learning for Seniors

Having de-emphasised retraining in order to avoid narrowing the focus to the common association of older learners with older earners, the growing engagement of seniors in the labour market is nevertheless relevant. Already, the financial sustainability of pension schemes means that retirement ages are being pushed back to prolong working life, and this could be accompanied by different contractual arrangements for those wishing to continue to work but with more flexible schedules and duties. There would thus be vocational learning needed to enable seniors to adjust to their extended careers and new employment schedules and duties. This may well best be organised and offered by other seniors, who will need specific vocational learning in order to be effective trainers, teachers or mentors.

The scale of the change represented by the growing retired, older and elderly population invites, however, a re-definition of what 'vocational' means for these age groups – defined not only in terms of the labour market and employment but also as the learning needed in order to be an effective retiree. Such learning might include health education; accessing tax, social benefits and financial information; training in technology use; and learning to access services and education and learning itself. Whether or not the term 'vocational' is chosen to cover this kind of learning, it is essentially about acquiring information and developing skills that are directly usable by older citizens for functioning in organisations and in the community. This kind of vocational, non-professional education targeted especially at older citizens could become an important specialism in its own right as part of the new sector being advocated in this chapter.

20.3.4 New Expectations for Older Adults to Learn (And Teach)?

The suggestion to introduce a degree of expectation- even compulsion- into engagement in education and learning by seniors may well seem at odds with contemporary values and societies. Before hastily condemning the idea that retirement might bring an expectation to actively learn and contribute, however, it is worth considering the sheer scale of the imposition of compulsory school attendance a century and more ago. This expectation is now so taken for granted that the imposition it represents goes largely unnoticed as part of the social fabric of contemporary societies. The benefits of education are widely taken to justify the loss of freedoms that compulsion entails – whether those benefits are enhanced knowledge and skills, society-wide systems of child care, or publicly-organised systems of socialisation and social cohesion.

The proposal is not of course to envisage compulsory attendance in an educational institution – 'schools for seniors' – even though much wider participation in educational programmes by older adults would be very welcome. It is instead to suggest that the scale of the ageing and retirement phenomenon and the associated, spiralling costs of health and social care create an urgency in which radical social solutions are needed, comparable with the enormous experiment of the late 19th and early 20th centuries represented by the introduction of compulsory school attendance.

The proposal therefore is that all adults of retirement age should be engaged in education and learning of one form or another, for this to be an explicit programme of policy, and to create a new sector embedding roles and responsibilities related to such an agenda and programme. It will depend on a very wide understanding of what counts as learning and give maximum room for individuals to choose what that education and learning should be for. It will depend on the active engagement of seniors themselves and should avoid narrowing the agenda only to the instrumental, vocational purposes of learning to become a more effective retiree, while not excluding such purposes either.

The social dimension will be critical, and hence it will be very much about education as social activity. At the same time, it should avoid the mistake of seeing education as a bureaucratic sector apart and in isolation from the other settings and institutional arrangements in which seniors live their lives but instead as an integral part of them. The social capital arguments (see e.g. Field 2008) for this new set of entitlements and expectations to engage in education and learning would thus be even more prominent than they are in relation to the education of younger adults and children.

Precisely how this new sector would be organised, financed and governed and what would count as positive learning and engagement are detailed matters that will need to be addressed. An important underpinning principle alongside recognition of the very wide range of purposes for the learning would be that the main responsibility for running such a new sector should lie with older adults themselves. This would mean that agency would remain with the population(s) being targeted and it would represent a massive extension of volunteering undertaken by older adults, actively engaged in their own communities and in the promotion of the well-being of their fellow older citizens.

In other words, this proposal would capitalise on the enormous wealth of human expertise and experience represented by the retired themselves. Most of those engaged as teachers, tutors and administrators would work voluntarily on part-time schedules – fulfilling their own 'obligations' to engage in positive learning activities while engaging with others who are unable to take on such roles themselves. The range of active learning experiences would be very wide, linked to education, social action, the community and to employment. It would also importantly address the learning needs of the frail and the elderly.

As well as being desirable for its own sake as a massive extension of connection and valuable activity, giving the primary roles in the sector to older people themselves is also necessary so as to keep the costs of this proposed new sector within bounds at a time when social and educational budgets are under severe pressure. There may need to be other professionals engaged to underpin such matters as recruitment and accountability but this should not detract from the main principle that this new sector would be for seniors run by seniors.

20.4 Active Ageing Rather Than Lifelong Learning

Conventionally, in education circles, discussion of education and learning for older adults gets wrapped into broader rationales for 'lifelong learning' or are labelled as lifelong learning (e.g. 'addressing active ageing through lifelong learning' – Panitsides and Papastamtis 2013). Yet, it is questionable whether the concept of lifelong learning serves well the agenda of advancing learning and education for older adults. This is not to reject the broad ambition of lifelong learning nor to deny that university lifelong learning faculties may well make important contributions to the vision being outlined. It is to suggest that radical departures in thinking about the lives and well-being of seniors, with education and learning prominently included, are unlikely to emerge and thrive under the umbrella aim of 'lifelong learning'.

For one thing, the agenda outlined in this chapter is highly concrete whereas 'lifelong learning' is abstract, synthetic and largely unrecognisable in the here-and-now. It needs specialists or international organisations to piece it together post-hoc, and it remains highly elastic as a concept. Few can agree with any precision on what it actually covers. Despite having been around in the international lexicon for half a century, lifelong learning remains largely aspirational, while over that time the learning lives of seniors have proved to be a small minority interest even within the lifelong learning community. As the name suggests, lifelong learning is in principle diffused across all generations and this makes it correspondingly diffuse when addressing the educational and learning needs of a particular age group(s).

Moreover, lifelong learning tends to be understood primarily as a strategy for education and training and hence removed in the minds of most from strategies that would bring in all the different partners and policies involved in the lives of older citizens, including the health and care sectors. This led me to argue in the earlier article that: '…greater purchase and headway would be made if the main strategies for learning for the retired turned instead around active ageing, with the educational contribution brought in through partnerships in order to give meaning and substance to the term 'active'' (Istance 2015, p. 235).

'Active ageing' too has featured prominently in the policy prescriptions of international organisations such as World Health Organisation (WHO 2002) and the

European Union, which has given it prominence and a degree of political purchase but also its detractors (e.g. Van Dyk et al. 2013). As proposed by the WHO, 'active ageing' means:

> …the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age… [It] allows people to realize their potential for physical, social, and mental well-being throughout the life course and to participate in society, while providing them with adequate protection, security and care when they need. The word "active" refers to continuing participation in social, economic, cultural, spiritual and civic affairs, not just the ability to be physically active or to participate in the labour force. (World Health Organisation 2002, p. 12)

To adopt the term 'active ageing' is not to adhere to any particular formulation or programme as developed by an international organisation; rather the general thrust and ambition of the term as proposed by WHO accords closely with the vision outlined in this chapter assuming that the implications for education and learning would be fully developed. Even if much more could be said about learning and education in the 'policy response' section of the WHO report, it still contains much greater acknowledgement of their potential than most policy proposals to address ageing populations.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, learning can be regarded as integral not just preparatory to 'activity'. The WHO notion of 'active' as 'participation in social, economic, cultural, spiritual and civic affairs' becomes the more powerful when older adults are understood to be active when they are learning in those different spheres.

20.5 What Role for Higher Education?

A good place to begin identifying the role for higher education is in the traditional distinction of mission between *teaching, service* and *research*. Adapting that distinction, gives at least three distinct roles for higher education in the agenda elaborated in this chapter:

- As a source of provision, whether through programmes that are especially targeted at the retired or by increasing access by seniors to other programmes for learners of different ages or by providing appropriate professional development.
- As a partner in policy and community action, including with organisations from the leisure, health and social care sectors.
- As knowledge providers, through research especially on the learning motivations and opportunities for seniors (and diverse socio-demographic sub-groups within the older adult population) and on the potential 'social benefits' of active ageing and learning to extend classic models of cost-benefit analysis.

Relating to programmes that might involve many more seniors than higher education currently caters for, the availability of both specifically targeted subject

provision and more general provision will be important. This will call for the creative design of new courses extending well outside the traditional remit of the university, in long and short programmes. At the same time, many older adults will not wish to study exclusively with students of their own generation; mixing age groups can bring benefits not only to the older students but enrich the teaching and learning of students from right across the age range. In line with the argument above that 'active ageing' might serve to galvanise the learning for these older age groups more successfully than established lifelong concepts, some of these courses will stretch significantly conventional notions of higher education and will often call for partnerships with others.

If there were to be a new sector for the activities and learning of seniors, there will inevitably be professional development needs for the leaders, administrators and tutors of this new sector. Higher education would be very well placed to provide such professional development.

A second key role is as a partner in policy and community action aimed at developing the new sector being proposed. The social prominence and prestige of higher education, and its concentration of diverse forms of expertise, make it especially well-placed to play a leadership role in partnership with others. This may be through higher education institutions themselves, it may be through the diverse agencies and bodies working transversally in higher education. So, even when higher education is not itself offering the programmes, it may be active in a range of different partnerships organising the formal and non-formal programmes and individual opportunities for society's older citizens.

The third key role is in research, in particular that which builds the evidence base from which to organise this new sector. This is a role for which higher education is especially suited. This should include research on the nature of being older in twenty-first century societies, on the motivations and learning needs of seniors, and on the options and alternatives for organising and financing their formal and non-formal learning. It will need to pay special attention to the frail and elderly whose learning needs are most ignored when instrumental perspectives are applied to education policies.

An important aspect of this research will be to make more precise the benefits of active learning for enhanced physical and psychological well-being among seniors, and the social well-being of individuals and communities in which seniors play a very active role. It should build up evidence relating to the 'social benefits' of active ageing and learning to extend classic models of cost-benefit analysis. In particular, it should begin to make more precise the potentially enormous savings to society represented by healthier, more engaged older citizens. It should factor in the benefits of greater social cohesion resulting from initiatives that span the generations, which counter fragmentation and the portrayal of conflictual generational relations. It can include the extent to which older citizens are teachers and tutors for their own sector, much of that on a voluntary basis.

While delineating these three sets of roles separately, they clearly inter-connect in many ways. The strongest impact a higher education institution might make is when it is engaged in all three: using its research, for instance, to inform teaching

and action, its policy leadership role to inform the design of programmes and research, and the teaching as the basis for further research and design.

20.6 Concluding Remark

Up to a point I have argued for a longstanding if comprehensive adult education agenda, in recognition of the demographics of larger numbers of senior citizens than at any time in history. But it is more than this. If the argument is accepted of the need to think of learning for older adults quite differently and deliberately as part of a new sector and organised life phase, then it will call for strong drive and leadership. Higher education can help to delineate what this new sector should look like. Governments can provide the political drive drawing on such evidence-informed visions and they can support and create the conducive conditions for this new sector to flourish. But, responsibility for actual developments will often need to lie elsewhere, and this could mean an especially powerful leadership role for higher education. It can take the lead in the organisation and planning, building the necessary capacity, and providing the underpinning research, as well, of course, as providing appropriate teaching programmes for senior learners.

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Chapter 21
Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: New Frontiers – Old Barriers

Hans G. Schuetze and Maria Slowey

21.1 Introduction

This book explores the implications of new demographics for reform and innovation in higher education and lifelong learning. From different perspectives and at different levels – institutional, regional, national and international – authors from 12 countries investigate the challenges of promoting equality and access for people with different migration backgrounds, indigenous peoples, and adult learners.

In this concluding discussion we suggest a number of implications for lifelong learning in higher education. We reflect on the significance of higher education not only in facilitating access and inclusion for individual learners – especially those who face particular challenges either as new arrivals to a country or as older people – but also on its wider societal role in supporting democratic engagement and citizenship.

21.2 Lifelong Learning – For All?

Despite several decades of critique, the concept of lifelong learning remains remarkably enduring. For some critics, lifelong learning is too general to be useful and of practical relevance. For others, the various components combined under the lifelong

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learning rubric do not fit together well, and applicability of the concept to higher education remains problematic. Ulrich Teichler, in his review of progress poses the question as to whether lifelong learning is simply 'a perennial declamation' or actually represents an 'imminent future' for higher education? (Teichler 2019).

Scrutiny of relevant policy documents from individual countries and international organizations shows that while undeniably some progress has been made, advancing on the road to lifelong learning in higher education is slow. In a previous comparative analysis involving 12 countries (eleven of which are also included in this book) we developed a typology of 'non-traditional' learners and 'ranked' countries according to the extent to which their higher education systems appeared compatible with the main principles of lifelong learning (Slowey and Schuetze 2012). It is interesting to reflect on the applicability of this typology to the particular groups of potential learners which comprise the main focus of this book, namely: people with different migration backgrounds, indigenous peoples and older adults.

Our original typology comprised seven groups of learners in higher education.

1. Those without traditional formal entry qualifications (such as Abitur, A-Levels, Baccalaureate, Leaving Certificate, High School Diploma or the like) who enter higher education via a special entrance examination or assessment, or through 'open admission'. Students in this category are usually coming to higher education later in life on a 'second chance' basis ('Second chancer learners').
2. Those from groups which are under-represented in higher education and the focus of public or institutional equity policies, for example, people from working-class or particular socio-economic backgrounds, indigenous populations, migrants, people living in remote rural areas or those with disabilities ('Equity groups').
3. Those who *defer* entry into higher education, following completion of secondary education and gaining appropriate qualifications because they decided at that stage to enter employment or pursue other activities such as voluntary work, travel, community engagement or family responsibilities ('Deferrers').
4. Those who have studied towards a degree or diploma without completing it or graduates returning to higher education for another degree. Such learners have a variety of motivations ranging from those who need an additional qualification for employment and professional purposes, to those who have a continuing interest in learning for other, not work-related purposes ('Recurrent learners').
5. Those wishing to *drop-back-in* to higher education, having 'dropped-out' or deferred at an earlier stage for a variety of reasons. ('Returners')
6. Those who, as professionals and/or job-seekers without valid or up-to-date formal qualifications, engage in continuing education programmes to acquire, refresh or extend their knowledge and skills ('Refreshers'). This category includes migrants with a professional or vocational background wishing to validate or upgrade professional qualifications which were acquired in their country of origin.
7. Those at 'third age' who enrol in (mainly) non-credit higher education programmes for personal development purposes ('Learners in later life') (ibid., pp. 15-16).

As discussed earlier (Slowey and Schuetze 2012) and shown in this book, several of these categories overlap in practice. And it is this overlapping of categories which is strikingly reinforced by the analyses in this book. Whether from the richer global North, or the poorer global South the discussions draw attention to the importance of recognising differences not only *between* but also *within* 'cohorts', with considerable variation in the social, cultural and educational capital at their disposal. Thus, the categories of 'immigrant' or 'person with a migration background' not only include people in very different social and personal circumstances – whether relocating by choice, or driven from home by war, violence, famine and/or extreme poverty – but also with widely different educational profiles. Some of these immigrants may have gained already higher levels of academic or professional qualifications in their home country but may require support in having their knowledge and skills formally recognized by the host country. Other immigrants may need assistance with upgrading, updating and/or familiarization with the conditions and linguistic terminology that is specific to their discipline in the host country. One important immigrant group, those who arrived in the host country at a younger, still compulsory-schooling age, might require assistance, especially with acquiring the host country's language, to prepare for higher level study at the host country.

A number of authors in this book make the case for separate provision for particular groups – for example, older learners – on the basis that 'regular' universities and other higher education institutions are, by definition, predominantly geared towards providing initial higher education for young people and early career professionals. On the other hand, as the experience from Mexico highlights (Didou Aupetit, Chap. 9), the establishment of higher education institutions which are especially designed to meet the needs of particular groups – in that case, indigenous people – may result in such institutions being perceived as being 'second class'. A problem which is likely to persist as long as indicators of academic quality and associated rankings remain shaped by traditional models of higher education.

So, allowing for these debates about separate types of provision and/or institutions, how might the diverse needs and interests of such different types of learners be better served by higher education? Beyond the overall principle that all formal education and training settings should aim to be learner-friendly *for all* here we highlight five as of particular importance.

1. Information and counselling

As members of under-represented groups often lack the information, social networks and/or confidence necessary to apply and participate successfully, higher education needs to be proactive in reaching out to these groups with appropriate, independent information, counselling and encouragement.

2. Accessibility

Examples can be found in all the countries covered in this book of innovative approaches where higher education institutions introduce special arrangements to help encourage and prepare 'non-traditional' learners for higher level learning. These can take the form of outreach activities, special access and bridging

programmes. Such activities depend to a considerable extent on the level of trust and partnership developed between higher education institutions and community organizations working in close proximity with individuals, some of whom – such as refuges and asylum seekers – may be in very vulnerable situations.

3. Finance

Finance plays a significant role in enabling especially 'non-traditional students' and 'lifelong learners' (for the difference between these two groups, see Schuetze 2014) to participate in higher education or, conversely, keeping them out (Schuetze 2009). Two groups are particularly dependent on special financing arrangements. The first are potential students from families that have not had any previous experience with higher education and who often lack financial means. They and their families may also lack the conviction that money spent on education is a 'good investment' for the future – especially for refugees and asylum seekers but also for economic migrants and whose priority may well be to try and support families left behind in their home countries, often in highly precarious situations. This is not simply a question of fees, where such exist, or substantial living costs, but also the 'opportunity cost' of not being in paid employment (Schuetze and Archer 2019). The second group are adult students who are beyond the age limit in most countries for student grants and loans. This includes many migrant professionals who may need to update their professional qualifications.

4. Flexibility of provision and delivery.

Alternative methods of delivering programmes such as part-time study, distance and especially online programmes, work-based learning. Important is also the possibility of accumulating credits from different programmes and institutions which can enhance participation by non-traditional students who wish – or are obliged by their circumstances – to learn in ways other than full-time, on campus.

5. Assessment of prior learning (APL).

A truly lifelong learning system requires robust, yet accessible, mechanisms for assessment, recognition and validation of knowledge and skills no matter where, when or how they have been acquired. This requirement is indeed a major prerequisite of the 'seamless web' implied in a truly lifelong learning system. Despite the growth of national, global and regional systems of Qualification Frameworks (QFs) significant problems remain in recognizing degrees, diplomas or course credits obtained from other countries. Some steps are being made towards addressing these issues: the UN General Assembly recently signed a Global Convention – the first United Nations treaty on higher education with a global scope – which aims to reduce 'the obstacles faced by students, teachers, researchers and job-seekers outside their countries of origin' (UNESCO n.d.). While at a European level, the European Network of Information Centres provides information for refugees on the procedures in each country (ENIC n.d.).

21.3 What's Next? Speculating About Futures of Higher Education and Lifelong Learning

Looking at the changing context, some trends are manifesting themselves and several new developments seem likely associated with the new demographics.

21.3.1 Ageing Society

As discussed in Chap. 1 and Part III of this book, while patterns for individual countries differ, overall the world population is ageing. Life expectancy continues to grow so that by 2020, almost 20 percent of people in the OECD countries will be 65 years of age and older (OECD 2019).

As life becomes longer, not only will lifelong learning cover a longer span, but also traditional views of age-associated life stages require reconceptualization (Schuller 2019). Learning at older ages will become more important – and for older adults involved in paid work, be it in regular employment or in some form of self-employed or freelance capacity, a necessity, even more than in the past. But 'the maintenance of human capital' is only one single dimension of older people's lives. The individual and social benefits of 'active ageing' place an emphasis not just on work related continuing learning, but also on learning about supporting healthy living and social engagement – for all of which continuous learning is required (see Istance, Chap. 20).

21.3.2 Changing Nature of Work and New Life Course Patterns

As many authors make clear, the classic 'linear' work and career path – which applied mainly to men – is becoming a thing of the past. Distinctions between working and non-working life are becoming increasingly blurred. People take early retirement, or do not retire but reduce paid working commitments and hours. As electronic communication is becoming ubiquitous many people work from their home or other places rather than from a traditional office or other workplace. For lifelong learners this means that learning opportunities and places must adjust to these flexible living patterns by becoming themselves flexible and adaptable to changing objectives of learners and the conditions under which they learn.

21.3.3 Mass Movements of People

On average 17% of the total population of OECD countries aged 25–64 were born in a different country than where they live later in their lives. The enormous implications of such a scale of mobility for higher education – in both sending and receiving countries – are explored in detail in Part II. Importantly, several chapters in this book reaffirm the OECD findings that

> …contrary to popular belief, migrants are not a homogenous group of low-educated people; rather, they are a diverse group with varying educational attainment. In many countries, foreign-born adults have higher educational attainment levels than their native peers … and in about half of OECD countries with available data, tertiary education rates are higher among foreign-born adults than among native-born adults. (OECD 2018, p. 2)

Mass migration can be expected to grow. This does not just concern students who choose to go abroad to study, train and work as supported by, for example, the European ERASMUS programme , but also adults and young people who are often forced to leave their own countries by hardship or lured into doing so by the promise of a better life elsewhere. And here, in terms of rights to access higher education, different groups of people may find themselves in different legal categories as in the recent years many countries have seen increasing levels of temporary (as opposed to permanent) migration.

In Europe, Pavel Zgaga (Chap. 19) reminds us that after the fall of the Berlin Wall had been welcomed with much relief and hope for a world free of walls and barbed wire, in 2015 new barriers were being erected to protect 'Fortress Europe' following a period of mass movement of refugees from certain African countries and other war-torn parts of the world. While evident challenges remain in relation to equality and inclusion, examples of good, innovative practice can also be found as many higher education institutions reach out to migrant populations – such as the University of Sanctuary concept introduced in Ireland by Dublin City University (DCU n.d.).

21.3.4 Learning with/Through New Media

Technological innovation has already profoundly changed communication, access to information and the sharing of knowledge. The use of the Internet for online learning is gradually changing the way higher education is organized and delivered. However, so far this has not led, against the prediction of some analysts, to the fast disappearance of traditional modes of teaching and learning or of campus and classroom-based forms of study (McClure 2019). Thus, for instance, in Canada, a country with large distances that might be expected to profit more than other, more densely-settled countries, from arrangements for distance education and learning,

the uptake of online learning is still slow. According to the 2018 national survey on online and distance learning in universities and colleges, just 17% of all students were taking at least one online course and online course registrations accounted just for 8% of all credit course enrolments. However, more than two thirds of higher education institutions considered online learning as very important for the future and 87% rated online learning, as equal or superior to face-to-face teaching (Bates 2019).

21.3.5 Re-organization of Higher Education Through 'Unbundling'?

A linked idea related to use of technology with a view to increasing efficiency, but also some argue, to facilitate greater participation by non-traditional learners implies reversing the centuries-old concept of *universitas*: splitting up the unitary institution 'university' into its discreet 'functions' which, these authors suggest, could and should be assumed by different agents or service providers (Andrews 2016). At its logical extreme, the teaching function, 'imparting knowledge', might be left to online learning platforms or tutoring services. Credentialing would be undertaken by special accreditation organizations or professional bodies. Counselling could be done by outside agents or organizations which would inform students about where and how they could learn what they wish to learn, and what the prerequisites are to access relevant programmes. Employment offices involving employers could advise learners which jobs they might find given the educational programmes chosen and the qualifications awarded. Financial support would also be handled by agencies outside the universities and colleges, as the majority of support schemes already are.

We see this approach as highly problematic. 'Second chancers' and members of immigrant groups may be in danger of falling victim to 'recruiters' from for-profit institutions which promise easy degrees and good jobs without however delivering on teaching quality and hence real employment prospects (Schuetze 2019). Such 'unbundling' would be detrimental to many valued aspects of higher education – not least separating research (knowledge generation) from education (knowledge dissemination). Also, critical thinking, exposure to multi-cultural and intergenerational experiences and social learning are harder to achieve in fragmented learning environments and electronic classrooms of participants who do not know each other. While some proponents suggest social learning in virtual 'classrooms' is possible (Bates and Sangrà 2011) and MOOCs offer attractive 'appetizers' or entry points for lifelong learners, overwhelming evidence shows that those who are likely to gain the most benefit are those who are already highly motivated and well-organized (McClure 2019).

21.4 Concluding Reflections

In these concluding reflections we stand back somewhat to take a wider view of the landscape of higher education as it is experienced both locally and globally. The topography of higher education is located within a context that is fast-changing not only demographically and socially – with enhanced ageing and migration patterns – but also politically, ideologically and culturally. As Duke (2018) discusses, linking these two levels, the globally manifest and the locally experienced, is a belief in active citizenship – civil society – and the means for its expression and assertion as a main presence in places of power.

Underlying our primary emphasis in this book on migration and ageing lie global issues of eco-sustainability – not least climate change, with a multitude of implications for the well-being of societies and individual health, welfare and survival. From a policy perspective, these matters fall within the remits of different Government departments, each with their own systemically competing priorities, targets and output measures. Policy interest in higher education now also reaches beyond ministries of education into economic and financial portfolios, regional development, health, welfare, and even security. The relative power of these ministries is not equal: increasingly education in general, and higher education more specifically, is coming to be regarded as a tool of economic policy in most countries discussed in this book.

There are rising levels of inequality within and between communities and nations. Education has the potential to open opportunities for personal and social development for migrants, older learners and others from 'non-traditional' backgrounds. However, as described by Leahy, Polesel and Gillis (Chap. 2) current pathways can also appear to potential learners like Eschers' staircase – an optical illusion offering seemingly possible routes, but in reality presenting a set of wrong turns, closed doors and sudden drops.

Contemporary combinations of societal issues, perceived by parts of the population as impacts of globalization, are leading to calls for more assertive national identity. As populist sentiments rise in many countries, especially immigrants are often the perceived scapegoats. Where in this turbulent environment does higher education find itself located? Besides the production and dissemination of knowledge, one of the most important roles of universities is to serve as a critical reflector of society. During the present period of massive societal change how well and how often is this role exercised, for example in relation to the inclusion of 'non-traditional' learners, to social responsibility of society for the disadvantaged, and to democratic rule and active citizenship? Many of the issues raised by the authors in this book point to the need for such a bigger-picture perspective and an active role of universities with regard to this overall mission of critically mirroring back to society with relation to values of civil society, social justice, respect for dissidents, and democratic rule. Given our focus on equality and inclusion, a key question is the

extent to which higher education is itself a part of the problem, or whether particular universities, but also other higher education institutions and the higher education system as a whole, have a part to play in helping address important societal challenges?

The analyses in this book not only highlight problems, but also draw attention to innovative policies and practices for reform and innovation at different levels in different situations and countries. Contributors highlight examples of positive actions taken by institutions to try and ameliorate some of the educational barriers for people who are mobile – by choice or necessity – and older adults after their active working life. From a narrow, instrumental perspective the new demography offers two prospective 'clienteles' who have the potential to offset falling cohorts of young people: first, newly arrived immigrants in countries targeted by political and economic refugees – mainly to the wealthy 'old North' where young immigrants arrive in large numbers; and, second, older people who may need to maintain or acquire employment, but also with interests to learn and engage as active citizens, helping hold society together.

By their own behaviour higher education institutions can act as exemplars of good citizenship and social responsibility. In line with their research and teaching missions, universities and colleges can study, publish and publicize in other ways the different causes and possible remedies for large-scale changes. For example, they can make projections of the rate and scale of demographic change and build scenarios of the probable consequences across all sectors that can form the basis for medium and long-term planning and resource allocation. A more difficult challenge is to motivate and enable the academic community and its leadership to address some of the other fundamental challenges presented by the matters discussed in this book.

Building on the analysis of contributors to this book we come to key questions about the meaning and function of higher education in contemporary society. If universities and other institutions of higher education fail to engage with longer term, socially relevant issues – might this not lead to their marginalization? There are indeed growing numbers of other providers active in the field of tertiary education and training, both commercial and not-for-profit, that have already assumed some of the functions of higher education, eroding the quasi-monopoly of universities and other higher education.

The implications of such a loss of the distinctive mission of higher education are posed in graphic terms by Marginson (2011).

> Nothing lasts forever and, every so often, nation-states and societies discover that they can live without the institutions they have inherited. When these institutions stand for nothing more, nothing deeper or more collective, no greater public good, than the aggregation of self-interest (like the monasteries in China and England, that accumulated vast social resources but came to exist only for themselves and those who used them) then the institutions are vulnerable. Self-interest can be channelled in other ways. The institutions disappear and their functions are picked up elsewhere. (Marginson 2011, p. 412)

If higher education retreats into a closed-system of self-protectionism and self-interest, losing its distinctiveness, is it really possible it might become as vulnerable as monasteries as a result of Enlightenment? The authors in this book highlight many challenges and barriers, but they also point to ways in which higher education in, and as society, has the potential to be a vital agent of change and an important enabler of greater equality and inclusion.

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Index

* As there are multiple references to this term, the index includes the first instance page number from each chapter.

A

Academics
    mobility, 43, 51, 290
    qualifications, 43
    staff, 17, 50, 77, 79, 80, 290
*Access, 4, 29, 42, 61, 71, 87, 101, 131, 145, 148, 161, 182, 197, 222, 239, 252, 265, 287, 302, 313
Accessibility, 163, 166, 169, 271, 315
Active citizenship, 210, 211, 320
Adult education
    in graduate schools, 202
    teachers for, 148
Adults
    late-career, 178, 182
    learners, 7, 17, 152, 161, 177–189, 193–196, 202, 221, 222, 224–234, 243, 251–262, 313
    learning, 13, 15, 17, 178, 189, 196, 197, 224, 231, 234, 304
    mid-career, 178, 179
    workers, 18, 196–198, 200, 202, 221–234
Africa, 27
Ageing, 3–18
    active, 177, 185, 207, 237, 241, 245, 304, 307–309, 317
    populations, 3–18, 87, 89, 95, 96, 161, 237, 239, 248, 252, 287
Alternative pathways, 32, 33
America, 4, 6, 12, 52, 68, 79, 103, 133, 139, 145, 147, 201, 208, 223
Asia, 6, 27, 48, 79
Assessment of prior learning (APL), 316
Asylum seekers, 6, 15, 27, 28, 71, 288, 316
Austerity, 5, 8
Austerity policies, 5
Australia, 8, 15, 16, 25–36, 254–256

B

Bachelor's degrees, 30, 48, 61, 62, 109, 110, 112, 198
Barriers, 5, 7, 18, 76, 165, 166, 182, 189, 202, 233, 243, 258, 261, 273, 279, 292, 313–322
Basic skills, 13, 240, 241
Big data, 18, 265–281
Brain drain, 51, 63, 65, 290
Brazil, 15, 17, 103, 145–155, 166

C

Canada, 8, 15, 161, 169, 238, 251, 253, 254, 256–258, 261, 262, 318
China, 5
Civic society, 15, 240
Community-university engagement, 253, 257, 261, 262

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Comparative analyses, 314
Continuing education, 67, 145, 148, 153, 202, 203, 213–215, 223, 226, 228, 234, 241, 243, 247, 252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262
Counselling, 49, 64, 68, 74, 96, 102, 229, 315, 319
Credentialing, 224, 319
Cross-linguistic awareness, 127
Cultural backgrounds, 14, 42, 46, 80, 82, 83
Cultural identities, 77, 133
Cultures, 4, 16, 17, 29, 53, 74, 77, 79, 80, 83, 97, 110, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 135–137, 139, 141, 146–148, 152, 160, 164, 169, 170, 194, 197, 199, 203–205, 221, 289, 290, 293

D
Delivery, flexibility of, 153, 160, 316
Demographic
  changes, 3, 6, 11, 13, 14, 39, 44, 59–69, 101–115, 159–170, 253, 321
  dividend, 102, 106, 114
  patterns, 3
Developing countries, 112, 269, 290
Developing regions, 5
Disadvantaged backgrounds, 32, 33, 76
Disadvantages, 13, 33, 34, 102, 112, 123, 198, 201, 209, 216, 265, 268–271, 278
Discrimination, 33, 35, 110, 112, 248, 288
Distance learning, 63, 66, 225, 242, 243, 319
Diverse learning needs, 165, 193
Diverse ways of learning, 193
Diversity
  cultural, 74–80, 82, 83, 121, 126, 132, 140, 146, 147
  linguistic, 74, 119–127
Doctoral degrees, 62, 200

E
Economic austerity, 5
Educational
  attainment, 3, 32, 62, 73, 141, 239, 241, 242, 268, 270, 279, 318
  background, 44, 74
  levels, 13, 73, 87, 101, 102, 104, 112, 114
  systems, 5, 47, 101, 107, 111, 113, 115, 124, 147, 151, 294
Education policies, 4, 67, 75, 87–97, 113, 124, 126–127, 194–196, 198, 224, 242, 277, 289, 302, 309
Education systems, 3, 32, 33, 35, 39, 53, 63, 74, 75, 79, 87–90, 92, 93, 102, 120, 121, 124, 133, 145, 148, 160, 169, 170, 179, 188, 194, 207, 267, 290, 314, 321
Emigration, 16, 17, 41, 61, 63, 66, 67, 72, 112
Employability, 15, 87, 89, 92–97, 151, 186, 277, 289, 296, 299
Employers, 12, 13, 15, 28, 30, 48, 179, 180, 184, 186, 187, 189, 198, 222–224, 226, 230, 239, 240, 242, 244–248, 277, 278, 319
Employer-supported education, 188, 247
Employment, 8, 9, 11–13, 17, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 43, 47, 67, 71, 92, 94, 97, 106, 112, 114, 136, 138, 159, 164, 166, 169, 177–179, 182, 184, 186, 188, 189, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 204, 205, 223, 224, 237, 240, 241, 246, 247, 253, 265, 270, 273, 274, 278, 290, 295, 302, 305, 306, 314, 316, 317, 319, 321
Equality
  of access, 4, 5, 8, 223
  of opportunity, 45, 90, 91, 96, 242, 247
  of results, 90
Equity, 12, 75, 76, 102, 115, 131, 135, 217, 228–230, 233, 242, 265, 268, 301, 302, 314
Ethnic backgrounds, 27, 82, 96, 97, 115
Ethnic minorities, 34, 78, 80
Europe, 6–8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 28, 39, 42, 48, 52, 68, 73, 80, 87, 92, 119, 120, 125, 166, 208, 217, 237–238, 251, 287–289, 291–296, 301, 318

F
Fertility rates, 12, 237, 301
Financial crisis, 5
Flexible learning, 162, 166, 281
Foreign language, teaching, 121–125
Foreign qualifications, 94, 290
Formal
  education, 8, 62, 89, 93, 96, 97, 159, 177–179, 182, 188, 189, 194, 196, 224, 231, 232, 241, 267, 272, 274, 276, 315
  learning, 177, 254, 265, 276
  recognition, 43, 48
Funding, 8, 15, 50, 88, 101, 106, 132, 197, 207, 209, 213, 214, 229, 230, 232, 233, 242, 260, 274, 280

G
Gender, 10, 13–15, 17, 46, 66, 68, 76, 92, 94, 103, 106, 109, 110, 112, 114, 146, 148, 152, 153, 163, 164, 170, 209, 246, 248, 301
Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, 6
Germany, 4, 10, 14–16, 31, 39–54, 71, 73, 178, 200, 201, 238
Global, 4–13
Global learning cities network (GLCN), 267
Global North, 4, 5, 315
Global South, 3–5, 7, 315

H
Higher education, 160, 170
  access to, 4, 5, 7–9, 14, 17, 32, 44, 45, 50, 75, 76, 90–92, 96, 101, 107, 113, 148, 150, 242, 243, 252, 265, 294, 295
  degree, 45, 92, 108
  diploma, 89
  graduation from, 131, 133
  institution, 10, 14, 15, 18, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 59, 62, 64–67, 69, 74, 77–79, 81, 83, 107, 108, 113, 115, 120, 124, 131, 133–136, 139, 140, 148, 149, 153–155, 160, 163, 164, 166, 191–196, 198, 202, 204, 207, 223, 225, 234, 242, 243, 248, 251–254, 262, 266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 276–278, 280, 281, 289, 290, 294–296, 309, 315, 318, 319, 321
  policy, 4, 67, 87–97, 126–127, 194, 196, 198, 224, 242, 289
  reforms, 5, 161, 165, 168, 170, 231, 232, 234
Host countries, 4, 7, 10, 17, 315
Human rights, 6, 29, 168, 292, 294

I
Immigrants, 5, 7–9, 15, 25, 27, 34, 35, 40, 41, 51, 53, 60, 73, 75, 111–113, 136, 147, 192, 209, 211, 280, 292, 315, 319–321
Immigration
  policy, 30, 31, 290
Inclusion
  social, 114, 154, 207, 208, 210, 211, 215, 269, 273, 276, 278
  urban educational, 265
Indigenous
  groups, 15, 111, 134, 138, 149, 216
  students, 107, 110, 111, 132–136
Inequalities, 4, 5, 9, 13, 15, 17, 18, 26, 31–35, 101, 107, 115, 147, 148, 152, 155, 207–218, 239–242, 246–248, 265–281
Informal learning
  validation of, 233, 234
Information and counselling, 49, 74, 315
Innovation and reform, 5
Institutions, higher education, 10, 14, 15, 18, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 59, 62, 64–67, 69, 74, 76–79, 81, 83, 88, 90–94, 96, 97, 102, 107, 108, 113, 115, 120, 124, 131, 133–136, 139, 140, 148, 153–155, 160, 163, 164, 166, 191–196, 198, 202, 204, 207, 223, 225, 234, 242, 243, 248, 251–254, 262, 266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 276–278, 280, 281, 289, 290, 294–296, 309, 315, 318, 319, 321
Institutions, non-university, 160
Integration, 7–9, 16, 17, 39, 45, 74, 94, 96, 97, 113, 166, 189, 231, 269, 272, 287–290, 292–295, 301
Intercultural
  education, 17, 74, 82, 133, 141
  higher education, 131–134
Interculturality, 135, 138
Intercultural Universities (IUs), 132–141
Interdisciplinary, 66–68, 139, 153, 239, 270, 281
Intergenerational
  learning, 244, 319
  mobility, 33, 34
Internal migration, 16, 17
International
  aid agencies, 138–140
  mobility, 9, 10, 39, 44, 47, 50, 52, 53, 289–291
  organizations, 5, 11, 138–140, 314
  students, 6, 10, 26, 28–30, 33, 34, 43–45, 47–50, 53, 54, 68, 73, 78, 81, 83, 119–121, 127, 192, 251, 290, 294
International migrants, 6
International Organization for Migration (IOM), 4, 6
International organisations, 5
Intersectionality, 14, 46
Ireland, 15–18, 71–83, 119–121, 123, 124, 148, 178, 237–248, 262, 318

J
Japan, 4, 15, 18, 178, 188, 191–206, 238, 251
Jobs, highly-skilled, 31, 162, 290
Jobs, high skill, 288

L
Labour force, 31, 60, 61, 106, 194, 231, 237, 246, 308
Labour markets, 7–9, 12, 13, 29–31, 35, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47–49, 51, 54, 63, 67, 71, 78, 87, 88, 92–97, 102, 106–109, 114, 186, 188, 189, 194, 198, 200, 237, 239, 242, 246, 305
Languages
  barriers, 7, 76, 112, 261
  competencies, 50, 120, 122
  second, 121–124, 126
  third, 121–125
Latin America, 68, 103, 133, 145
Learners
  centered learning, 166
  community of, 167
Learning
  cities, 266–269, 272, 274, 277–279, 281
  continued, 177, 182, 186
  engagement, 17, 163, 182, 188, 227, 241, 265–281, 302, 305, 306, 317
Life course, 12, 13
  changing, 18, 237, 247, 317
  patterns, 12, 13, 17, 18, 178, 183, 237–248, 317
Life cycle, 301
Life expectancies, 5, 101, 192, 237, 238, 300, 301, 317
Lifelong learners, 17, 18, 148, 153, 160, 169, 231, 252, 316, 317, 319
∗Lifelong learning, 3, 87, 145, 160, 191, 207, 221, 238, 253, 266, 307, 313
Lifewide learning, 18, 265–281
Lifewide literacies, 266, 268, 274–276, 278, 279
Longevity, 4, 12
  dividend, 4

M
Marginalization, 9, 110, 112, 132, 139, 146, 149, 207–209, 211, 218, 266, 276–281, 321
Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), 234, 319
Mass migrations, 3, 119, 290, 296, 318
Master's degrees, 62, 88, 133, 137, 179, 201
Mature students, 76, 77, 87, 88, 91, 92, 95, 162, 163, 179, 205, 242
Metalinguistic awareness, 123, 127
Mexico, 15–17, 101, 131–141, 315
Migrants
  first generation, 26, 34, 40
  second generation, 26, 34, 40, 41
Migration, 3–18
  adult migrants, 4, 8
  background, 9, 14, 16, 40–43, 45–47, 50–53, 71, 73–76, 81, 315
  patterns, 3–5, 17, 31, 46, 53, 59–69, 72, 102, 111–113, 320
  policies, 9, 16, 26, 30, 39, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 89, 94, 119–127
Mobilities, 4, 6, 9, 10, 25, 31–34, 39, 41, 43, 44, 47–53, 71, 78, 79, 90, 121, 154, 170, 189, 265, 270, 274–276, 280, 287–296, 303, 318
Multicultural
  approaches, 82, 146, 149–151
Multiculturalism, 29, 74, 146, 147, 208
Multilingualism, 122, 127

N
Neoliberal, 5, 11, 151
New Zealand, 8, 15, 18, 31, 33, 207–218
NGOs, *see* Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)
Non-formal education (NFE), 12, 178, 210, 211, 241, 268
Non-formal learning, 177, 178, 276
Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), 12, 15, 68, 243
Non-traditional learners, 160, 252, 314, 319, 320
Non-traditional students, 64, 101, 160, 161, 165, 184, 188, 189, 252, 316
Northern America, 6
Nursing programmes, 198

O
Older
  citizens, 202, 204, 214, 217, 302, 305–307, 309
  learners, 204, 205, 245, 270, 277, 281, 305, 315, 320
  people, 18, 61, 68, 148, 207, 209, 211, 213–217, 244, 247, 255, 261, 302, 303, 307, 317, 321
  workers, 231, 244–247, 299
Online programmes, 108, 202, 215, 225, 316
Opening access, 7, 17, 90
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 26, 47, 73, 103, 106, 119, 178, 179, 184, 200, 241, 247, 267, 293, 300–302, 317, 318

P
Part-time students, 160, 163, 242
Part-time studies, 316
Pedagogies, 109, 126, 127, 134, 140, 147, 163–165, 170, 213, 216, 218
Permanent migration, 26, 27, 29, 318
Plurilingual, 123–127
Policy, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11–13, 15
  agenda, 18, 119, 299–310
  debates, 7, 95, 96
  models, 228–230
  reforms, 11, 60, 222, 228–230, 232, 233
Political agenda, 7, 93, 94
Poverty, 4, 9, 16, 17, 39, 42, 61, 68, 107, 110, 115, 131, 207, 208, 230, 315
Primary education, 49, 101, 110, 147, 179, 294
Professional
  degrees, 191
  programmes, 88, 96, 97, 189
  qualifications, 8, 88, 314–316
Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), 13, 17, 177–181, 183–185, 187–189, 241
Programmes for older adults, 252, 253, 255–259, 261, 262
Provision, flexibility of, 316
Public policies, 13, 15, 62, 63, 65, 67, 127, 148, 177, 197, 238, 241, 247, 248, 291, 302
Puerto Rico, 16, 59–69

Q
Qualifications, 8
  advanced, 189
  levels, 186
  systems, 49, 189
Quality of education, 91

R
R&D, *see* Research and Development (R&D)
Recognition of prior learning, 189
Reforms, 5, 11, 60, 87, 90, 96, 102, 147, 148, 153, 159, 161, 165, 168, 170, 222, 226–234, 252, 269, 279–281, 293, 296, 313, 321
Refugees, 4, 6–10, 15, 16, 25–29, 34–36, 39, 41–45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 155, 287–296, 316, 318, 321
∗Research, 10, 32, 39, 63, 71, 88, 107, 121, 133, 146, 178, 193, 214, 222, 239, 255, 266, 289, 300, 319
Research and Development (R&D), 65, 66, 201
Retired, 64, 196, 216, 254, 257, 258, 299, 303, 305–308
Retirement, 11, 12, 18, 60, 68, 95, 96, 194, 209, 214, 217, 239–241, 245, 246, 253, 256, 258, 299–303, 305, 317
Retraining, 242, 299, 305
Returning students, 89, 114

S
Secondary education, 7, 90–92, 145, 150, 179, 184, 186, 292, 314
Senior learners, 300, 310
Seniors, 79, 81, 102, 103, 160, 169, 196, 204, 205, 207–211, 213–218, 231, 247, 251, 299–302, 304–310
SES, *see* Socio-economic status (SES)
SESI, *see* System of intercultural higher education (SESI)
Skills
  gaps, 13, 226
Slovenia, 15, 18, 291, 292
Social
  benefits, 252, 267, 276, 305, 308, 309, 317
  capital, 12, 35, 135, 138, 139, 163, 306
  inequalities, 33, 207–218, 239, 279
  justice, 11, 12, 29, 131, 320
  learning, 319
  mobility, 25, 31–33, 90, 154, 265, 270, 274
Socio-demographic trends, 4
Socio-economic inequalities, 13, 15, 247
Socio-economic status (SES), 32–35, 45, 258, 265, 280
South America, 147
Statistics, 16, 26, 31, 40, 46, 52, 64, 69, 72, 89, 96, 105, 112, 150, 178, 184, 186, 197–199, 201, 208, 213, 223, 230, 238, 241, 244, 267, 270, 274
Student-centered learning, 166, 167
Student diversity, 106, 164, 165
Super-diversity, 119–121, 127
Sustainable Development Goals, 3
Sweden, 8, 15, 17, 71, 87–97, 178
System of intercultural higher education (SESI), 131, 132, 137

T
Technological
  change, 68
  innovation, 318
  institutions, 133, 134

Temporary migration, 28
Transitions, 7, 26, 35, 46, 49, 77, 81, 93, 115, 196, 205, 209, 226, 254, 258, 269, 270

U
UK, *see* United Kingdom (UK)
Under-representation, 5, 45
United Kingdom (UK), 15, 27, 31, 33, 34, 47, 71, 90, 120, 121, 178, 200, 201, 208, 238, 239, 244, 246, 265, 268, 269, 273, 276, 277, 280, 292, 296
United Nations (UN)
  United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 7, 8, 28
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 3, 5, 9, 11, 105, 133, 146, 152, 266–268, 273, 274, 277, 281, 290
United States of America (USA), 15, 16, 18, 200, 201, 221–234, 238
University degree, 89
University of the third age (U3A), 18, 210, 217, 254–258
Urban challenges, 270–272, 279, 280

V
Validation of studies, 113
Vocational
  degrees, 94
  education, 32, 94, 189
  learning, 299, 305

W
Well-being
  health and, 81, 177, 269, 270, 302, 303
Western Europe, 8, 52
Work-based learning, 316
Workforce, 29, 68, 96, 102, 194, 209, 210, 221–226, 231, 232, 237–248, 290